appeared like a morbid excrescence, when health is restored to the diseased body to which it had appertained.

9. The ninth part of the Report has a claim to more attention, from its describing those classes of the community, on the good management of whom the peace and prosperity of Central India must in a great degree depend. The RAJPOOTS of this quarter of India have been before noticed; they form a great part of the population of Malwa, and a much larger proportion of that of adjoining provinces. Though by far the greatest numbers of this class are engaged in industrious occupations, they all cherish Military habits; but they have, though only half subdued by the MAHRATTAS, lost all union, and have no longer therefore that strength as a body which they possessed when their Chiefs were among the highest of those Princes who professed allegiance to the Emperors of Delhi. This race have also become, from the oppressions they have long endured, more depraved and debased than they formerly were; but their courage, their superstitious bigotry, their pride, and their ignorance are unchanged. To any thing like regular opposition to paramount sway, the decline of their Princes renders them less equal; but there is in the very division which this causes, an encreased difficulty in governing them,—the field is thrown more open amongst a race who have always been fruitful in producing bold Military adventurers. Till changes occur in their character, beyond what half a century can be calculated to produce, this class must be governed with minute attention to their prejudices, and state of civilization, nor should any of those links, by which they are now restrained, be broken, until its place can be perfectly supplied. Their attachment to particular families and rulers is, beyond all others, the strongest feeling of their minds:—this, it will be seen from the history of their Chiefs, has never been rudely violated, without the worst effects to the peace of the country; but it presents, on the other hand, when happily used, the easiest and most legitimate means for preserving them in a state of order and tranquility. A sense of the importance of the subject has made me judge it right to go into some detail in all those parts of the Report, which relate to this class of the population; and the same reasoning, with regard to their future Government, applies with more force to the tribes of SOANDEES, BHEELALAHS, and BHEELS, (who have also been noticed;) because from being more rude than even the RAJPOOTS, they are more complete slaves, to their prejudices and passions.

10. The tenth part of the Report on the Government of the States of Malwa, is, from the character of the subject, general. In the description of the judicial part of their administration, the forms and proceedings of the Punjayet courts have been dwelt upon, as these constitute in the opinion of the people all that they have left of justice.

11. In addition to what has been said of the nature and character of these courts in Malwa, your Lordship in Council will, I am assured, pardon my offering some general observations upon an institution which from the remotest period of history has existed as a popular medium for the administration of justice in India, and which in that view must be contemplated with interest, by a nation who, like the English, have added to their extended territories the recent establishment of their influence and controul over the whole of that part of the globe.

12. Courts of Punjayet are common to all the Native States of India,— their exact shape and form vary; but every where the principles upon which they are founded are nearly the same. The rules of these Courts are much more flexible than is easily reconcileable to our improved system of jurisprudence; but this, in states so liable to changes in their administration as those to which this constitution belongs, is an advantage: it facilitates resort to them at any period, and under all circumstances they are a corrective to power, and a benefit to the people. It may be supposed that from their formation they are very liable to act both under influence of authority and corruption, from the former motive no subjects of a Prince, who is acknowledged to be despotic, can be exempt; but the constitution of Punjayets makes them less liable to this than any other court can be under an absolute Prince.—The Zemindars, Choudries and Kanoongoes, who always are members of these, when they are assembled as courts of investigation into offences against the community, are perhaps more to be considered as representatives or officers of the people than of the Prince; they receive no salary, being supported solely by their lands or dues; they are the hereditary heads of the population, but though obeyed and respected as such, the extent of their influence and power depends much upon the personal estimation in which they are held by those, whom it is their duty to protect and shield against the excesses of power. These are not well suited instruments of Tyranny; and the worst of Princes, while they exacted

implicit

implicit obedience from them, have admitted their right to be heard as advocates of the classes over which they presided. Considering therefore the combined motives from which they act, their duty to their Prince, and their obligations to their tribe, we cannot conceive men more adapted to promote the ends of justice, as far as these are attainable, under such a system of Government. Punjayet courts of arbitration so obviously depend upon character, that they can have no existence but in the general impression in favour of the individuals of whom they are composed. They may indeed be viewed as created by public opinion, and this accounts for the Members paying their chief court to that as the source of reputation; but history gives us the most conclusive evidence regarding these Punjayet courts. Among the despotic Princes of India they have been frequent or otherwise, as these have been just or oppressive: when violence prevailed, they have been altogether discontinued; and it is singularly illustrative of this institution, that the most artful and tyrannical chiefs have never been able to employ them in aid of their oppression. The character of Punjayet courts, however, is best understood from the general sentiment of the whole of the unprotected part of the community of India in their favor; they are associated with every idea they have of justice, nor can they, while in their present condition, both as to knowledge and order of society, be ever brought to appreciate more artificial and improved Systems of jurisprudence.

13. The Natives of Malwa, though they can only have a very general and indistinct knowledge of them, have the greatest terror at the very name of our Adawlut Courts, by which they conceive their own favorite system of justice has been superseded; and it is a fact, that the recent establishment of the Punjayet system in Candeish, and the settlement by these Courts of all disputes that have occurred in Malwa, where our authority was established, have done more towards calming the apprehensions of the inhabitants of this Province, and reconciling them to the idea of British sway, than any other event that has occurred. They deem it a concession to their prejudices, and speak of the Punjayet under our control, as the restoration of the best times of Hindu Government.

14. The Punjayet Courts, with all their advantages, have many and serious defects; their assembly, and indeed existence, depends upon the will of a Prince who, though he cannot influence or prevent their proceedings, may discontinue them;

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they are not like the Mahomedan courts of justice, defended by the shield of religion; it is an act of tyranny, but not of impiety to suppress them. When Punjayets sit, their proceedings are often interrupted, generally dilatory, and some times, from difference of opinion, or indirect interference of authority, altogether quashed. The members of a Punchayet, and particularly the Mookhee or president has (as has been stated) many motives to be upright; but still these courts are not clear of bribery, which is generally effected through officers of Government; and the members of the Punj can, if they desire it, find many pretexts for evading or refusing justice. A poor man, if involved (which however is a rare case) in a dispute which cannot be settled by his Putal or the head of his cast, cannot obtain a hearing from a Punjayet except by the only means, by which justice is accessible to such persons in a despotic government; that is, through a Wasseella or Patron: but this necessity obliges all families and individuals to place themselves in a relation of dependance on some one, through whose aid they can procure justice. The modes, in which this is effected need not be detailed. It is sufficient to state that the society gives too much value to influence and adherents, to make it difficult of accomplishment.

15. It appears a great defect of Punjayets, when considered as the only regular courts for the administration of justice, that they have no cognizance of any actions of the government, or any of its officers;—this is altogether out of their sphere, they are therefore no check upon that evil from which the people suffer most; but it belongs only to the government of very civilized nations to place restrictions upon the exercise of its own power. It is not to be expected that absolute Princes, however just, would constitute an authority to control themselves, or even to punish their subordinate officers.

16. It may safely be assumed that a great proportion of the defects of Punjayets is to be referred to bad Government, and a radically corrupt administration of justice. There would, however, if this system was ever permanently established in countries under our dominion, be many difficulties to encounter, originating in the different view from that of the Natives of India, which we take of the abstract principles of justice:— the little consideration when opposed to these, which we give to the actual state of the community in India, and the feelings which the great majority of public officers of India have in favor of an existing system, in which they have been educated, and to which

which they are naturally attached, by having so long devoted their efforts to its support and success; but it is, I believe, now very generally admitted, that this system requires great modification, if not alterations; and there can be no doubt, that the partial establishment even of Punjayet Courts would not only be most popular with our Native subjects, but tend beyond all other Institutions to lay deep the foundation of our power, by associating with our administration of justice the most respectable of our subjects. I offer however my sentiments with great diffidence upon this large subject, and with the most sincere respect for that honourable and able class of public Servants, by whom our laws and regulations are administered—I believe their virtue and talent uphold a system which, though custom may have reconciled it to many of the Natives of India, is regarded with apprehension and dislike, by those who are new to our rule, and who consider its progress as *tending to the gradual subversion* of their usages, and of the established order of the Community.—I do not know in Malwa any other impression that has taken such possession of men's minds, particularly amongst the higher classes, as their dread of our Adawlut Courts. Seeing in it a motive almost of hostility, I have labored to decrease its strength, and I have been pleased to find the sentiment unmixed with any thing derogatory to the European character. It is to the delays, the *levelling* principle of the general forms, the inattention to rank, and to the classes of Society, to the spirit of litigation it creates, to the expences, and to the whole train of Natives attached to our Adawlut Courts, from Vakeels down to Chuprasees, that they object; the latter, they contend, are usually men raised from the lowest classes to a situation in which they insult their superiors in birth and in tribe, in a measure that is in opposition to the principles on which the whole frame of Indian Society is formed. Though these feelings and opinions are no doubt exaggerated, still, as they exist, they merit attention, and I have sedulously directed my enquiries into the constitution of the administration of justice of the states of this quarter, with a hope that I might be able to obtain some information to aid what must always be the object of an enlightened government, the adaptation of its rules to the character and condition of those it has to govern. But I cannot conclude without stating my opinion that, if we ever establish Punjayet Courts on any extended scale, it will be found impracticable to do so with success,—unless we are so far satisfied of their comparative superiority, as to be reconciled to their imperfections and defects (what human institution is without them?), and we must continue, or they will fail as a matter of course, to consider them more as Indian than English Courts—I am convinced by many conversations

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I have had with some of the intelligent Natives of this country, as well as by my own experience and reflections, that every effort we make to improve the constitution and forms of these Courts, should be made with exclusive attention to their original character, and to that of the community for whom they have been instituted. Any admixture of the rules and proceedings of our Adawlut Courts will be fatal to them; for such must go to change their character, and to lose them (an essential point) that place they now have in the hearts of the people; but what is worse, the failure of an experiment made in this manner would in all likelihood not be attributed to the just cause, and be quoted in general condemnation of this simple, popular, and efficient system of penal and civil jurisprudence.

17. I have said more on the subject of this part of the administration of justice among Native states, because I have not only encouraged by every means within my power its revival in this province, but have established it according to the Native forms over the *few* districts subject *to my* direct authority, and have had recourse to it in settling a variety of disputes which have been *referred* to my decision.—My experience may be yet termed limited; but I can, as far as it goes, pronounce it quite satisfactory as to the excellence of the institution; and, above all, it appears to me to be calculated to prevent litigation, and to give as far as any Court of Judicature can give, satisfaction to all parties.

18. The eleventh part of the Report, which contains an account of the revenue of the states of Malwa, has engaged much of my attention.—Every detail was gone into to enable me to illustrate this part of the subject; for, in a country such as I had to describe, the administration of revenue may be termed that of government. The state of Malwa for the last twenty years has been such, that it was curious to ascertain how any system of revenue could have existed; but there was throughout that province a preserving principle in these municipal village institutions, which it has in common with other parts of India. The rights these gave to hereditary officers, and cultivators, were recognized, even when not respected by the worst of rulers; and they attached those who possessed them to the soil by ties, which no violence or oppression could destroy; but this is most fully explained in the body of the Report. Equal minuteness was thought necessary in all that regarded the past and present com-

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merce of this quarter, which was never altogether stagnant, even at the period of the greatest anarchy. The operation of interest, a regard for established usages, and some common prejudices, were at times the only links left in Society, but these kept up an intercourse between the most opposite branches of the community, sufficient to enable the industrious and profitable occupations of peace to live amidst a scene of warfare and confusion. The extreme of the evil produced its own remedy, and those who were in constant collision, plundering chiefs, bankers, Pindary leaders, merchants, freebooters, insurers, and hill robbers, came to an understanding, and to a certain point trusted each other. It is this fact, which accounts for much, of what, without the minutest enquiry, would have appeared inexplicable in the condition of Central India during the last twenty years; and it is remarkable that during the whole of the convulsions and revolutions, to which this part of the country has been exposed, not only a considerable interior, but a transit, trade has existed; this however, like the revenue system, has been explained, and the fullest notes and tables added to illustrate what has been stated. An account of the revenues of the province has also been given from the best materials that could be obtained.

19. The twelfth part of the Report, which attempts to convey to your Lordship in Council a clear view of the mixed population of Malwa, is in itself so full, that it requires no remark. The consequence of this subject as a guide to our future measures called for all the detail into which I have entered, and the correct tables of population which have been obtained of a great part of this Province, will be deemed valuable, not only as they exhibit its condition as to inhabitants, but as they furnish grounds for calculation in other parts of India. Your Lordship will notice with satisfaction the spirit of unreserved confidence with which these documents have been furnished by some of the Native Governments, and be pleased to learn that the benefit of such knowledge is so well appreciated, that arrangements have been made throughout their Territories by the ministers of HOLKAR and PUAR states for annual returns of births, deaths, removals, and new settlers. This is quite a spontaneous measure on their part, and was adopted subsequent to their compliance with my request, and has been entirely suggested by a sense of its utility, as connected with their own objects of internal Government. I have noticed this in the Report as a remarkable advance towards civilization.

20. The thirteenth and last part of the Report will, I am convinced, be regarded by your Lordship in Council with great satisfaction; for it exhibits a series of results flowing from the wisdom of your plans, and the vigour with which they have been carried into execution, which are as extraordinary as they are grateful to the best feelings of human nature; for there perhaps never was a change in the political condition of a country which has produced such an aggregate of encreased happiness to its inhabitants, as that which has been effected within the last three years in Central India. My task has been that of attending to those general principles which regulate every part of your Lordship's administration, and I have anxiously endeavoured to fulfil those expectations which led to my being entrusted with this charge. If, when approximating to the close of my duties, my mind may be permitted to dwell with satisfaction on any part of the success which has attended my efforts, it is the recollection that since the War terminated in A. D. 1818, with the exception of suppressing a few Bheel Robbers, the peace of this country has been restored and maintained, without one musket being fired. I viewed it from the first as a work which force could never accomplish; and if there is one ground beyond all others on which I rest my hopes for the future tranquillity of Malwa, it is that of its having been established in the manner described.

21. In the contrasted view which I have taken of the former and present condition of this Province, I have gone at considerable length into an explanation of the principles upon which I have acted, and have in notes and tables given an accurate account of all the specific obligations which the British Government has contracted with its rulers or chiefs. These are very numerous, but the necessity for encreasing them is to be anticipated, for they belong to that government of controul which we must continue, unless we abandon the care of the public peace. However alarming such multiplied pledges of our faith may appear when contemplated at a distance from the scene, I can pronounce on full experience, that with good management and scrupulous attention to their implicit observance, and to those fixed and understood principles upon which they are grounded, they will be found a source of strength, instead of embarrassment.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

J. MALCOLM, *M. G. and P. A. G. G.*

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Prefatory Observations.

1. IT is more than three years since I first commenced the collection of materials to form this Report. The delay in its completion has been caused by the state of the country, the difficulty of obtaining correct information, the press of other business, and the want of those regular departments, the aid of which, from the arrangement given to the duties they have to perform, so much facilitates a labor of this description. If, however, some disadvantages have arisen from this delay, it has had its benefits: A more correct knowledge of the subject has been attained; men have been induced, by the confidence that has been generally established, to communicate much that they would, if earlier questioned, have withheld; and even that additional personal attention which I have been compelled by circumstances to give to the minutest details of the Report (every part of which I have written) has had some use; for, though the task may be imperfectly executed, it has from this cause a sameness of character which cannot belong to such a document, when constructed from materials prepared by others. But though I have had little or none of that regular aid which would have accelerated the accomplishment of this labor, it is with the sincerest gratitude I add, that I have throughout had general assistance, of a much more valuable nature, from persons, the very association of whose names with the Report, is calculated beyond all other grounds to give it value and authenticity.

2. From Major AGNEW, Captains J. STEWART, J. BRIGGS, and J. LOW, who were attached to my family when I entered Malwa, I received the greatest aid. Major AGNEW contributed, during the period he acted as Resident at the Court of HOLKAR, much information; and Captain J. STEWART, since he has been acting Resident at Gualior, has continued to make the most valuable communications regarding the History and Government of the family of SCINDIAH and its dependants; and from

Captain J. BRIGGS, since he was appointed Commissioner of Candeish, I have received constant assistance. From Captain CAULFIELD, on his deputation to Jawud in 1818, which led to his being placed in the temporary management of that country, I received much useful information, and to this was added accounts from that officer of the neighbouring countries of Pertaubghur, Banswarrah, and Dongerpore, in obtaining which he was assisted by the late Lieutenant DYSON, an officer, whose zeal, combined with his attainments as an oriental scholar, made his early death a subject of much regret and disappointment. The aid of Captain CAULFIELD has been continued to me since he became Assistant to the Resident at Indore. My obligations to the latter, Mr. GERALD WELLESLEY, have throughout this labor been very considerable, and his efforts to assist me have not been limited to his opinions and suggestions regarding every part of the report, and to the numerous documents which he has had it in his power to furnish. He has been the medium through whom I have obtained papers and statements regarding the statistical account of the territories of the Holkar family, to which I attach great value.

3. I have received much useful information on many points, but particularly regarding the principality of Kotah, from Captain TOD, Political Agent in Western Rajpootanah; and to Major HENLEY, who has added to his duties as Political Agent at Bhopaul, the settlement of a number of Grassiah Chiefs, and the revenue management of Shujahalpore,* I owe not only much of the historical account of the Bhopaul family, but almost the whole of the minute details which I possess relative to the administration of revenue, and the classes and character of the inhabitants of Eastern Malwa. My obligations to my first Assistant, Captain A. MACDONALD, who has had for nearly two years superintending charge of the countries of Pertaubghur, Bauswarrah, Dongerpore, Loonewanah, Saonte, and Barriah, are very similar to those to Major HENLEY. From the general history of these principalities to the minutest details of their internal Government, Captain MACDONALD has furnished me with the most complete documents. From Captain BORTHWICK, who has for three years added to the command of the Horse of HOLKAR and GUFFOOR KHAN, the superintendance of the Rajahs of Rutlam, Sillanah, and Secta Mow, and the care of the public peace of the countries to the North and West of Ougein, I have received much aid. The interesting account, furnished in A. D. 1818, by Captain Low, of the turbulent tribe of Soandeesh, has been completed by this officer,

* This rich Pergunnah is divided into Eastern and Western, the former belonging to the English Government, and the latter to Scindiah; both are under the management of Major HENLEY.

cer, whose intimate knowledge of the mixed families and tribes of the quarter where he is stationed, has enabled him to give very full and minute information on all that related to them.

4. From Lieutenant Colonel SMITH, who had for more than two years the military command and civil charge of Mundlasir, and several districts belonging to the British Government on the Nerbuddah, and from his successor, Major T. WILSON, I have received every account I could desire to possess of those countries, and their inhabitants. Captain SPEARS, who now adds to his command of the Fort of Scindwah, the superintendance (in the Political Department) of the Petty Chiefs and Bheels, that inhabit countries between the Sautpoorah and Vaudhya Ranges, West of Kurgong and Durrumpooree to Goozerat, while my acting Assistant furnished me with a number of translations of local histories, and of original papers relative to Malwa, forwarded from the archives of Poonah and Nagpore; and to this valuable matter he has, since he held his present charge, added much minute information of the country in which he resides, and its inhabitants. I have also obtained in their reports of the different services on which they have been employed,—in the translations they have made,—and, above all, in the laborious task of revising the whole Report,—an aid from my acting Assistant, Captain N. ALVES, and Captain T. D. STEUART, without which I should, from the state of my health, have despaired of giving to several parts of it, particularly those on Revenue and Population (in which many and minute tables were necessary) that fulness and value which I trust they will now be judged to possess.

5. For the occasional aid I have received in the progress of this Report from the Assistant Surgeon of my Mission, Mr. WILSON, I am very grateful, as also for that afforded me by Captain DELAMAIN, of the 1st Battalion of the 7th Regiment, whose qualifications as an oriental scholar and general knowledge, made the assistance he gave me very valuable.

6. The merits of Lieutenant GIBBINGS in constructing the Map of Malwa, have been fully noticed in another place, as well as those of Lieutenants MITCHELL and MATHIAS, by whom he was assisted. A separate and full mention has been made of Captain DANGERFIELD, whose labors have not merely tended to give correctness and value to that geographical work, but have gone to illustrate, by observations and research, objects which have consequence beyond their local value, as being associated with the promotion of general science. To this officer I am also indebted for much of the information contained in the first part of the Report, as also many important

facts

facts in other parts of it, which relate to the produce of the country,—its trade,—the history and usages of its inhabitants, particularly of the Bheels, to whom his attention was early directed.

7. The names of the public officers that have been noticed will give (as has been stated) value and authenticity to this Report. Information and facts derived from such sources cannot be incorrect. But beyond the facts which they collected, and those which have been drawn from books, records and native manuscript papers, every effort was made to obtain from the most respectable of the inhabitants of Malwa, a knowledge of the past history, and the former and present condition of that province, and of the tribes, manners, and institutions of its mixed population The success in this attempt has been latterly far beyond what could at first have been expected, and from the confidence that has been established, both private individuals and public officers of the first rank, have been communicative in a degree beyond what I have ever known the same classes of men in any part of India. Information drawn from this source, though earnestly sought, has never been admitted, until established by corroborating facts: the details, indeed, which have been gone into to verify such communications, may be stated as one of the chief causes which has prevented the earlier completion of this labor.

8. In forming the Report of Malwa I have strictly confined myself to observations and facts, furnished from that Province. No analogies between its history, administration, or inhabitants, and those of other Provinces, have been marked; nor any inference from such, attempted to be drawn. My purpose was to describe the countries and people of Central India. To have passed this limit would have led to endless digression, in a public paper already of great length. Besides, it was thought that by abstaining from such comparisons, which almost forced themselves at every line, the mind would be better preserved from bias, and more equal to do justice to the specific object in view. The observation of this principle has no doubt led to the introduction of much matter, similar to what may be found in many documents already on the records of Government; but this was not desired to be avoided, much less could it be considered as ground for the admission of any one remark or fact necessary to illustrate the different subjects noticed in this Report.

CONTENTS

OF THE

Report of Malwa and Adjoining Countries.

PART FIRST.

PART FIRST.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE GEOGRAPHY, SOIL, CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS OF MALWA, &c.

THE Map which accompanies this Report comprizes Territory from twenty-one to twenty-five degrees North Latitude, and from seventy-three to eighty East Longitude; or from Chitore in Mewar North, to the Taptee River South, and from Bellary East to Broach and Surat West. There is attached to it a Memoir which explains its construction; and gives those geographical, and geological details that are connected with the subject. It will be here therefore only necessary to take a short view of the extent and general feature of Malwa and its adjoining Provinces, noticing the chief Towns, and adding a concise enumeration of the most important natural productions.

2d. The greatest part of the Territory which it is meant to describe, is comprized in the Mahomedan Soubah of Malwa, as given in the Institutes of ACKBER, but those limits differ essentially from the natural and ancient boundaries of the Province.

3d. According to ABOOL FAZIL, whose authority most European Geographers have followed, the Soubah of Malwa lies between the twenty-second and twenty-fifth degress of North Latitude, and the seventy-fifth and seventy-eighth of East Longitude, being on the North bounded by Nurwar and a Range of Hills, on the South by Boklanah,* on the West by Ajmere and Goojerat; its extent from Nunderbar to Chunderry being two hundred and thirty coss, and from Gurrah to Banswarrah two hundred and forty-five coss.

4th.

* Baglanah is no doubt meant.

4th. The general application of the term Malwa to such an extent of country appears to have had less reference to the original limits of that Province, than to the convenience and usage of the Delhi Government, which formed its vast Empire into Soubahs or Kingdoms, each of which was governed by a Soubahdar or Viceroy, and the principal Province within the circle gave its name to the whole; but we cannot have a stronger proof that they were political, not geographical denominations of countries, than we find in the changing limits of the different Soubahs of India, under the Mahomedan Rule. We must therefore adopt better grounds for fixing the actual boundaries, in a Geographical sense, of Malwa, than those given by ABOOL FAZIL.

5th. The mandates and institutions of the Moghul Emperors were alike unequal to alter the established usages of their Hindu subjects, or to make them forget the names and limits by which India was known to their ancestors; and these continued (whatever the Soubah was termed) to preserve their ancient divisions; from which it appears, that besides Malwa Proper, the dependant but separate countries of Hurrowtee on the North East, of Nemaur to the South, and the hilly tract of Rath, Raugur, Kantul, and part of Mewar to the West and North West, were included by Mahomedans in that Province, which according to Hindu record, supported by the strong evidence of marked natural boundaries, consists merely of the level elevated plain extending from the Vindhya Mountains South in 22° to the Chittore and Mokundra range North, in 24° 30' North Latitude, and from Bhopal East 77° 30' to Mundissore, Rutlam, and Dohud West, in 75° of East Longitude, within these limits it maintains an uniform character, and in no part can they be passed, without a distinct change in the features and elevation of the country.

6th. Malwa may therefore be concisely described as a high table land, consisting of a gently undulating inclined plain, in general open, and highly cultivated, varied with small conical and table crowned hills and low ridges, watered by numerous rivers and small streams, and favoured with a rich and highly productive soil, and a mild climate,

alike

alike conducive to the health of man, and the liberal supply of his wants and luxuries.

7th. Had we sufficient grounds for supposing that the sources of Rivers denote the most elevated parts of the Globe, Malwa might, as containing the origin of several which either directly or by communication empty themselves into the sea at opposite sides of India, claim to be considered as one of the highest tracts in its continental part, and though it in few places attains a greater height above the level of the Sea than two thousand feet, yet from the uniform nature of the country through which these streams find their way to the Ocean, and the little variation in their banks, we shall probably not err much in assigning this Province a greater elevation, than most parts between the Northern Mountains of Hindostan and the Nerbuddah; though probably the Land of Omerkuntah, where that River rises, may be higher, but its elevation even will be found less than that of the great central table range which divides the Southern parts of the Peninsula of India.

8th. Excepting to the North West, there is a rise towards the Province of Malwa from all quarters; to the South it is elevated one thousand seven hundred feet above the Valley of the Nerbuddah or Nemaur, and this occurs in a very short distance from the abrupt ascent of the Vindhya Mountains which have little declivity towards the North. Though less strongly marked to the East and West, there is an equally well indicated ascent over the hilly tracts (branches of the Vindhya) which on the East pass Bhopal * and on the West divide this Province from Goojerat and Mewar. To the North West there is an ascent to Mewar at the Chittore range, which is about two hundred feet high; but as the plain of Malwa declines to this point, more than that amount, and the country beyond it, or West of it, begins again to descend, none but the highest lands of Mewar can perhaps be considered on a level with the Southern parts of Malwa.

9th.

* Bhopal, the Capital of this Province, forms on the East the same exact boundary as Dohud does on the West, one Gate of Bhopal is considered in Malwa, whilst the opposite belongs to Goandwarra.

9th. It has been observed that Malwa is watered by several rivers, which are fed by numerous tributaries, and these streams in every direction intersect and fertilize the Province. Amongst the principal we may enumerate the Chumbul and Chumbla, the great and lesser Kalee Scind, the Mhye, Seepra, Parbuttee, Newy and Ahor. To these must be added, though not strictly within the limits of the Province, the Nerbuddah which runs nearly East and West, and a few streams which run into it: all the other Rivers of Malwa have a Northerly direction.

10th. The Mhye, which is in Guzerat, a broad fine stream, attains in Malwa no great size or body of water; it has its rise in a small plain five miles West of Amjherrah, and shortly after passing Bhopawur, pursues a Northerly course till it reaches the upper confines of Bagur, where the boundary hills give it a sudden turn Westward past Mongana: it is however soon diverted from this direction by the high primary Mountains of Mewar, which bend it South, and this course it pursues with little deviation till it falls into the Sea in the Gulf of Cambay, near the Town of that name. This river is not deemed navigable above twelve or fifteen miles from its mouth, owing to its numerous fords.

11th. The Chumbul may be said to have no distinct source, its origin consisting of several mountain streams of the Vindhya, about nine miles South West of Mhow; most of which becoming dry during the hot season, have little claims to notice, and it is only after the junction of several of these in the plain that a stream exists throughout the year. The current of this river is in most parts gentle, its bed rocky, and much obstructed by shallows, whilst traversing Malwa; but after entering Hurrowtee by an opening in the Chittore and Mokundra range, it becomes a fine and deep stream.

12th. By the minute surveys which have been made of its course, it appears that the Nerbuddah is navigable for small craft from the sea to eleven miles above Tulluckwarrah, a distance of more than one hundred

miles,

miles; but it then becomes impracticable, running through a wild and hilly tract for a distance of ninety miles, in some parts of which its breadth is so diminished, and its current so obstructed by rocks and shallows, that its navigation is altogether impossible. Above the Hurn Pahl, or Deer's leap, it is narrow and rapid, but becomes again navigable about fifteen below Chiculdah, and with the exception of a few places where short land carriage might be established, continues so for some distance to the Eastward of Hussingabad.

13th. The temperature of Malwa is in general not only mild, but the range of the Thermometer unusually small, excepting during the latter part of the year, when great and sudden changes often take place; and though during the two months immediately succeeding the Rainy Season (when the hilly and woody parts should be shunned) fevers prevail here as in other parts of India, yet the climate must on the whole be considered as salubrious,* and to those enervated by a long residence in the lower and warmer plains of India, pleasant and invigorating. The Seasons are those common to Western India, and may chiefly be distinguished as the Rainy, the Cold, and the Hot. The fall of rain during the Months of June, July, August and September, is here in general mild and regular, and may in common Seasons be estimated at about fifty inches. During this season, the range of the Thermometer is exceedingly small, seldom falling lower than 72° night and morning, or rising higher than 76° or 77° at noon; a few showers occur also in December and January, derived from the other monsoons of Eastern India. The cold is here often severe during the night, and the hour immediately preceding and succeeding sun-rise, and the winds from the North East, which often blow at this time, do sometimes great injury to the poppy, gram and other dry crops, which have then attained half their growth.—Though the mornings become cooler soon after the close of the Rainy Season, the cold chiefly takes place

* The prevailing complaint among the Natives of Malwa is fever and agues towards the close of the year. To the West of the Chumbul, an enlargement of the Spleen is very general; it has been ascertained that the Cholera Morbus which has so lately spread over India as an epidemic, always exists as a disease in this Province.

place in December, January and part of February. In the latter month in 1820 the Thermometer stood at 6 o'clock in the morning at 28°. During the Hot Season which succeeds, the parching winds from the Northward and Westward that prevail in most parts of India to an intense degree, are here much milder and of little duration. The Thermometer however during the day rises sometimes as high as 97°, 98°: but the nights are invariably cool and refreshing in Malwa. The meteorological registers however attached to the Memoir which accompanies the map, will best illustrate this part of the subject.

14th. As consisting of a flat and basaltic formation, no variety of metallic minerals can be looked for in Malwa. Iron ore of good quality is plentiful, and in the boundary hills and primary mountains of Mewar and Marwar which extend to the North West between this Province, Goojrat and Ajmere, copper and lead * mines are stated to have been formerly worked to some extent, and with considerable profit to the State: but during the late troubled times, this work was stopped, and it has not yet been resumed.

15th. The soil of Malwa, though generally of little depth, is celebrated for its fertility, it mostly consists of either a loose rich black loam, or a more compact ferrugineous mould, according to the basaltic rock from whose decomposition it has been principally derived; add to this the facility of artificial irrigation, and few parts of India will be found to possess greater natural advantages.

16th. Amongst the objects of cultivation, grains, small pulses, and the poppy for the extraction of opium, are the principal, and constitute a great portion of the export trade of the Province. Of the drug upwards of ten thousand maunds, or about 350,000 pounds of avoirdupois weight, are annually produced, of which quantity six thousand maunds may be reckoned surplus for exportation. Amongst the grains we may chiefly enumerate wheat, gram, peas, jowarry,

bajrie,

* Many assert that besides these metals, silver and tin have been found in the hills.

bajrie, moong, oorud, Indian corn, and toowur; of the two first the largest amount is exported. Rice is grown in small quantities for internal use, and there is cultivated more than sufficient for home consumption, of sugar cane, tobacco, cotton, linseed, teel or sweet oil plant, garlick, turmeric and ginger. Indigo is also raised in small quantities, and the morindo citrifolia, is, on account of its root which affords an excellent red dye, and is a considerable article of commerce, reared to a great extent.

17th. Fruits are said to have been formerly in great abundance and perfection, and ABOOL FAZIL mentions the luxuriance which the vine attained in Malwa. A mango is now produced said to have been originally introduced from Goa by the Mahrattas, which is in size and flavor in no degree inferior to those of its parent stock. But gardens have for the last thirty years received little attention in this Province, and the generality of its fruits are not remarkable for their quality, nor in great abundance.

18th. There are in Malwa and the adjoining Provinces many forests, several of which in the lower countries to the Westward abound in fine timber, particularly the teak, but these will be noticed hereafter as forming a valuable article of commerce.

19th. In the animals, wild and tame, little difference can be expected from those found in other parts of India. Amongst the wilder classes inhabiting the hilly and woody tracts, we may enumerate the tiger, leopard, bear, wolf, hyæna, wild hog, antelope, neelgahee, or white footed antelope, sombre and other deer species. The skin of the sombre when well prepared, forms an excellent material for the Military accoutrements of the Soldiers of the Native Powers, and is exported to the neighbouring countries.

20th. Amongst other domestic animals common to India, horned cattle are here in great numbers, are much esteemed, and constitute a large article of export. The milch cows of Newaur are particularly

famed

famed. Sheep and goats are neither numerous nor held in any estimation, but the neighbouring Provinces of Ajmere and Mewar have them in great numbers, and of a good kind.

21st. Though horses are reared in Malwa, it has never obtained a high reputation for the breed of that animal, arising in some measure probably from the proximity of the celebrated breeding Province Kuttywar, and the preference given by the Mahomedans to the Northern horse, and by the Mahrattas to the fine breed which they brought with them from the Deckan.

22d. Camels are seldom bred in Malwa, nor does the climate seem favorable to that animal; they are mostly brought from the dry, sandy, and warmer plains of Marwar, where they are reared in great numbers, and of superior size and strength.

23d. Fish of good size and flavor abound in most of the rivers of Malwa, but as neither these, nor the small animals of chace and birds of sport and prey differ from those known in other parts of India, any distinct enumeration is unnecessary.

24th. The principal cities and towns of Malwa are included in the following list: Ougein, Indore, Dhar, Rutlam, Nolye, or Burnugger, Katchrode, Ooneil, Mundissore, Jawud, Rampoorah, Bampoorah, Munossah, Kookreysir, Auggur, Seronge, Bhilsah, Shujahalpore, Ashta, Shahjehanpore, Dewass, Dug, Gungraur, Tal, Mundawul, Mahidpore, Sarungpore, Bhopal, Dohud, and Mandoo. Of these the most ancient is doubtless Ougein, which ranks high among the sacred cities noticed in the Pooranahs, and is mentioned by Greek historians; but the modern Ougein stands two miles South of the former city which is said to have been overwhelmed by a shower * of earth.

25th

* The same occurrence is related of several other towns of Malwa, Bagur and Nemaur, and may by the advocate for the ingenious origin of basaltic formations, be supposed to refer to some great volcanic action, of which this tradition is the only trace.

25th. Next in rank we may perhaps place Dhar, or Dharanugguree, as still called by the Hindus ; it is probably the ancient Dharanuggur, but its importance in the authentic history of Malwa is chiefly derived from its becoming on the transfer from Ougein, the seat of the Rulers of that Province previously to their final establishment at Mandoo. This last city, though containing noble and interesting remains, has long since been entirely desolate, but will be hereafter noticed.

26th. Indore, as a city, is of modern date. The former Mahratta Capital was Kumpail, then a considerable town, eighteen miles South East of Indore, but now dwindled into an insignificant village. That part of the Holkar Capital called Joonah or old Indore, was a small Village, the scite of which pleased ALEA BAEE, who encamped at it after the death of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR. She ordered the Amildar or Head Officer of the District to remove to it from Kumpail, and having built a new city on the opposite or Western bank of the small clear stream which flowed past it, gave it the same name of Indore. Her partiality for this spot soon raised it to a state of comparative prosperity, though she continued through life to reside in Nemaur at the city of Mheysir.

27th. The origin of Bhilsah and Mundissore, though doubtless ancient, is involved in fable common to all early Hindu history. The former is said to have been built by RAMCHUNDER himself, and the latter by his Son DUSRUT, who gave his name to the city, which it retained till modern times, when it was corrupted to Dussore,* and is now generally called Mundissore.

28th. Shujahalpore and Shajehanpore derive their names from their founders. The former was built by SHUJAH KHAN, one of the most distinguished rulers of Malwa, and the latter by the Emperor SHAH JUHAN.

29th. Seronge, corrupted from Sheer Gunge, derives its name and origin from its scite, becoming the Cantonments of the Emperor SHEER SHAH.

30th.

* The Western Rajpoots still call this city Dussore.

30th. Rutlam was greatly increased, andaccording to some accounts, entirely founded during the reign of SHAH JEHAN by RUTTUN SINGH, a Rhattore Rajpoot, on whom the District of which it is now the Capital was bestowed as a reward for Military services.

31st. Nolye was built by Rajah NOL of Nowul, its modern appellation of Burnugger has its origin in a strange vulgar superstition of names of bad omen, which must not be pronounced before the morning meal. The last term merely signifies the new Fort, but extraordinary as this usage may appear, it is still religiously observed, and the city is called either Noyle or Burnuggur, according to the hour in which its mention becomes necessary.

32d. Sarunpore is an ancient city and the head of a Sircar or large division of the country. It was greatly improved by BAZ BAHADUR, the last Mussulman Prince of Malwa, who assumed the title of King.

33d. Bhopal, we are told, derived its name from its Rajpoot founder, who is said to have been the Minister of the celebrated Hindoo Rajah BHOJ, and was built at the same time that his master formed the present district of Tal into a lake, and founded near it the city of Bhojpore, now in ruins.

34th. The whole of Malwa and the adjoining countries abound with ruined towns and temples*, of which it is now often difficult to trace the scites or names; many of these deserve the notice of the antiquary, both from the remains of Architecture, Sculpture and various inscriptions.

35th. Having already enumerated the common productions, vegetable and animal, of Malwa, it would be useless to dwell upon the slight local differences in the quality of kinds of grains cultivated, caused by the nature of the country, and the numbers and habits of its inhabitants.

It

* The ruins at Wone eleven miles from Kurgond in Nemaur, obviously belonged to the Sect of Jain. The Cave Temples at Bagh in Rath have, from the figures and symbols that remain, appertained to the Boodhists, whilst the excavated Temples at Dunmar (near the Chumbul north east of Mundissore) have been alike devoted to the Boodhists, and Braminical form of worship in the same manner as the celebrated Caves of Ellora in the Deckan. There are in the country of Bagur many Hindu sacred buildings which are stated to contain fine sculpture.

It will be sufficient to take a short notice of the geographical limits, soil, and chief towns of those districts which adjoin Malwa, and have been so much under the same rule as to be considered parts of that Province.

PROVINCE OF NEMAUR.

36th. NEMAUR is that part of the village of the Nerbuddah lying between Hindia East and Kotra or the Kooksee district on the West, and between the Vindhya range North, and the Satpoorah range South. Its length is about one hundred and thirty miles, and its general breadth from thirty to forty miles, but in the centre it may be reckoned above seventy. On the north bank of the Nerbuddah the boundary range seldom recedes more than eighteen miles from its banks, and at Hurn* Pahl on the western extremity of the Province, the two ranges are merely divided by this river. The greater part of Nemaur is a fertile undulating plain, once perfectly open, flourishing and highly cultivated, but of late years overrun in many parts, from total neglect, with low jungle. The western portion on both sides the river, including Burwanee, Checuldah, Durrempooree, Sooltanabad, Tieree and as far as Kurgond, is generally level and cultivated, but the eastern portion from the west of the sacred Island of Mundatta† to Kautkote is, on the northern bank‡ of the Nerbuddah, one mass or cluster of low hills covered with thick jungle, and almost entirely desolate, excepting on the immediate borders of the river, where the predatory Rajpoot Chiefs found fastnesses secure from pursuit, whence till the establishment of our power, they issued and rendered tributary the neighbouring Districts from Asseer to the gates of India. On the Southern bank for three or four miles the same features exist, but beyond that the Country

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* The name of the Hurn Pahl is derived from the circumstance of the river being here obstructed by large masses of basalt, rising about 10 or 11 feet above the ordinary level of the stream, and giving passage to the river merely through three narrow channels, across which it is supposed by successive bounds an antelope can cross the river.

† This Island is about thirty-eight miles above Mheysir, and is a great religious resort of Pilgrims from all quarters, as containing the Shrines of Onkar, one of the incarnations of Mahadeo, and as having been one of his twelve places of residence on this earth.

‡ This part on the North of the Nerbuddah from Kautkote to Nimaivur opposite Hindia, is deemed by the Natives part of Goandwarrah, and the Ryuts speak Goandee.

Country resembles other parts of the Province, excepting that from the desertion or destruction of its population, less cultivation exists, and low jungle has in most parts taken its place.

37th. The soil of Nemaur is not unsimilar to that of Malwa, and its pasturage is reckoned peculiarly fine. Besides the Nerbuddah, which traverses its whole length, it is well watered by the several tributaries and mountain streams of that river. The greatest part of the lands on the Northern bank, belongs to the Governments of DHAR, and HOLKAR, excepting the small district of Bancaneer, which is SCINDEAH's, and the hilly portion which Rajpoot and Bheel Chiefs continue to possess. Mheysir must be considered the principal, and almost only place of note in Nemaur, and might in antiquity and importance claim the title of its capital. This ancient city which is pleasantly situated close on the Northern bank of the Nerbuddah, and which has a Fort elevated above the town, always constituted, with its attached lands, a distinct portion, probably from having been long under the immediate management of the head of the HOLKAR family, when it was their Capital. That benefit which it formerly derived from being the residence of ALIAH BAE, is now given to it as containing the ashes of this great and venerated woman. Public buildings of different kinds are erecting, and a most spacious and highly finished flight of stone steps from the town to the river, meant with adjoining Temples to be dedicated to her memory, is nearly completed.

38th. With the exception of the small District of Burwanee, the greatest part of Southern Nemaur consists of the ancient Sircar or Government of Beejaghur, the name of which is now only preserved in the ruins of the Capital, situated on a large hill fort in the Sautpoorah range. This Sircar, like others, underwent, during the Mahomedan sway, different modifications. One writer mentions that in the eighth year of the reign of SHAH JEHAN the Sircar of Beejagurh, part of the Hindia District, and some others in the space between the Nerbuddah and the Taptee, were

directed

directed to be incorporated into the Soubah of Candeish; and Asoot. Fazil calls Bejagurh the capital of Candeish, and states it to have been for a long time the residence of its Viceroy. These arbitrary changes confirm what has been said regarding the usage of the Dehli Government. Hindu tradition, corroborated by names of Districts and by difference of language (a very strong testimony,) places as the Southern boundary of Nemaur the Sautpoorah range; according to them the hill Fort of Aseer* is the boundary of the two Provinces, and by some is said to be half in Nemaur, and half in Candeish.

PROVINCE OF RATH.

39th. From the Vindhya range on the Western extremity of Nemaur, there extends North a hilly tract separating Malwa from Goojerat, whose general breadth is from fifty to seventy miles, and which terminates in the upper extremity of Mewar. The Southern portion of this, between Dohud and Tandlah, and the Nerbuddah, constitutes what the Hindus term Rath, and contains the petty states of Jabooah, Ally, Babra, Jobut, and the lands of their several dependant Takoors, the great proportion of whose subjects are Bheels. Though a considerable portion of this District consists of rocky hills, and thick forests, yet many fine fertile and well watered valleys occur throughout it, formed by the successive ranges of hills pursuing almost invariably a Northerly direction nearly parallel and equi-distant. It forms an intermediate step elevated above Goojerat, and rising towards Malwa, but neither in climate nor production is it equal to the latter; but from the multitude of its streams tributaries of the Nerbuddah and Mhye, and the greater proportion of valley, or merely undulating country, it possesses a superiority over the Northern portion of the same hilly tract of country.

40th. Rath has, with the exception of the capitals of the petty states, few large towns or villages. Amongst the former Jabooah principally merits notice, from its beautifully romantic situation in a small rich valley, near the base of a low range of hills.

* This strong Fortress, according to popular tradition, derives its name from its founder Assa, a rich and celebrated Hindu Zemindar or Landholder of the Aheer tribe, and by corruptions Assa Aheer has been converted to Asseer.

Notwithstanding its hilly nature, this Province has through it many good roads leading to Goojerat; the hills abound in iron ore, which however is only melted at the small town of Baug, and the forests afford besides the teak and bamboos, many useful timber trees, adapted not only to building, but to many other useful and ornamental purposes.

PROVINCE OF BAGUR.

42d. The Province of Bagur is a continuation of the same hilly tract, and is divided from Rath by merely a narrow slip of Malwa, which projects into it from Paitlawud to Dohud. It is bounded on the North by Kantril and Mewar, and East and West by Malwa, and Goojerat. The Country in no essential point differs from that of Rath, but in the lesser number of its streams, fewer vallies, and less cultivation, excepting on its Northern extremity, which is fine soil, and very fruitful. The principal part of the inhabitants of Bagur are also Bheels and Meenas of the cultivating classes, under the rule of Rajpoot Chiefs and Thakoors. The great part of this Province belongs to the petty Princes of Banswarra and Dongurpore, whose capitals with Saugwara constitute almost the only places of any note in the Country. Many ruined towns, villages, temples and interesting Hindu antiquities, are however scattered over its Northern portion, indicative of a former state of high prosperity and cultivation. The roads through it leading by the Dongurpore and Looneewarah passes into Goojerat, are good and much travelled. From its more extensive and thick forests, fevers of a malignant nature are prevalent during the two months immediately succeeding the Rainy Season, nor can the climate at any period of the year be deemed pleasant or salubrious.

PROVINCE OF KANTUL.

43d. Kantul is a small District lying between Bagur and Mewar, and extending westward from Mundissore to the Banswarrah and Oodeypore territories. Its length is about forty miles, and breadth from twenty to twenty-five miles. It comprizes the principal part of the territories of the Rajah of Purtaubghur. Its capital is a large fortified

town,

town, but his chief residence has always been at Dewla twelve miles West. The greater part of the country is level, open, and well cultivated, and is much higher than Bagur, and nearly of the same elevation as that part of Malwa* adjoining. Roads to Goojerat, Kattywar, and Kutch lead also through this Province. The soil of Kuntal is good, and produces Opium and other Crops of Malwa. It is well watered by small tributary streams of the Mhye, which passes near its Southern boundary.

PROVINCE OF HURROWTEE.

44th. Hurrowtee lies on the North East extremity of Malwa, and is separated from it by the Mokindra Hills, and the continuation of the Chittore range; it extends North to Hurrowtee and East from Dandour to Mewar West. It possesses the general features and the same natural advantages as Malwa, with the exception of its climate, which from its mere elevated hilly girdle is much warmer, and less salubrious. Its elevation however differs little from that of the adjoining part of Malwa, and it is equally fertilized by the Kalee Scind, Parbuttee, Chumbul and Ahor Rivers, which in their passage through this District, become considerable streams. The principal Towns are Kotah, Pattun, and Boondee, the first and last of which are the capitals of the Rajpoot Princes who divide this Province. But Pattun, or as commonly called Jalrapatam, founded by the Raj Rana Zalim Singh of Kotah, has within fifteen years risen from a village to be one of the most beautiful and opulent cities in Malwa.

45th. The hilly belt, which forms the Eastern boundary of the level plains of Malwa, and which appears to divide that Province from Bundelcund in the same way as Rath and Bagur separate it from Goojerat, contains the small Provinces of Chanderry, Keechewarra and Aheerwara. This limit to the Eastward does not correspond with that assigned by Abool Fazil, who computes the breadth of the Soubah from Gurrah to Banswarrah

* Some intelligent Hindus whom I have spoken to, account part of Kantal in Malwa, but the name signifies border or boundary.

warrah at two hundred and forty-five *coss, a distance which compels us to conclude that of three Gurrahs in this quarter, that termed Gurrah Mundelah, or Gurrah Jubbelpoor, is the one alluded to. The circumstance of this last District, which like Nemaur lies along the Nerbuddah below the Vindhya range, having several Countries between it and the plains of Malwa, little connected with the latter, and whose inhabitants speak a different dialect, is no reason why these lands should not have been included in the Soubah, as constituted under the Delhi Government. But there appears every reason to believe, that Malwa was originally bounded by the hilly tract already noticed, which touching Nurwour on the North, connects it with Hurrowtee and the Chittore range, and joins on the South East the Vindhya Mountains, which, throughout, form the most marked of all the natural boundaries of the Province.

* The Coss is in general estimated at forty-two to the Degree.

PART SECOND.

HISTORY OF MALWA.

1st. The History of Malwa, like that of the rest of India, is involved in darkness and fable; but Ougein, which may still, from its superior magnitude, be deemed the Capital of this Province, has perhaps more undoubted claims to remote antiquity than any inhabited city in India; it being not only mentioned in the Mookundeya Poorana of the Hindus, but in the Periplus of the Erythrian sea, and by PTOLEMY. We can trace from Hindu tradition the existence of Malwa as a separate Province, eight hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, when DUNJEE, to whom a divine origin* is given, restored the power of the Brahmins, which, it is stated, had been destroyed by the Boodhists; many remains of whose religion are still to be found in this part of India, particularly near Baug,† a town sixty-six miles south west of Dhar. In the excavation of the Mountains which are very considerable at that spot, we trace both in the form of the temples, and in that of the figures and symbols which they contain the peculiar characteristics of the Boodh worship.

2d. According to Hindu records, the family of DUNJEE had reigned three hundred and eighty-seven years, when PUTRAJ the fifth in descent dying without issue, ADUT POWAR (a Rajpoot Prince) ascended the Throne, establishing the Powar dynasty, which continued upwards of one thousand and fifty-eight years to rule over Malwa.

3d.

* This tale is supposed by some to refer to his being of the race of Soorujbuns or Solar race, but most accounts describe DUNJEE a Bheel, and there can be no doubt that degraded race enjoyed power in this part of the country at a very remote period.

† The principal Boodh is not so old as eight Centuries before Christ, his age has been accurately ascertained by coincident Astronomical calculations to be about five and a half centuries before Christ (Vide Asiatic Researches.) There are however strong reasons for conjecturing that there were two distinct Boodhs often confounded with each other, the first came about one thousand years before Christ, the second about five hundred and fifty years before Christ; again there was a third, about two hundred and fifty years after Christ.

3d. During the period that DUNJEE's family held Malwa, we find no particular mention of them until about seven hundred and thirty years before Christ, when DUNJEE's successor is said to have shaken off his dependance on the sovereign of Dehli.* We lose even these indistinct traces of Malwa after the above period, till near our own era, when VICRAMADITYA or VICRAMAJEET, the celebrated son of GUNDUROHUN SENEE or GUNDWOH, who married the daughter of the DHAR Rajah, assumed possession of this Province; and afterwards acquired the general Empire of Hindostan by expelling SHUKADITYA the Kumaon usurper, who had dethroned Rajah POLU, the King of Dehli.

4th. The early History of VICRAMAJEET, however mixed with fable, merits notice. That Prince was the encourager of learning and the arts;* he had no estate assigned him by his father, and lived for a considerable time with his illegitimate brother BURTREE at Ougein, their Capital of the kingdom of Malwa, of which BURTREE was Governor. A quarrel however arising between the brothers, VICRAMAJEET left Ougein, and travelled for a considerable period in great poverty over Goojerat, and other parts of India. On his return to Malwa he found, that his brother, disgusted at the infidelity of his wife, had resigned all wordly concerns, and become a Jogee, or religious Mendicant. He therefore assumed charge of the Kingdom, and from that period gradually established his power over Hindostan. He is described by some writers as having restored the Hindu Monarchy to that splendor which it had lost in consequence of a succession of weak Sovereigns, whose characters had encouraged the Governors of distant Provinces to rebel, and to form the territories committed to their charge into independent states. It must however be confessed that this account of VICRAMAJEET has as yet been supported by no substantial proof, and many arguments

* The name of this Sovereign was ROHATA, and is said in antient Indian History or rathar fable, to have been placed on the Throne by ASBAWAL King of Persia, who had deposed SINKAL for withholding the accustomed tribute.

† To this Prince we owe one of the principal Hindu Eras, which is still distinguished by his name.

arguments have been adduced to shew his rule was more limited. His great name and reputation over all India afford however strong ground for believing his power was very extended.

5th. Of the successors of VICRAMAJEET nothing occurs worthy of notice till the eleventh in descent the celebrated Rajah BHOJ* (remarkable for the misfortunes of his youth) changed the seat of Government to Dhar, where it continued, till by the Mahomedan conquest it was transferred to Mandoo.

6th. On the death of JYE CHUND, who succeeded Rajah BHOJ, none of the Powars being deemed worthy of the Crown, it was placed on the head of JEETPAUL, a celebrated Rajpoot Zemindar, who established the Towur dynasty, which lasted one hundred and forty-two years. It was succeeded by that of the Chouhans which began in the person of JUGDEO and lasted one hundred and sixty-seven years. The fourth of this dynasty, Rajah BASDEO, assumed the Imperial titles, and we are informed carried the Arts of Hindostan to great perfection, and in every respect increased the fame and prosperity of the Empire.

7th. During the reign of MALDEO, the last of this dynasty (and we may almost say of the Hindu Princes of Malwa), part of the Province was seized by AUNUNDEO a chief of the Tribe of BYST. But on the death of the former, not only Malwa, but a great part of the Dehli Empire, fell under the Mahomedan dominion.

8th. In the conclusion of this short view of the first Princes of

* The History of BHOJ is like that of VICRAMAJEET blended with fable; he is stated to have vowed in expiation of the sacrifice of her own life made by his mother to give him birth, to erect Mounds to arrest the Streams of nine Rivers, and ninety-nine Rivulets; he discovered a Pergunnah in his Territories singularly calculated to facilitate the performance of this vow, by building a great Mound between two Hills which arrested the Current of nine Rivers and ninety-eight lesser streams; he formed the whole into a great Lake. The Mound said to have been made by him was destroyed by Aurungzebe, and the streams (among which is Bitwa) allowed to pursue their courses, leaving the District of Tal on the lake the most fruitful of all Bhopaul, having no less than 360 Villages. The remains of the Antient City of Bhojpore, with ruins of many Temples, are near the Mound; it is still under the same name a flourishing Village; the remaining ninety-ninth stream was dammed by his Dewan, whose name Bhopal was given to a Village built near the Dam that forms the present Lake or Tank of the city of Bhopal.

of Malwa it is to be remarked, that all accounts written or traditionary, combine to prove that it was a dependency of the Hindu Empire of Dehli—though, like other divisions of the empire, its rulers frequently assumed sovereign power, and maintained that through several generations.

9th. The early history of the Hindu Princes of Malwa though dark and unsatisfactory, merits notice; for almost all we know regarding them, is implanted in the memory of its present inhabitants.

10th. It would be alike useless and tedious, to trace minutely the history of Malwa for a long period, after the first Mahomedan conquest, which exhibits nothing but a series of troubles and confusion, in which this Province appears to have almost lost its rank as a distinct division of antient India.* Its boundaries subsequent to this date, varied with the success of its several Usurpers. One fact however appears clear, that the Country was only partially subdued. Hindu Princes and chiefs were in almost every district, opposing the progress of the Invaders, and often with such success as to establish dynasties of three or four generations, who ruled over a considerable part of Malwa. Kummur Udeen the second in descent from Shaick Shah Ghizni, who first invaded the province, was slain by Cheetpaul, a Chouhan chief of the Race of Maldeo. These revolutions continued to be frequent till its more complete conquest by Bahadur Shah, which took place during the reign of Shah Udeen of Dehli, who put that leader to death, and appointed as his successor in Malwa, Dila-
A. D. 1387. wur Khan Ghoree. The latter chief taking advantage of the flight of Mahomed Toghluck, and the confusion into which India was thrown by the invasion of Timur, constituted Malwa into a kingdom, of which he may be considered the first Mahomedan monarch.

11th. Dilawur Khan assumed all the ensigns of royalty, and established his capital at the city of Dhar, which still presents in the ruins with

* Malwa, we are told by Ferishta, was one of the fifty Kingdoms into which India was divided at the earliest period of Hindu Government.

which it is surrounded, the history of this change. The materials of its finest temples appear to have been appropriated to build Palaces and Mosques* for its new sovereign. This city did not however long remain the capital of the Mahomedans. ALIF KHAN (the son of DILAWUR KHAN) who became celebrated under the name of HOSHUNG SHAH, removed the seat of Government to Mandoo, where he had before resided, and according to FERISHTA, exercised a separate A. D. 1404.
Government.

12th. Mandoo lies nearly south east, and at a distance of fifteen miles from Dhar, and had been irregularly fortified according to the Hindu accounts, by a Prince of the name of JYE SINGH DEO,† but we do not find it mentioned as a capital, and though long before inhabited, we may refer its origin, as a place of any importance, to HOSHUNG SHAH, on whose death it became the seat of Government of his family.

13th. The scite of Mandoo was very inviting. The space chosen by HOSHUNG SHAH for his future capital, is thirty-seven miles in circumference. It extends along the crest of the Vindhya range (nearly opposite to Dhurmpooree) about eight miles, and is parted from the table land of Malwa, with which it is upon a level by an abrupt and rugged valley of unequal depth, but no where less than two hundred feet, and generally from three to four hundred yards in breadth. On the brink of this valley (which after rounding the city descends in the form of wide and rugged ravines to the lower country, both to the east and west,) and on the summit of the ridge of the Vindhya hills which form the southern face of Mandoo, a wall of considerable height was built, which added

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* I took, when last at Dhar, a fine polished stone tablet of large dimensions, on which there was a Hindu Inscription from a ruined Mosque, where this sacred writing had been placed as the floor of the Mimbur or pulpit of the Mahomedan place of worship.

† This Prince, according to Hindu fable, was assisted in accomplishing his work by the possession of the Parus Puttur or Philosopher's Stone, which was found during his Reign by a Grass-cutter. Its properties were discovered by a Black-smith, who carried it to JYE SINGH DEO. This Prince after using it to make gold enough to defray the expence of building Mandoo, is said to have given it to the Priest of his family, who displeased at receiving a stone, threw it before its value was explained to him, into the Nerbuddah, when sensible of what he had done, he sprung after it in the vain hope of recovering it, but his efforts to reach the bottom of the river were in vain. Credulous Hindus believe that at the place where this occurred, the Nerbuddah became and continues to be unfathomable.

ed to the natural strength of the ground, made it unassailable by any but regular attack, and this advantage, which gave security to property' combined with the salubrity of the air, abundance of water, and the rich nature of the ground that was encircled within the limits of the new capital, caused it early to attain a state of great prosperity.

14th. HOSHUNG SHAH, though his reign commenced in adversity (he was made prisoner by the Monarch of Goojerat, almost immediately after he ascended the throne) afterwards acquired great fame. He engaged in hostilities with the Rulers, south of the Nerbuddah, and to facilitate operations against the Hindu Prince of Goandwarrah, he built a town and fort, on the left bank of the Nerbuddah, to which he gave his own* name. This involved him in hostilities with the Mahomedan Kings of the Bahminian dynasty, which were attended with various fortune, but he was ultimately successful. He defeated and slew NURSINGH the ruler of Goandwarrah, and took his rich capital of Kirlah, which with the adjoining country remained in his possession. HOSHUNG died
A. D. 1433. immediately after this success, having reigned thirty years. His remains were brought from Hoosungabad to his new capital of Mandoo, and the noble mausoleum which was erected over them, is still in excellent preservation.

15th. HOSHUNG GHOREE was succeeded by a weak and dissolute Son (GHEZNY KHAN.) This Prince was dethroned by his Minister MAHOMED
A. D. 1435. KHILJEE, whose conduct however, after he attained power, fully redeemed the crime of usurpation. It was to this Prince that Mandoo owed its fame and splendour, and the magnificent tomb over HOSHUNG SHAH, and the College and Palaces that he built, are evidence of his respect for the memory of his benefactor, of a regard and consideration for his subjects and of his princely taste, that entitle him to that high reputation which he has attained among the Mahomedan Princes of India. His reign which lasted thirty-four years, appears from FERISHTA's account to have been

* Hoshungabad commonly, but improperly called Husingabad.

† In the Ayeen Akbery this Prince is called HUSSEIN KHAN, and is said to have been imprisoned by his successor MAHOMED KHILJEE.

been a scene of constant action. His life was passed in Camp, but with the exception of the invasion of Malwa by AHMED SHAH, Monarch of Goojerat, the operations of MAHOMED KHILJEE were beyond the limits of his own kingdom, the subjects of which enjoyed a prosperity and repose proportioned to the activity and energy of their warlike Prince. Though living almost always in the field, his taste and magnificence adorned and enriched every part of his territories, and besides the monuments of his splendour, which have been already noticed, there are ruins of many Palaces* built by him at Nalcha, a town beautifully situated six miles North of Mandoo, on the verge of the rich open country which here approaches those mountains and great ravines by which the scite of that capital has been described as bounded and defended.

16th. FERISHTA† dwells with delight on the character of this Prince, who was, he observes, polite, brave, just, and learned. Hindus and Mahomedans, he describes, as alike happy, under his reign. It was his policy, to unite them in the ties of concord and amity. His chief pleasure was to hear read the histories of former times, but particularly the biography of great and distinguished men. The useful knowledge, however, of those among whom he lived, was, the historian concludes, that in which he had the most pride, and in which he most excelled.

17th. There can be little doubt from concurring testimonies, that it was under the Government of MAHOMED KHILJEE, that Malwa reached its prosperity as a kingdom. But this Prince, nevertheless, experienced during a life of constant action, some very serious reverses. He had at one time lost his Throne, through a conspiracy of his Nobles, but was reseated upon it by the aid of Sultaun MUZUFFER of Goojerat. On another occasion, he was taken Prisoner by KHOOMBHOO RANAH of Chittore, who generously restored him to liberty, and dominion. We find Chunderee,

* I fitted up one of these old Palaces for a residence during the hot weather, it was not only necessary to clear away the bushes and briars with which its rooms were overgrowing, but a tigress with two cubs were driven off by the workmen from the den into which they had converted one of the subterranean chambers of this once proud Palace of Kings.

† An account of the Kings of Mandoo is to be found in several works. I believe that there is none more authentic than FERISHTA, though other Authors give a fuller detail of their actions, particularly the Writer of the Maasurul Omrah, or "the remains of the Nobles," a Book of merited reputation.

Chunderee, Islamabad, Hoshungabad, and Kirlah, described within the limits of his territories, which were bounded to the South by the Sautpoorah range, extended West to the frontier of Goojerat, and East to Bundelkund. His authority was established in a Northerly direction, to Mewar and Haroutee, and we read of this Prince levying tribute on the Rajpoot Princes of Chittore, Cumulnere and others, by marching at different periods, an army into their countries to make collections. But it appears from all the historians, and records, of that time, especially those of the Hindus, that some of the Rajpoot Princes, particularly the Ranahs of Chittore, maintained a very arduous struggle with their Mahomedan neighbours, over whom they gained many and important victories.

18th. The resources of MAHOMED KHILJEE may in some degree be estimated by his great expenditure on public edifices, and the large army he maintained. FERISHTA states, that he invaded Goojerat with an army of one hundred thousand men. This is probably exaggerated, but even admitting it, his disbursements appear so disproportioned to what the revenues of his actual territory could have supported, that we must conclude, that his treasury was annually replenished by his foreign expeditions, and that like many other warlike Sovereigns, while he was considered by his own subjects as a just and powerful protector, he was viewed by the inhabitants of neighbouring countries as a plundering invader and oppressor.

A. D. 1468. 19th. GHEASS UDEEN KHILJEE, the Son and Successor of MAHOMED KHILJEE, is represented as being (though brought up to share the toils and glory of his Father) early satiated with power and dominion. He committed the cares of Government to others, devoting himself to sensual pleasures. His palace at Mandoo is said to have contained five hundred beautiful women, whose numbers have been exaggerated by some writers to three times that amount. This Prince reigned thirty-three years, and it is a remarkable proof of the energy and wisdom of his father's Government, that a Kingdom like Malwa, surrounded with turbulent neighbours, suffered no diminution of territory under his unwarlike Successor.

20th. The life of GHEAS UDEEN was according to some writers, terminated by his Son NOORUDEEN This fact is questioned and treated as improbable by FERISHTA. But the record which that Historian gives of the reign of this Prince, is not calculated to disprove the accusation. Though active and brave, he appears to have been the slave of his passions, and Hindus and Mahomedans were alike disgusted by the indecent scenes of his debauchery, and his death, which happened after a reign of eleven years, was caused by using the cold bath, when in a fever from excessive drinking.

21st. That NOORUDEEN, with all his vices, left the wealth and splendor of his kingdom unimpaired to his son MAHOMED, is proved by one fact; according to respectable writers, seven hundred elephants in velvet housings walked at the coronation ceremony of the young Prince through the streets of Mandoo.

22d. The peace of the reign of MAHOMED was disturbed by the intrigues of his brothers, one of whom* seized upon Chanderee. To suppress these rebellions in his family, he had recourse to the aid of the Rajpoot, or Hindu Soldiers of his kingdom, and according to Mahomedan authority, he delivered over the defence of his person and dominions to his Minister MADERAY ROY, who was of that tribe. But he soon became sensible of his error, and endeavoured to repair it by the discharge of a great part of his Army. This however created first a mutiny, and afterwards hostilities between the Rajpoots and the Mahomedans, from the dangers of which MAHOMED escaped, by flying to Goojerat, the reigning Monarch of which, MUZAFFER SHAH, (who hoped to use him as an instrument of his ambition) received him with open arms. An army marched to restore the Royal fugitive, and when joined by the Mahomedan adherents of MAHMOOD, and the Troops of the King of Candeish, succeeded after a siege of several months, in taking Mandoo by storm. Nineteen thousand Rajpoots, (including those who sacrificed themselves) are

A. D. 1512.

* MAHOMED SHAH; this Chief, BABER observes in his Institutes, was encouraged and supported by SULTAN SEKUNDAR, and SULTAN IBRAHIM at Delhi, and the latter when MAHOMED SHAH died, displaced his Son, and put one of his own Officers in charge of Chanderee, which was taken from him by the Ranah of Chittore.

are stated to have fallen on this memorable occasion. The Monarch of Goojerat returned to his own territories, leaving three thousand of his Cavalry to aid MAHMOOD in the wars he had to undertake against those Hindus, whom his unwise confidence had placed in possession of every strong hold in his kingdom.

23d. There are good grounds to conclude that the above statement is not quite correct, and that Mahomedan authors have referred those misfortunes to treachery and family discord, which had their chief source in the valor and ability of RANA SUNKA, Prince of Chittore, and at this period the acknowledged head of the Rajpoots.—The Emperor BABER in his Memoirs of his own time, mentions the victories of this celebrated Hindu Ruler over SHAH MAHMOOD, and states that he took a number of his Provinces, particularly Ratghur, Sarungpore, Bhilsa, and Chanderee. The Royal author in a subsequent passage relating to his own conquests, mentions his having taken the latter City from the Rajpoot Prince. "In the year of the Hejira 934, (he observes) through "the divine favor I took in a few hours Chanderee by storm. It was "commanded by MADERAY ROY, one of the highest and most distinguish-"ed of RANAH SUNKAH's Officers. I slew all the Infidels, and from the "city of hostility which it had long been, I converted it into the city "of the Faith." The fact appears in the decline of the Khilgee Dynasty, the Rajpoots made a strenuous effort to recover that Sovereignty they had lost over Malwa, and were alone prevented from accomplishing the object, by the rising fortune of the new dynasty of the Sovereigns of Dehli.

24th. MAHMOOD SHAH had made some progress in the re-establishment of his power, when he unfortunately gave protection to the Brother of BAHADUR SHAH, King of Goojerat, and provoked by this imprudence, the attack of that Monarch which terminated in his death, and the destruction of his family. Mandoo was taken by BAHADUR SHAH; the unfortunate MAHMOOD was sent with his wives and Children to be confined in the Fortress of Powarghur, and on an attempt being made to release him, he was put to death at the town of Dohud, where he is interred.

25th. From the occurrence of the above event to the conquest of Mal-

wa by the Rulers of Delhi (a period of thirty-seven years) that Province was a scene of successive revolutions. BAHADUR SHAH was expelled by HUMAYOON, but on the flight of the latter to Persia, MULLOO KHAN, A. D. 1536. an Officer of the Khiljee Government, succeeded in obliging the Imperial Officers to abandon a great part of the kingdom, of which he was crowned king at Mandoo, under the title of Sultan KAUDER MALWY. By the latter appellation it was probably his wish, to obtain the aid of those feelings of pride, which might lead Natives of this province, to assert its right of independence. A. D. 1542. He was however compelled to seek refuge in Goojerat, when attacked by the Emperor SHERE SHAH, who placed SHUJAL KHAN, an officer of high rank and character, in the government of Malwa. This Omrah (who among other monuments of his magnificence has left the city of Shujahalpore which he founded) was succeeded by his son MULLEE BAYIZED, who afterwards assumed the title of BAZ BAHADUR, and es- A. D. 1555. tablished for a short period an independent power. Though a brave Soldier, he appears to have given himself over to indolence, and to the indulgence of pleasure. His love for ROOP MUTTEE* was carried to great excess, and long continued a popular tale, but BAZ BAHADUR was roused from such dreams of enjoyment, by the arrival of an army A. D. 1560. from Delhi. He fled to the Ruler of ASSEER, and with his aid, and that of the Mahomedan Prince of BERAR, he obtained some advantages over the Imperial Troops, the General of which was forced in his turn to retreat. This success however was of short duration, another army A. D. 1561. from Dehli drove him out of his province, and its subsequent invasion by ACKBAR in person, put a complete end to the contest. Malwa was annihilated as a separate kingdom, and reduced to the condition of a A. D. 1567. province, in which it remained, subjected to the same changes and revolutions that affected the other divisions of the Empire, till it was conquered by the Mahrattas.

26. The Mahomedan Monarchs of Malwa attained at one period, a

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* This celebrated female was a dancing girl of Saharungpore, famed more for her sense and accomplishments than her beauty. The loves of this lady and BAZ BAHADUR are the subject of many popular Songs still sung in Malwa.

very considerable degree of power. From their coins, of which there are numbers to be obtained, they appear to have assumed all those proud and pompous titles, which it is the usage of Mahomedan Princes to do, when in the enjoyment of sovereignty. It is not easy, at so remote a period, to judge with accuracy, even the general character of their Government, but the magnificent ruins of Mandoo,* numerous remains amidst the most rugged parts of the country of towns and villages, with traces of cultivation round them, prove that this province must, under their sway, have attained very great prosperity. There is one fact however certain, that they never completely subdued the Rajpoot Princes and petty rulers in their vicinity, and indeed within the precincts of their kingdom. The bravest and wisest of the Princes of this race, seem to have pursued the policy of the Emperors of Delhi, in regard to these brave Hindus;—to have been content

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* It has been already mentioned that the walls of this noble city were in extent thirty-seven miles, I have been so fortunate as to obtain part of the records of the zemindars of this city, and the following is, according to one of the oldest papers of this collection, an account taken by measurement, of the contents of the whole of the ground within this great circumference. The document is rendered more curious, from giving the exact dimensions occupied by buildings as well as by baths, tanks, rivers, mountains, and cultivations, and thereby enabling us to judge with tolerable correctness of the degree of splendor it had obtained.

The following is the detail of square Beegahs within the Fort of Mandoo.	Beegahs.
Nemazur,	2555
Baths,	400
Small Hills or Ridges,	2350
Gardens or Orchards,	363
Mosques,	705
Wells, large and small,	310
King's Palaces,	500
Caravansaries or Surgers,	305
The Lol Bag, a royal Garden or Pleasure Ground,	200
Twelve Bazar Roads,	147
Tagur Tallau (a great Tank or reservoir,)	910
Small Tanks,	263
Inhabited,	2258
Cultivated,	845
Enam to the Zemindar,	125
	11,416

Beegahs,—but the Poran or Suburbs of Jaumnea, Huneree, and Nandlah, were within the walls, and as they occupied a space of 2,258 Beegahs, this added to the above, made the total contents within the limits of this capital 13,674 Beegahs of ground, besides the Walls, which occupied 2,838 Beegahs; to which add Soneghur, containing 500 Beegahs, would make the whole contents within the defences of this City 17,012 Beegahs.

tent with nominal submission, a moderate tribute, and occasional Military service. This is proved from the condition in which the Rajpoot Chiefs appeared, whenever invited or provoked to opposition, by the weakness or wickedness of their Mahomedan superiors.

27th. Jealousy of their powerful Mahomedan subjects, led the most efficient of the successors of ACKBAR, to strengthen the Hindu Princes and Chiefs of Malwa, and its neighboring Provinces; while the latter often found in the imbecility of other rulers, an opportunity they never neglected of encroachment. The attempts frequently made by the Mahomedan ruler of the Soubah, to subdue this spirit, was invariably represented to Delhi, as a commencement of a career of dangerous ambition; the tale was in general believed, and those by whom it was made, secretly or openly supported.

28th. A full account of that race of Rajpoots, which have long formed so great a part of the population of Malwa, will be given hereafter; suffice it to say, some of the tribes boast their descent from their celestial RAMCHUNDER, and are consequently termed the children of the Sun; while others trace to POCHRAVISEE, and deem themselves descendants of the Moon. Some writers however deny to this race their title even to the rank of KSHASTREE, that class being, according to these, extinct in this yogue or age; but the power the Rajpoots have long enjoyed, has obtained them the highest estimation among the Hindus, and indeed the Brahmins themselves, who have, till the rise of the Mahrattas, hardly ever exercised Sovereign rule, but have looked to the Rajpoots as their natural protectors. They were, to use a metaphorical and flattering phrase, the sword of the Hindu faith. It was not easy to subdue such a race, for though broken by their own dissentions, before and after the Mahomedan invasion, into a thousand petty Governments, almost every one of which was an object of contest between Brothers, yet still every individual was a Soldier, who preferred death to disgrace; and though ready to be the servant, scorned to be the slave of any Monarch upon

 earth.

earth. They were taught their duties from their most sacred works. In the Bhagwut Geeta, Krishna is represented as saying to Urjoon, "A Soldier of the Kshatree tribe hath no superior duty to fighting. "Soldier, who art the favorite of God, engage in such a batttle as this; "if thou art slain, thou wilt obtain Heaven; if victorious, thou wilt en- "joy a World."

29th. The government established by the Mahomedan conquerors of India, was not of a character calculated to subdue the spirit of such a people, had it been its policy to do so, but it was not; that jealousy of their own instruments of success which ever accompanies despotic Rulers, led the first Emperors to court into their service this race of Hindus, as a check upon their turbulent Soldiers or ambitious Omrahs. The yoke was made light to the Rajahs of the Rajpoot tribe, they were treated as the first Princes of the Empire, and not only their relations, but many of their adherents were raised to rank, honor and wealth. The concord which such treatment produced was often disturbed, and we find some of the most sanguinary contests of the first Mahomedan Rulers, with the Rajpoots. Still the occurrence of rebellion in one of this race was much more rare, than that of the Mahomedan Omrahs, and in their willing allegiance to the house of Timur, some of the proudest of the Rajpoot Princes so far forgot their religion, and usages, and were so enervated by the luxury, and dazzled with the pomp and power still left to them, as not only to consent, but to deem it an honor for their daughters* to enter the Imperial Haram. Their connection with the ruling Monarchs, gave to Hindu Princes and Chiefs, office and authority in different parts of the Empire, and their services were usually rewarded with grants of land. To this source we trace the establishment of some of the principal families in Malwa, many of which were

* This act is nevertheless considered by all Hindu Writers, as a disgrace, and I find in an original MS. of the late Jye Singh Kechee, a boast that one of his Ancestors suffered the greatest distress, rather than give his consent to the degrading usage. It is also the boast of the Ranah of Oudipore, the oldest of all the families, that there never was an intermarriage with one of that family, and a Moghul Prince.

were also aided by the influence of the Rajahs of Jypore, Joudpore, and Chittore or Oudipore, with one or other of which they are almost all connected.

30th. To shew the character of the internal Government of Malwa when the Mahrattas invaded that Province, it will be useful to notice some of the predecessors of the Hindu Chiefs, and we cannot select better examples than the petty rulers of Ragooghur, Jabooah and Rutlam. The Rajahs of Ragooghur are of the Kychee tribe of Rajpoots, they boast a descent from Pirtee Raj, of Delhi; though they had been for some period settled at Gungroar* in Malwa, they appear to have had little power or consequence until Ghureeb Doss, one of their ancestors, distinguished himself in the service of Ackbar, who appointed him to the government of Moultan, and in reward for his good conduct, bestowed upon him Seronge and other lands in its vicinity in Jaghire. The son of this Chief, Laljee, was the founder of Ragooghur, and his grandson, Bolbhudder Sing, was Rajah of that place, a man of reputation and influence when the Mahrattas first invaded Malwa.

31st. The Jabooah Rajahs, though their present representative is of spurious birth, claim in their pedigree a direct descent from the Rhattore Princes of Joudpore, and the high birth and character of some of this family appears to have early recommended them to the service of the Moghul Emperors. Bhunjee commanded four hundred horse at Delhi, and his son Kishen Doss was placed in attendance on the Prince Allah Udeen, upon whose accession to the throne he became a great favorite. The service he rendered his master in reconquering the possession of Dacca, which had been seized by a rebellious governor, was repaid by a grant in enam of five villages in Hindoostan, and ten pergunnahs or districts in Malwa, the chief of the latter was Budnawur, to which he proceeded

* They resisted in this Fortress the arms of the Emperor Secunder for 12 years.

proceeded, and remained there nearly ten years, when he received orders from Delhi, to avenge the murder of the family and a number of the followers of a of Soubahdar Goojerat, who was plundered and slain by SUKA NAIGUE, the Bheel ruler of Jabooah, and CHUNDERBAHN, the Rajpoot Chief of Dholitah. What force alone could never have effected against these notorious freebooters, who, strong in their inaccessible country, had long defied all regular attacks, was accomplished by the combined art* and courage of KISHEN DOSS, whose success was complete, and the return made by his Sovereign for the heads of SUKA NAIGUE, and CHUNDERBAHN, which were sent to Delhi, was a grant of their possessions and the subsequent present of Royal Ensigns, and high titles, that gave him a proud rank among the Hindu chiefs of Malwa. This family remained, with the common revolutions of such petty States, till the invasion of the Mahrattas. Before that period however, it had separated into several small principalities, (of which Amjherra was one) owing to a mode usual among this race, of bestowing Pergunnahs or Districts for the support of younger branches of the family.

32d. RUTTUN SINGH, Son of MOHUN DOSS, a Prince descended from the Joudpore family, gained by his address and gallantry, the good opinion of the Emperor SHAH JEHAN, so much that he gave him a grant of Rutlam,† Sillanah, and other Pergunnahs in their vicinity. This Prince fell near Ougein, where his loyalty led him to encounter the Army of AURUNGZEBE,‡ when that Prince rebelled against his Father. The fidelity of RUTTUN SINGH was rewarded by SHAH JEHAN, who gave those lands, which had only been before a Jaidad or Grant for Military Service, in free gift to his posterity.

33d.

* He assumed the disguise of a horse dealer from Goojerat, and after selling some remarkable fine horses to the Bheel Chief at low prices, he insisted upon the ground of pretended gratitude to give him a feast. The invitation was accepted, the usual excesses took place, and the Robber Chief, with all his principal adherents, were slain, and Jabooah taken.

† It is asserted he founded the present Capital of the District. He probably raised it from a Village to a Town, by making it the place of his residence.

‡ BERNIER gives a particular account of this action.

33d. This family remained in possession of their principality, till the invasion of the Mahrattas; but according to the usage of the Rajpoots, several Districts were alienated, to provide for the younger Sons, and the Rajahs of Seeta Mhow, of Sillanah, of Katchy Barode and Moultan, are all descendants of RUTTUN SINGH. The elder brother of the family, continues to rule over the town and fine Province of Rutlam, and to receive a general obedience and respect from the junior branches.

34th. These instances, (and there are a hundred similar) will suffice to shew the nature and foundation of that power and influence, which a number of Rajpoot Chiefs at this period possessed in Malwa. The causes which had led to their defection from the House of TIMUR, to which they had long, not merely yielded obedience, but stood the best bulwarks of the Throne, are easily traced; the example of that toleration and liberal indulgence, which ACKBAR extended to his Hindu subjects, was followed by his immediate Successors; but the Spirit of a Religion, established by the Sword, one of whose first tenets enjoined conversion, death, or heavy tribute to all Infidels, and above all to the worshippers of idols, ill accorded with a policy that was grounded on maxims, which made no distinction between the latter and the faithful. This feeling was evinced on the occurrence of wars or disputes with the Hindus, but while the Sovereign himself was free of bigotry, its action was very limited. The Emperor JEHANGIRE shewed no preference to any religion, his Son SHAH JEHAN, in his earlier years, evinced similar sentiments, and when in mature age, he became an attentive observer of the forms, if not a true believer in the tenets, of the Mahomedan faith. He continued (with one casual deviation) his wonted toleration to his subjects; the eldest Son of this Monarch, the celebrated and unfortunate DARA, wrote a work, the subject of which was, to reconcile the tenets of MAHOMED and BRAHMA, and his Brothers appear to have been as far removed from bigotry as himself, with the exception of AURUNGZEBE, a Prince whose attainment and exercise of power, presents perhaps as many lessons, as the life of any Monarch that ever reigned. Without presuming to strike the

balance

balance between his good and bad actions, or to decide, whether he had a just claim to his great reputation, or was throughout his long reign, an actor, and with every artificial accomplishment for the great scene, in which fortune had placed him, deficient in that strength, which belongs alone to him who plays a natural part, we may pronounce on the ground of the measures he first adopted to promote his ambitious views, that his early professions of zeal for the faith of MAHOMED, were merely meant, to encrease the number of his adherents, by placing his conduct on this essential point, in strong contrast with that of his brothers and rivals for the Throne. That AURUNGZEBE was solely governed in his contests with them by wordly considerations, is proved by one fact. That affected, unforgiving, and ungovernable zeal which was pleaded as his excuse for imbruing his hands in the blood of the gallant and generous DARA, was forgotten the moment that crime had secured him the Throne, and the completest indulgence was granted to all his idolatrous subjects, whom we find in the first years of his reign, as much, if not more favored, than Mahomedans. This also, was no doubt the result of policy, but mere policy, which looked for expedients to remedy every evil, was not sufficient to save the family of TIMUR, from that ruin with which it was now threatened. Its power could alone have been preserved, by a firmness and wisdom, founded on true virtue and greatness of mind, which disdained a temporary advantage, however alluring, that was to be gained by a departure from principles essential to the general interests of the empire. How opposite was the conduct of AURUNGZEBE, nearly twenty years after he had ascended the Musnud.—Irritation at the successful depredations of the Mahrattas,—the suspicion of these freebooters enjoying the good wishes, if not the secret aid of others, or a spirit of bigotry, perhaps sincere, but now probably assumed, to revive the attachment of the Mahomedan subjects, led him to attempt by the most unjustifiable means, the conversion of the whole of the Hindus of his empire. Few yielded to his persuasions or threats, but the remainder were, according to the example of the prophet of Arabia, visited as a punishment for their obstinacy, with the juzeah or religious tax. The

produce

produce of this tax was expected to be immense. The public revenue had greatly decayed in the reign of AURUNGZEBE, and the mean motive, of desiring to fill his treasury, has been imputed to this sovereign, as the ground of a measure, which even unsuccessful as it was, (for it could not be carried into full effect) lost him the temper and attachment of a great majority of his subjects. The chief historical record that has been preserved, connected with this transaction, is the bold and animated appeal made by JESWUNT SINGH, Rajah of Joudpore, in his* letter to the emperor. After recalling to his memory the opposite conduct of ACKBAR, of JEHANGIRE, and his father SHAH JEHAN, and reprobating the attempt to collect a revenue upon the consciences of men, or to vex the devotee and anchorèt with a tax upon his belief, the Hindu Prince observes, "If "your Majesty places any faith in those books by distinction called Di-"vine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, "not of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and Musselman are equally "in his presence, distinctions of color are of his ordination. It is he "who gives existence. In your temples to his name, the voice calls to "prayer: in the house of images, the bell is shaken:—still he is the ob-"ject of our adoration. To vilify therefore the religion, or the customs "of other men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty."

35th. Such were the sentiments that became general amongst all the Hindus, whose dissentions among each other were forgotten, in a sense of that danger which threatened their faith. The error he had committed, could not be retrieved by AURUNGZEBE, and to the feeling of indignation which his conduct had kindled, was added that of contempt for the authority of his weak successors. Existing rule is always in some degree unpopular: it seems to be a law in the moral as well as the physical world, that pressure should produce resistance and re-action. But here there were more than common motives. The Hindu princes, subject to the throne of Delhi, while they were almost conciliated to their condition

* There are many translations of this Letter, of which the Original as well as a very literal translation will be found in the Asiatic Miscellany.

condition, by the indulgent kindness and toleration of their conquerors, and by a participation, (for such they enjoyed) in the wealth and splendour of the empire, were deterred from rebellion, by a contemplation of the power of the descendants of Timur. At the very moment when that began to break, when new enemies arose in every quarter, a senseless bigotry had resort to persecution. Thus invited by weakness, and provoked by injury, we are not surprised to find, that the Rajpoot princes and Chiefs of Jypore, Marwar, Mewar, and Malwa, so far from continuing to be that defence they had before proved themselves of the empire were either secretly or openly the supporters of the Mahratta invaders.— This is proved by every Persian or Hindu writer that notices the subject. Though disputes occasionally arose from the conduct of the Mahrattas, hardly any serious opposition was given to their first incursions into Malwa, or indeed to their subsequently making themselves masters of that province, and we possess many testimonies, to shew that they chiefly attributed their success on this occasion, to the action of religious feeling. The celebrated Rajah Jye Sing, the Prince of Jypore, greatly contributed (though perhaps without intending it) to the conquest of Malwa and indeed of Hindoostan by the Mahrattas. The correspondence between this Chief and the first Bajeerow would, if obtained, (and it probably is among the records of their families) throw great light upon this period of history. It is said to have commenced in a communication, very characteristic of the times and the parties:—the Ruler of the Mahratta state sent a sacred verse, or Ashlagh, of the Poorana to Jye Singh, which though flattering, conveyed a metaphorical but distinct warning of what might happen, if he opposed the Brahmin sway. The proud Rajpoot, in an answer taken from the same holy Volume, while he gave encouragement and proffered friendship, retorted the threat, by warning Bajeerow of the destructive consequences that would result, from breaking down the limits of long established authority.

37th.

* The following is nearly a literal translation of the Sacred Stanza or Ashlagh sent by Bajeerow.
" Thou art like the cloud which drinketh the waters of the sea, and returneth them with Thunder
" to fertilize the Earth. The Mountains in dread of Indra fly to thee for protection. Thou art the

Tree

37th. These facts have importance not merely as they account historically, which is the chief object for the first establishment of the Mahrattas in Malwa, the defence of which had been almost wholly committed to Rajpoots; but as they shew the effect produced by an attack upon the religion of that warlike but superstitious race of men. It led them to welcome freebooters even to their homes; nor have the great miseries they have since endured, (which have far exceeded those they knew under the Mahomedan sway) obliterated a recollection of the chief causes which led to this revolution. Sentiments of gratitude towards the Emperors who honored and favored them, are mixed with indignation at the attempt made to alter their religion, and the Charums and Bhats (or minstrels) who are their only historians, still relate the oppression and injustice which overthrew their temples, to establish the edifices of another faith, and raised a revenue on their belief, rendered as insulting as it was oppressive, by being levied on all their religious ceremonies, even to those performed over the dead. These national legends usually pass from their wrongs to a more animated strain, and record the fame of those heroes, who overthrew the mosques of the tyrants, which had been erected in spots sacred to their ancient deities, and restored them to that worship to which they had been so long dedicated. This theme is familiar, in a degree hardly to be credited, among the Hindus of Malwa, and the strength in which the feeling exists, reconciles us to believe it was

" Tree of Desires. Thou art the Sea whence springeth the Tree of Desires, who can tell thy depth! I " have no power to describe that depth of the Ocean, but in all thy actions remember August " Mooney."

According to Hindu Mythology the Demi-God, August Mooney, drank up the Sea.

Jye Singh's answer taken also from the Sacred Volume, was as follows.

" If the Tribe of Brahma sin with me, I forgive them. This pledge I hold sacred. It was of no " consequence August Mooney drinking up the Sea, but if God should doom the Walls that retain " the Ocean to be thrown down, then the World would be destroyed, and what would become of " August Mooney."

The Hindus believe the Sea to be walled in, and the allusion to the consequences of that element being let loose upon the Earth, is considered, as addressed to one of the sacred tribe of Brahma, whose duty it was to preserve, instead of destroying, the general Order, to be peculiarly apposite.]

was sufficient to make the inhabitants of this country, consent to become the authors of their own ruin, in the introduction of the power of the Mahrattas, whose invasion of their Country, no lesser motive could have induced them to support.



PART

PART THIRD.

MAHRATTA INVASION OF MALWA,

1. The whole of the accounts, written or published, of the early progress of the Mahrattas in Malwa, are vague and general. They can hardly be said to give more than the dates of their invasion, and these are neither correct nor complete.

2. From the commencement of the reign of Aurungzebe, the Mahomedan writers cease to be so minute in their details, as they are at former and more prosperous periods of the Moghul empire. The theme was not inviting, and their hostile feelings towards the Mahrattas, have made them general and unfaithful narrators of the success of that people. The blank which this has left is not supplied by the Hindu writers; these, and particularly the Mahrattas, preserve no record even of their victories; they are in this respect, as in others, the slaves of usage. Short letters on family affairs, or on public events of the moment, destroyed or forgotten almost as soon as written, are the only efforts of the pen of common writers; while the more learned content themselves with reading their Puranahs and mythological fables; or if they write, it is but in imitation (to flatter some Prince or Chief) of these extravagant ebullitions, never dreaming seemingly of embodying (for so it may be termed) their nation's fame in an historical work, or of even blending that correct series of the names of their rulers, which they generally preserve, with a clear or authentic account of the principal events of each reign.

3. The history of the Mahrattas from the time of Sevajee to the battle of Paniput, furnished ample ground for the gratification of pride, sup-

posing

posing what occurred to be written in the most plain and unadorned language. Even after their defeat by the Afghans, the actions of MULHAR ROW, the first Chief of the HOLKAR family, of MADHAJEE SCINDEAH, and of NANAH FURNAVESE, merited to be preserved by their countrymen; their fame however has been almost entirely trusted to tradition, and this by a people who are not only very generally instructed, but who are minute to a degree in their accounts, and in all that concerns the management of the large territories which are or have been subject to their rule. The Diary* of the revenue and all affairs connected with it, is regularly kept, and that at Poonah, which is complete for the last century, furnishes a most correct record of receipts, disbursements, names of Officers employed, and dates of all financial transactions.

4. In the coure of researches of ten years information, regarding the first Mahratta invasion of Malwa, it was found that the representative† of the former Zemindars of Mandoo, had preserved when almost all other documents were lost, many of the papers relative to the Districts of which his family had charge. In one of the oldest of these, which contains the Revenue account of the District of Dhurmpooree, for A. D. 1690, ‡ we find the Revenue of that Pergunnah (which lies to the North of the Nerbuddah, and immediately South of Mandoo) was reduced by an incursion of the Mahrattas from an amount of eighty-one thousand and

seventy

* This Diary is called Roze Kurds, a corrupt compound from the Persian, which means the Acts of the Day. Mr. MACLEOD, an assistant of the Commissioner in the Deckan, who carefully searched the Records, states that these Roze Kurds go back as far as A. D. 1720-1, but are not very complete for the first ten years. He also notices two Calendars, which he had found, containing the principal events of the Mahratta Nation for two hundred years; but speaks of them as barren and unsatisfactory documents.

† SALO LAL.

‡ The Mahrattas had many years before crossed the Taptee. Surat was completely plundered in A. D. 1678, and keeping below the Ghauts they had crossed the Nerbudda and plundered Gujerat. The City of Baroche was sacked by them in A. D. 1685. Of their operations near the Sea Coast, the records of our factories give the most minute detail. The progress of this nation in the interior of India, was a subject of less concern.

The date in the original MS. S. is 1101, of the Arabic year Sorsin, that used in all Mahratta papers. It differs seven years from the Fussillee, and fourteen from the Hejira.

seventy-two Rupees, to one of thirty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-nine Rupees and nine annas. Their absence in A, D. 1691 caused the Revenue of this District to amount to seventy-two thousand one hundred and thirty-nine Rupees, and nine annas. It rose still higher next year, amounting to eighty-nine thousand six hundred and eighty-four Rupees, but a return of the Southern Plunderers, as they are termed in this Revenue record, in A. D. 1694, brought it as low as thirty-thousand and two Rupees; while their ceasing to molest the District the ensuing year, raised it nearly to its wonted value. Documents similar to that quoted, furnish the most authentic account we can obtain of the first predatory excursions of the Mahrattas, and they do not merely give the date but the character of the enterprize.

5. In the example stated of their first invasion of any District in Malwa, or rather Nimar, (for they did not ascend the Ghauts) the war they carried on, was evidently against the Government, and not the inhabitants. They appear at this stage of their power, to have taken a large share of the Revenue, but not to have destroyed, like more barbarous invaders, the source from which it was drawn ; for if they had, it could not have recovered so rapidly: but there is in the whole of the proceedings of this peri . the strongest ground to conclude, that they were acting with the concurrence, and aid of the Hindu Chiefs of the Empire, whose just reasons for *discontent with the reigning Monarch AURUNGZEBE have been noticed. This fact indeed, as far as relates to SEVAI JYE SINGH, Rajah of Doondar, or Jyepoor,† is distinctly stated in several contemporary authorities. In a manuscript written by an ancestor of the present Zumeendar of Mandoo (which is preserved with his

* ERADUT KHAN states, that the Rajpoot Chiefs had been disaffected, since the accession of AURUNGZEBE. Scot's Deccan, 2d Volume, Page 68.

† This great tract of country which lies to the North of Herowtee and Mewar, is properly called Doondar. It was however known better under the name of Amber, which it took from its capital, and is now called Jyepore from the noble city founded by SEVAI JYE SINGH which has become the residence of his successors.

his revenue records) * it is asserted, that the Mahrattas in the year of the Hejira 1108 or A. D. 1696, ascended the Nalcha Ghaut, took Mandoo, and engaged the Mahomedan Troops at Dhar, which Fort they are stated to have reduced, after a three months siege, by springing a mine. The persons named SHAH DOOLAH and ABDAL-LAH KHAN, who are termed Shah Zadahs, or Princes, exercised at this period the functions of Soobahdar of Malwa; and it appears from a chronological list of that Province taken from a Persian tract, that, the NABOB AMEER KHAN, who is styled Soubah of Malwa, was succeeded by his Sons DOOLLAH KHAN, and SADOOLLAH KHAN, † who were left unsupported to withstand the invaders, ‡ and after an opposition of several Months were compelled to retire to Bhopal. According to the Hindu record, Dhar capitulated, and its defenders were allowed to go where they chose with their private property.

6. According to the authority § here followed, the Mahrattas continued for seven years their incursions into this part of Malwa, || when they abandoned that Province on the advance of SEVAI JYE SINGH. This celebrated Hindu Soldier and Statesman, belonged to a family which the Policy of AURUNGZEBE had raised, chiefly in opposition to JESWUNT SINGH the Ruler of Marwar, to whom his hatred was as violent as it was implacable; but the friendship of this Emperor was generally ominous of evil. JYE

* This paper which is in my possession is in the R[illegible] language, and evidently the same hand as that in which the accounts with which it was given me are written. It appears to be very old, contains a list of rulers and amildars, and a few notes regarding the first Mahratta invasion.

† This Omrah was Subadar of Malwa A. D 1707, in which year he joined BEDAR BUKHT, the Grand Son of AURUNGZEBE at Ougein. Vide ERADUT KHAN's memoirs.

‡ This Invasion must have been by some loose Bodies of the Mahrattas, and could not have been conducted by any of their Princes.

§ SCOTT in his excellent History of the Deckan, does not notice any of these incursions. On the contrary he observes (Vol 2 Page 79) that the expedition into Dhamoonee, a District of the Sagur Province under BHORA Kishna in A. D. 1702, was the first occasion on which the Mahrattas crossed the Nerbuddah. There can be no mistake in the records I have quoted of the plundering of the Purgunnah of Dhurmpooree.

|| They could not have settled themselves, as ERADUT KHAN whose Memoirs SCOTT has translated, mentions his being Killedar of Mandoo 1707, and proceeding on the death of AURUNGZEBE to join his Grandson BEDAR BUKHT at Ougein.

JYE SINGH (commonly called MEERZA RAJAH) the Grand Father of this Prince who had been employed successfully to check the progress of SEVAJEE, was first the instrument of the ambition and afterwards the Victim* of the jealous fears of AURUNGZEBE; and though SEVAI JYE SINGH professed obedience and allegiance, there is every reason to believe he maintained that secret correspondence and understanding, which all Mahomedan writers accused his ancestor of having established with the Mahrattas. It is stated on a respectable Hindu authority,† that the Shahzadahs, or Princes, who had been expelled from Mandoo and Dhar, led the Emperor by their representations to doubt the fidelity of JYE SINGH, who to contradict their assertions, volunteered to drive the invaders out of Malwa. His offer was accepted, and he marched against them: it is believed that he secretly informed their leaders of the motives of his conduct, and solicited them to make only a shew of resistance, intimating that their return, when times were more favorable, would be facilitated. His wishes were obeyed, hardly any opposition was given to the Rajpoot Prince, the Mahrattas retreated to the Deckan, while JYE SINGH, after remaining six months in Malwa, marched for Hindostan.

7. These events‡ are stated to have taken place in A. D. 1698, the invaders returned in a few years, and the standard (or tannah) of OUDAJEE PUAR, was planted at Mandoo. He however was compelled to leave Malwa, and the Mahrattas for some time do not appear to have disturbed that Province, but the advancement of BALLAJEE§ WISWANATH to the office of Paishwah restored their power, and one of the earliest measures of his son and successor, BAJEEROW BULLAL, was to send a strong force A. D. 1703.

* He is believed to have been poisoned by the Emperor's orders.

† This is asserted in MS. memoir given me by the Zumeendar of Mandoo.

‡ This occurrence is not stated in SCOTT's History. I have noticed the character of the Mahomedan writers from whose works this History is composed. In volume 2d, page 107, the Mahrattas are stated in the annals of this year, to have swarmed like ants or locusts from the Nerbuddah to the Deckan.

§ BALLAJEE WISWANATH, the first Paishwah, was raised to his high office A. D. 1714, and died in April, 1720.

force commanded by RAMCHUNDER GUNEISS* to lay waste the country and collcct tribute from the Government Officers and Rajahs, North of the Nerbuddah.

8. From what has been said it would appear, that though Malwa was invaded a few years before the death of AURUNGZEBE, the authority of the Mahrattas was not established in that province till the reign of MAHOMED SHAH; but though no permanent arrangement, or appropriation of specific territories to the respective chieftains, was made† till A. D. 1732, the country was often overrun; and we find in the Poonah records, that in the end of the year 1725, several Officers were nominated to collect Choute, and some districts in Malwa were actually granted to favored individuals. An expedition had been sent three years before under OUDAJEE PUAR to reduce Goojerat, and we discover in the correspondence between that Chief, the SAHOO Rajah, and the PAISHWAH, that the former had orders to establish the Choute and Desmookh over Malwa, and Sunnuds were addressed to the different officers of each Pergunnah, authorizing OUDAJEE to collect this part of the Revenue, which was levied by him over the greatest part of the Province, two years before BAJEEROW BULLAL entered the country, with the more serious design of making it an entire conquest.

9. It is here necessary to interrupt the narration to notice the principles upon which the invaders of Malwa acted, as well as to understand the character of the rule they established. The contests carried on by SEVAJEE and his successors did not differ more from those

* RAMCHUNDER GUNEISS who commenced in this expedition, was of the Serwee tribe, who are a cast of degraded Brahmins. He was a very able man, and afterwards employed with RANOJEE SCINDEAH. He is sometimes confounded with a leader of the same name, who was of the PAISHWAH's Tribe, (a Kokun Brahmin) and held the Office of Beennee Wallah, or Quarter Master-General commanded the Paishwah's Troops when these were united (A. D. 1773) with MADHAJEE SCINDIAH and TUCKAJE HOLKAR in the attack of Putturghur in Hindostan.

† It probably owed in a great degree its partial exemption during this period to the power and influence of JYE SINGH, who I find, from a settlement of disputed limits between the villages of Sagrod and Bajour on the Chumbul, was Nazim or Goveraor of Malwa, in A. D. 1710-11, and probably for some years afterwards.

of other nations in the mode of warfare, than in the manner in which the Army was paid, its Commanders rewarded, and the different countries they invaded, were plundered, divided, and settled. Raised by the genius of SEVAJEE to the proud rank of being first the scourge, and afterwards the destroyer of the Mahomedan Empire, the cause of the Mahrattas had, in all its early stages, the aid of religious feeling. It was a kind of Holy War, and the appearance of Brahmins at the head of their Armies and the State, gave in the first instance, force to this impression. This people have been too generally described, there cannot be more opposite characters than what we meet among them, particularly in the two great classes who have shared the power of the State, the Bramins, and Soldiers of the Kutree and Soodra tribes.* The Mahratta Bramin is from diet, habit, and education, keen, active, and intelligent, but generally avaricious and often treacherous. His life, if in public business, must from the system of his Government, be passed in efforts to deceive, and to detect others in deceiving. Such occupations raise cunning to the place of wisdom, and debase, by giving a mean and interested bent to the mind, all those claims to respect and attachment, upon which great and despotic power can alone have any permanent foundation.

10. The History of the Mahratta Nation abounds with instances of Brahmins rising from the lowest stations (usually that of Karkoons or Agents) to be Ministers and sometimes Rulers of a State; but their character undergoes little change from advancement, and usually all its meanest features remain.

11. Though often leading Armies, the Mahratta Brahmins have not, with some remarkable exceptions, gained a high reputation for courage,

* The Paishwahs, the Southern Jaghiredars, the Principal Officers of State, and Chiefs who remained in the Mahratta Countries South of the Taptee, were Brahmins. The Bhonslahs who early possessed themselves of Nagpore, the Guickwar of Guzerat, and the family of Puar, who settled in Malwa, were of the Kutree or Rajpoot Tribe. The Scindiah and Holkar family were of the Soodra.

courage, and if not arrogant or cruel, they have merited the charge of being in general unfeeling and oppressive.

12. The plain uninstructed Mahratta Soodra, or Kutree, entered upon his career as a Soldier in the same dress, and with the same habits he had tilled his field, or attended his flocks, and he has, speaking generally, preserved throughout revolutions that have at one time raised him to the highest consideration and power, and again cast him back to his former occupations, the same simplicity of character. This may be referred to the nature of Hindu Institutions, to the example of SEVAJEE and his leaders, and to the advantage derived from habits, that gave facility to conquest by placing him in strong constrast with the proud and formal Mahomedan; by associating him with the Hindu population of the countries he invaded; and by preventing his progress, ever being impeded by that pomp, luxury, or pride, which form so often an incumbrance, if not an obstacle to the most successful conquerors. That the Mahratta Soldier was more distinguished by art, than by valor, that he gloried as much in rapid flight as in daring attack, is not denied by the warmest panegyrist of his own tribe; but though these facts are admitted, and further, that he was often mean and sordid, it is contended and with truth that he had many excellent qualities. Few could claim superiority to him in patience under fatigue, hunger, and thirst, and in that plain manliness of character which remained unchanged by success or adversity: nor can we deny to the Mahrattas in the early part of their history, and before their extensive conquests had made their vast and mixed armies cease to be national, the merit of conducting their Cossack Inroads into other Countries, with a consideration to the inhabitants, which before their period was deemed incompatible with that terrible and destructive species of war.—But this leads us to a view of the principles on which they acted.

13. Unlike in their origin and habits to the Goths and Vandals that barbarized Europe, or those Tartar tribes who have so often conquered

and

and destroyed the Kingdoms of Asia, the first Mahrattas were driven to arms by oppression, and tempted to continue in the exercise of their new possession, by the proved weakness of their oppressors. The character and constitution of their early power made it impossible for them to maintain themselves in many of the Countries they were able to plunder; but the power of destroying, generated a right to share in the produce. Hence the Choute, Desmookh, and all those Mahratta sources of Revenue, which they introduced into India Whenever these were admitted, the country had a respite from their ravages; but we cannot believe that the able Mahratta Chiefs, who first inflicted these heavy taxes upon the Revenues of the Moghul Empire, ever viewed it as more than a temporary expedient, which by enabling them to maintain great armies, and to spread their agents and influence, afforded them the means of progressive encroachment. As such it was admirably suited to the times, and to their peculiar condition and character. By obtaining peace in one quarter, they were at liberty to carry their arms into another. They had also through this means, an opportunity, which they thoroughly understood how to use, of fomenting divisions in families and states. From the house of Timur, to the lowest of the Rajpoot Rulers within their sphere, we find every party had a secret or open supporter in a Mahratta Chief or Agent. The character and actions of this people were in every thing singular; they had indeed few, if any similar features with other nations. Those means which the pride of Conquerors had often rejected, seem always to have been used in preference by this extraordinary race; not merely the desperate and discontented, were invited to their standard, but robbers and plunderers were courted as auxiliaries, and allowed to act for a period in their own mode, and for their own advantage. To insinuate themselves by wiles into a share of the management of a District or a Country, and to make a party amongst its Inhabitants, were deemed better, than using force, even when the latter was in their power; and in effecting these their

patience

patience and humility, were great aids. They were content at first to divide the Government as well as Revenues with the Hindu Chiefs of the Military Class they found established, trusting to time and intrigue for their gradual reduction. This policy was never more remarkably exemplified than in the progress of their establishment in Malwa. They assumed at first in their manners and sentiments, the exact shape that was best calculated to win the Hindu population of that Province. The Rajpoot Princes and Lords were conciliated by every concession to their pride, and to those forms of dignity, which they had learnt from association with the Moghul Government; while the lower classes, particularly the landholders, and cultivators, saw in the Mahrattas (amidst all their excesses) beings of their own order, who had risen to power and dominion, and who continued to preserve the strongest attachment to the manners and usages of those village communities, in which they were born. It could not but be gratifying to this class of inhabitants, to find that the principal leaders of the Conquerors appeared to place more value in their names of Poteyl, and Putwarree, which they derived from being hereditary officers of some petty village in their Native country, than in all the high sounding titles they could attain. The constitution of the Government and army of the Mahrattas, was however more calculated to destroy, than to create an Empire. Their founder SEVAJEE, had no pretensions but those of a successful leader, and his latter years were marked by severe reverses. Similar feelings and circumstances had attached many of his tribe to his person; and before his death, enough was done to embody the Mahrattas as a nation, and to give them an union, which was cemented by the cruel and implacable character of their enemies. The tortures and disgrace inflicted on SAMBHA the Son of their first Ruler, with many acts of a similar nature, gave a common sentiment of indignation and revenge, that supplied for the moment the place of better ties. The fabric however had no foundation, the Chiefs were from the first, almost equal, and as the Armies they led, depended chiefly for their pay, on success,

the

the leaders were necessarily invested with powers for the collection of Tribute or Revenues of the Provinces into which they were sent, but though a share* was claimed by Government the application of the greater part, in the payment of his Troops, and other expences, raised the successful General into a Ruler of the Countries he had conquered. This every where produced the same effects, although the public interest was lost sight of in a desire of individuals to promote their own ambition. The early example of usurpation in the PAISHWAH was followed almost by all to whom opportunity offered, and this was aided by the form of their Village Governments, (which is probably the oldest of Hindu institutions) having been carried into the State; every office, from that of PAISHWAH, or Prime Minister, to the lowest employ, became hereditary. This practice, by giving rights, limited patronage, and weakened the heads of the Empire, among whom divisions early arose; but, instead of declining, the State appeared for a long period to prosper the more from that spirit of action which was excited by the clashing interests of the Chiefs, who shared in its anomalous administration. The Brahmins who presided over it had, to use the strong expression of a Mahomedan writer, "converted the peaceful chord of their order into a bow-string." But notwithstanding

* I have obtained the perusal of all the old Papers of the Puars of Dhar, and find by the Sunnuds granted to OUDAJEE PUAR in A. D. 1724, by BAJEEROW, empowering him to collect Choute in Malwa and Guzerat, he was allowed for the expence of his Army one half of his collections; the other went to the State. The following is a literal translation of this general or rather sweeping Sunnud.

"To the high Rajah Sree OUDAJEE PUAR, may LUTCHMEE the Beautiful increase your fortune and "dignity, from BAJEEROW BELAL, Minister (Purdhan) be blessed in the year of Fusi-"lee 1123. The half of the Mokassa (or Choute) of the Countries of Guzerat and "Malwa belongs to the (Huzooroun) Court, half is granted to you as Surinjam "(or for the support of the Troops) you are our Commander, and our trust is "in you; be happy with what has been bestowed upon you. Given the 5th of Rubbee ul Awul. There "is no occasion to write more."

[Hindu Account which differs seven years from the Mahomedan.]

This was obviously given at the commencement of an expedition as a guide and authority to act on success, for I find among the same MS. no less than one hundred and fifty Orders dated A. D. 1729, from BAJEEROW to the Managers of the Towns and Pergunnahs, from Bundelkund East to near Ahmedabad West, and as far North as Marwar, directing the Payment of Choute and Sir Desmooky to OUDAJEE PUAR. These were evidently given after the country had been overrun. I conclude that this authentic record may be taken as an example of the usual process.

standing the Military reputation which some of the PAISHWAHS added to their other pretensions to Supreme Authority, all that superior intelligence, which their habits and education gave them, was unequal to keep in check the ambition of enterprizing Chiefs, who, intoxicated with success, soon forgot their obligations to the Brahmin Princes by whom they were elevated to command. One part of the policy of the PAISHWAHS tended greatly to accelerate the period of the independance of these leaders;—a fear of their disturbing the peace of their Native Country, or consuming its resources, led to their constant employment in foreign expeditions, where their power was subject to little or no control; but, to attain the object of keeping a successful General and his adherents at a distance, the superior was satisfied with nominal allegiance.

14. This is a short statement of the principal of those causes, which led at a very early date to a spread of Mahratta authority over all India, and to the rise of many Chiefs of that Nation into the exercise of the functions, if they did not assume the name of Rulers. Broken and disjointed as they appeared, they still however retained* some general motives which led to their occasional union. Nor were these quite forgotten, till success had destroyed their enemies, and they were impelled, by the continued action of that system which had raised them to power, to prey upon and destroy each other, and even then they never changed their nominal relations as Members of one confederacy, but, on the contrary, seemed to cherish them in every extreme, with a prejudice that almost approximated to religious feeling. One cause of this was a strong attachment to the country of their birth; whether in Hindostan or Malwa, they continually kept up an intimate intercourse with their families and kindred tribe in their native districts, and the original links, by which the community was bound

* A Mahomedan writer, remarking upon the tendency to union which distinguished the Mahratta confederacy even amidst all their divisions, observes, "that the stubborn materials retained their nature, and, like unto the dissevered particles of the same substance, had always a propensity to re-unite. Or, as we are told (he adds) of the serpent when cut asunder, that the dismembered parts have a separate existence and seek again incorporation."

bound, were constantly revived and strengthened by ties of this nature, which operate with great force upon Hindus, as no people are more strongly and virtuously attached to their connections than this race; nor is the bond destroyed or even weakened by one party reaching high power, and the other remaining in comparative obscurity.

15. The PAISHWAHS owed little of that real or nominal obedience, which they to the last preserved as heads of the Mahratta Empire, to their being of the sacred Race of BRAHMA. On the contrary, though (as has been noticed) this aided impression in the first instance, there can be no doubt that the Brahmins of the Mahratta State have lost, by their grasp at worldly power, much of that respect and awe, which is usually granted to their tribe by Hindus, when they preserve their original character of Spiritual Instructors.—But the attachment, if not allegiance, which all classes had for the PAISHWAHS, as Chief Officers of the State, though greatly impaired, was not destroyed; it was always, when threatened with misfortune, their watchword of union. This cherished sentiment was never shewn more forcibly than within the last few years; and with more of virtue and talent in its object, and less of wisdom and vigor in their enemies, it would have saved a confederacy, of which it was the bond, from destruction.

16. The incursions of the Mahrattas into Malwa, before the death of AURUNGZEBE, have been noticed as well as that of A. D. 1721, at which time the province was ruled by a Manager on the part of the celebrated NIZAM UL MULK.* This Omrah had been confirmed in the office of Subadar by MAHOMED SHAH, but soon af- A. D. 1722.
terwards this high station was taken from him, and given to Rajah GIRDHUR BAHADUR,† who it appears from an account of the events at this period, was some time afterwards attacked and defeated A. D. 1724.
at

* ASAPH JAH NIZAM-UL-MULK was appointed to be Subadar of Malwa in A. D. 1717, in the short reign of RUFFIE-UL-DIRJET.

† GIRDHUR BAHADUR was a Brahmin of the Naggur Tribe, originally from Guzerat.

at Auggur by an army of Mahrattas under CHIMNAJEE PUNDIT* and OODAJEE PUAR. These Chiefs proceeded to attack the Town of Sarungpoor, the Mahomedan Governor† of which was glad to purchase their retreat by giving them Fifteen Thousand Rupees; and this amount, (which was probably the utmost the Town could pay) became, from an usage very characteristic of Mahratta Conquest, the sum‡ fixed for their future annual demand.

17. The Mahrattas at this period ravaged at large through both the Provinces of Guzerat§ and Malwa, and their complete reduction of the latter was greatly aided by the policy of NIZAM UL MULK, who appears to have desired to plant this nation as a barrier between the Deckan and Hindostan. Though it is likely this Chief had not the power of stemming the tide of desolation, he had that of turning it for the moment, from the Countries under his own immediate rule, to those of his enemies, and such he considered the Emperor MAHOMED SHAH and his Court. This situation of affairs tempted the ambition of the Paishwah BAJEEROW, who having marched from Poonah with a large army
A. D. 1731. made himself master of the Provinces of Nemar and Malwa. In the latter he was opposed by DIA BEHADAR, but the defeat|| and death of that
A. D. 1732. Officer, who had succeeded his relation RAJAH GHIRDUR,¶ gave this Province to the Marhattas. MAHOMED KHAN BUNGUSH, who was next appointed

* CHIMNAJEE PUNDIT was Brother to the PAISHWAH BAJEEROW, and it appears from a Diary in the Poonah Record for the year 1729, that he was in Malwa, and he had probably been there some time.

† NIZAM U'DEEN, commonly called KHURJUN KHAN.

‡ This sum is termed in the Persian MSS. "Ghuneem Sea," or "an Account of Plunder," and the letters of the two Persian words in their numerical power give the date of transaction Hejira 1141, or A. D. 1728.

§ The Country of Guzerat was invaded and partly conquered in A. D. 1724, by some Mahratta Chiefs. These were KUDDUM BANDIAH and PILLAJEE GUICKWAR, the founder of the present dynasty. PILLAJEE settled to the South of the Mhye River, while KULDUM BANDIAH took possession of Godra and the Districts on the opposite Bank of that Stream.

|| This action, in which DIA BAHADUR and about 2000 of his Troops were slain, was fought near the Village of Terlah, half way between DHAR AMJHERRAH.

¶ RAJAH GIRDHUR, during the time he was Soubahdar of Malwa, surrounded Ougein with a wall, probably in anticipation of attack from the Mahrattas. It is a curious fact that, though an Inscription upon the Wall ascribes its erection to RAJAH GIRDHUR, the Inhabitants of the Town continue to believe on tradition it was the work of his successor DIA BAHADUR.

ed Soubah, in vain attempted to arrest their progress, and SAVAI JYE SINGH, Rajah of Jyepore, who was nominated to supersede him, either from conceiving opposition hopeless, or from his entertaining (as he is accused of doing by all Mahomedan authors) a secret friendship and understanding with the enemy, prevailed upon the Emperor to appoint BAJEEROW Subidar of Malwa; but this did not take place till the Horse of the PAISHWAH had laid waste the Countries of Agra and Allahabad, and the Imperial Armies (one of which was commanded by MUSSOFFER, the Brother of the AMEER UL OMRAH) had been foiled in their efforts to expel them from that Province.

18. These events bring us to a new era in Mahratta History. Their rights as powerful plunderers had been long before recognized, and a share of the revenues of the greater part of the Empire had been allotted them to purchase safety for the remainder. Their Ruler was now nominated to the Government of one of the Chief Provinces of India. This, it was true, he had first conquered, but he had professedly levied no more than the Choute and Desmookh, and appears to have sought with solicitude a legitimate title to govern it in the name of the Emperor. The peculiarity of character which has been noticed in this race was never more displayed, than on their becoming masters of Malwa. BAJEEROW and his principal leaders, content with the profit and substance of what they had attained, so far from weakening impression or alarming prejudice, by the assumption of Rank and State, seemed to have increased in their professions of humility, as they advanced in power. They affected a scrupulous sense of inferiority in all their intercourse and correspondence with the House of TIMUR, and with its principal Chiefs, particularly the Rajpoot Princes. The Mahratta leaders, indeed, not only submitted to be treated in all points of form and ceremony as the inferiors of those whose Countries they had despoiled and usurped, but would in no instance appear to have considered the right of conquest, as a sufficient title to the smallest possession. Grants for every usurpation were sought and obtained, down to that of a village from a pet-

ty Rajah who possessed the local Sovereignty. By this mode of proceeding, which was singularly suited to the feelings of a people like the inhabitants of India, who may be generally described as rooted in their habits and abhorrent of change, they evaded many of those obstacles, which had impeded former conquerors, but the state of their internal relations with each other appears still more remarkable than those they established with foreign States. We shall have occasion to shew, that MAHOMED SHAH, before he granted BALLAJEE a Commission as Soubahdar of Malwa, exacted from his Military Chiefs a deed by which they became guarantees for the fidelity and allegiance of their nominal lord. This proceeding, and many others of not dissimilar character, prove that the authority of the PAISHWAH was only considered as that of first Officer of the State, and he seems to have always consulted with other Chiefs of the confederacy, on points that related to their general interest, on a footing almost of equality; but perhaps this extraordinary* proceeding is to be chiefly referred to the master principle of the Mahrattas, which rejected no means that could aid in the accomplishment of their objects.

19. All accounts regarding the establishment of the Mahrattas in *Malwa* agree, that the first rule they instituted in that province was moderate and good, particularly as contrasted with those aggravated evils † which are ever the concomitants of falling power, when the necessities of a sovereign lead him to oppose those whom he cannot protect.

20. The

* The usage here I find is however not limited to the Mahrattas, but common almost to all Hindu Governments, in few of which the Princes appear to have obtained any very despotic power, and the shape of all being that of a feudal confederacy. It was common to call upon the more powerful Nobles to become security for the head of the State.

† The hereditary zemindar of Indore gave me a very distinct account of the first settlement of the Mahrattas in Malwa, and, considering the transaction as recent, the narrator a respectable man advanced in years, and that his grand-father ROW NUND LALL was the person who met and conducted the Mahrattas into the province, we can hardly doubt his general accuracy. The following are the exact words of his answer to a question upon the subject.

" In the reign of MAHOMED SHAH, when the Moghul Empire had fallen to pieces, and the power of the Delhi monarch was rapidly declining, DIA BAHADAR (a Brahmin) was Soubah of Malwa. The corruptions and abuses of power which prevailed in the remnants of the Delhi Territories were

20. The conduct of the Mahrattas to the inhabitants of their new conquest was for a period very conciliatory. They soon established a strength that made the weak Government of MAHOMED SHAH despair of recovering the province, which became the home of the invaders, from whence they carried their predatory excursions into Hindoostan, and a grant of the Choute and Desmookh of that country, not excepting the lands near Delhi, was one of the early fruits of their success. This part of the subject has been dwelt upon, for the manner in which the power of the Mahrattas was first established in Malwa is not more deserving our attention, as it illustrates its local history, than as it displays the character of this singular people.

21. BAJEEROW, after overrunning Bundlecund, plundering Hindoostan, and exacting a promise of the Choute upon the whole of the Moghul Empire, left Malwa, (six years subsequent to his entering that province) to proceed to his southern territories. He appears in this year to have solicited

great, and the distress arising from a total neglect of the duties incumbent upon Government fell heavily upon the peaceful husbandmen and labourers of the field, who groaned under the oppression of every petty tyrant that chose to act the despot. The Subordinate Chiefs and Thakoors of Malwa, impatient of the oppressions and rapacious exactions imposed upon them and their Ryuts by DIA BAHADAR or his agents, represented their grievances to the Court of Delhi, and solicited redress: the reigning monarch, however, MAHOMED SHAH, held the reigns of Government with too weak a hand and was too much immersed in indolent and effeminate pleasure to afford redress, and the Rajpoot Chiefs, finding their hopes disappointed, turned their eyes towards the Rajah of Jyepore SEVAI JYE SINGH, to whom they made their appeal. JYE SINGH was one of the most powerful and able of those Rajahs of Hindoostan who still remained obedient to the Emperor: his allegiance however had begun to waver in consequence, it is supposed, of an affront he had received, and a secret intercourse was established between him and the Paishwah BAJEEROW, the object of which was believed to be the subversion of the Mahomedan power. —— The Rajpoot Thakoors and Chiefs of Malwa preferred their complaints to him; he recommended them to invite the Mahrattas to invade the Province and subdue the Moghul authority. Row NUND LOL, Choudry of the Pergunnah of Indore, was then a Zemindar of wealth and consequence, and had Troops amounting to 2000 Horse and Foot, who were paid from the Revenues he enjoyed. He had also charge of the different posts which guarded the ghauts of the Nerbuddah, and he was on this latter account selected to treat with the Mahrattas and promote the invasion. The Army of BAJEEROW was encamped on the plains of Berhampore, and a force of about 12,000 men under MULHAR ROW HOLKAR formed the advance. Row NUND LOL deputed a Vakeel to MULHAR ROW with an invitation to enter Malwa, and an assurance of the Ghauts being left open for his Troops to pass, and of all the Zemindars aiding the Invaders. The Mahrattas in consequence marched and crossed the Nerbuddah at a Ford near Akburpoor, a village between Dhurumpooree and Moheysir. DIA BAHADAR, having in the mean time received intelligence of their approach, had moved with a force beyond Amjerrah, and blocked up the Ghauts which lead to Tondah, by which he supposed the enemy meant to

solicited and obtained a letter and present from the Emperor, placing him among the highest ranks of his nobles. This document states that BAJEEROW has been exalted above his equals, by the grant of Jaghires and districts. That a splendid Khilut* is transmitted, and he is reminded of his duty, and directed "to tread firmly in the broad path of fidelity." The year before these honors were conferred, the Emperor had endeavored to expel BAJEEROW from Malwa, by the re-appointment of NIZAM
A. D. 1738. UL MULK to the office of Soubah of that Province, and this was probably one of the causes that led the PAISHWAH to proceed to the Deckan, where he no doubt expected from the absence of the Nizam (who was called to Delhi to oppose NADIR SHAH) to make considerable conquests, but the close of his career was marked by a memorable reverse. He suffered great defeat in the vicinity of Poonah from NAZIR JUNG, the son of NIZAM UL MULK, and his capital was taken and burnt. These events preceded only a few months the death of this celebrated Mahratta Chief.† He was succeeded by his son BALLAJEE, who went through the
A. D. 1740. mock ceremony of obtaining an investiture from the imprisoned SAHOO Rajah, before he entered upon the exercise of his functions as Paishwah.

22. The invasion of NADIR SHAH had thrown the whole of India into confusion and dismay, and BALLAJEE hastened to take advantage of the opportunity,

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ascend to the Table Land. The Mahrattas, however, being favored by the zemindars and inhabitants, were conducted up an unguarded pass, now called the Byroo Ghaut, a few miles to the East of Mandoo, and having brought up their whole force on the plain without opposition, they afterwards encountered DIA BAHADAR at a village called Tirellah, between Amjerrah and Dhar, where the latter was defeated and slain, and his Troops dispersed. From that period the Mahrattas obtained paramount rule in Malwa. The antient Thakoors, zemindars, &c. were allowed to retain their possessions, on the same terms they held them under the Moghul Government, and guaranteed from the recurrence of the oppressive exactions they had lately been suffering. The Moghul Amildars and the Public Officers with their Thannahs or Posts were all turned out, and replaced by those of the Mahrattas. Some of the Thakoors, who afterwards became refractory and neglected to pay their tributes and perform their engagements, were deprived of their possessions and power, which were assumed by their new Masters, whose proceedings however on their first taking possession of the Province were studiously adapted to conciliate the Hindu Chiefs and Inhabitants."

* The articles are enumerated in the Letter.

† BAJEEROW BELLAL, commonly called RAM SAHIB, succeeded to the Office of Paishwa in May 1720, and died in the same month, after a rule of twenty years, leaving it to his Son BALLAJEE BAJEEROW, usually called NANAH SAHIB.

opportunity, which this event afforded, of extending his power. The first authentic record we have of his reign, is a very remarkable compact with NIZAM UL MULK. It is in the form of requests and answers, a very usual shape of native diplomatic papers.

23. The first request is, that BALLAJEE shall be appointed Soubah of Malwa, and have the whole of that province as a Jaghire. The answer is, that the Nizam is himself Soubah, but on the PAISHWAH promising obedience, the Sunnuds or deeds to be Naib, or deputy, shall be sent him.

24. In the next article a request is made for the fifty lacks of Rupees which the Emperor had promised as an aid;* every effort (it is stated in reply) will be made to obtain this amount.

25. From the tenor of the superscription† in this letter, it must have been written, when NIZAM UL MULK was passing through Malwa (after NADIR SHAH had left India) to punish his rebellious son in the Deckan.

26. During the three years that intervened from the accession of BALLAJEE to the office of Paishwah, to the death of JYE SINGH, there appears to have been a constant friendly intercourse between the latter and the Mahrattas, and several letters and engagements, which have been preserved, shew distinctly the character of this connection, which, though perhaps originally grounded on Hindu feeling, took a different shape after the Mahrattas had entered the scene. JYE SINGH's endeavours were then limited to an effort to direct the evil which he had aided to produce, but the progress of which he had no power to arrest. His object was to continue the medium of intercourse between them and the Emperor,

* Madud Khurch.

† This Persian Deed is styled Memorandum of demands and answers. There is upon the envelope of this document a short note in the Mahratta language. "That the enclosed Memorandum regarding the Soubahdaree of Malwa, and the fifty lacks of Rupees, was sent by BALLAJEE Row to the Nabob ASAPH JAH, who was then (the 26th of Ramzan, year not mentioned) at Suraee in Malwa, and the answers to the Memorandum were originally in ASAPH JAH's own hand writing."— ASAPH JAH returned from Delhi to the Deckan in 1740-1. He fought his Son NIZAM U DOWLAH in 1741, and he continued in the Deckan till his death 1748. MAHOMED SHAH died the same year.

peror, but he desired, as appears from certain articles in their agreements, to combine his duty to his sovereign with his friendship to the Mahrattas. He also wished to use the latter as aids of his own power, and an engagement* of four Articles is chiefly directed against ABBER SINGH, Rajah of Joudpore, with whom he was then in a state of hostility; but death came seasonably to release this great and accomplished Prince † from a scene of intrigue, distraction and guilt, in which, from his want of means to guide the storm that was around him, his character might have been soiled, but could not have been elevated. The last engagement he concluded with the Mahrattas is very singular. Its date shews that it could only have been settled a short period before his death. Its first Article is completely an offensive and defensive engagement. The second is remarkable. It supposes (probably on very good experience) the likelihood of BAJEEROW breaking his faith with the Emperor. JYE SINGH states he will prevent such occurrence —but, if it happens, he will pursue the PAISHWAH ‡ The third and fourth Articles are general, but by the fifth he promises to pay attention to the interests of some Rajpoot Chiefs to the North of the Chumbul, whom BALLAJEE had recommended, and to endeavour to establish them in their possessions, on *their paying the tribute, provided they were firm in their allegiance to* the Emperor. This latter qualification proves, that he was still sensible to his duty in that quarter, and indeed it is probable he acted only a ministerial part, in all that related to the intercourse between MAHOMED SHAH and the PAISHWAH. In the concluding and most important Article of the engagement to which I have alluded, JYE SINGH promises " To procure " in the course of six months the Emperor's order, for the issue of a " Firman

* This offensive and defensive engagement is dated at the year of the Sumbhut 1798, and below 1141 of the Sorsun, the Arabic Era used by the Mahrattas, and from dates correspond with Hejira 1155 and A. D. 1741.

† He died A. D. 1741.

‡ The literal translation from the original in the Rangree Dialect is, " I will be after you;" which may be interpreted either as implying continued friendship in all extremes, or hostility on a change of conduct. The latter is, fortunately for the fame of JYE SINGH, the most obvious reading.

"Firman in the name of the Sahoo Rajah, and the transmission of the "usual presents, also the Sunnuds for the Nujabut or Vicegerency of the "Soubah of Malwa, and the sanction to take Paishkush, as established "by the Emperor, from the Rajahs on this side (i. e. the North) of the Chumbul." This Treaty was concluded on the fourteenth night of the Moon of Jeth, in the year of the Summut 1798, corresponding with A. D. 1741. Jye Singh died the next year. Few Chiefs have attained higher or more merited reputation. The city of Jyepore, which he built to perpetuate his name, exhibits in its appearance the mind of its founder. The erection of an observatory, and its endowment at his new capital, shewed that the love of Science was mixed with the other virtues and qualities of this Prince, who completely fulfilled, during a long reign, the extraordinary promise he gave even in childhood; but he belongs to the subject of this narration, only as a Chief who at some periods had power, and throughout his life great influence, in Malwa, where his name is still fondly cherished by all, and particularly by the Rajpoots. These deem him, and Jeswunt Singh of Joudpore, who is dear to them from his opposition to Aurungzebe, the greatest of their race.

27. It is impossible not to suppose, that the influence of such a character as Jye Singh operated as some restraint on Ballajee; but the contempt of all morality, in their political arrangements, was with the Mahrattas avowed, and shameless. We have a remarkable instance of this in a Mahratta note affixed to an engagement made by Ballajee and his Uncle Chimnajee, in which, after stating various conditions of service that they bind themselves to perform, it is added, "that Ballajee Row * intended in future to do every thing that candour and sincerity

* This remarkable confession is attached to an engagement of nine Articles given to the Emperor by Ballajee and his Uncle Chimnajee, after the former had been nominated Subahdar of Malwa. It is believed to be written in the Paishwah's own hand, and commences with stating that the agreement of nine Articles had been made after much discussion, in the time of Khan Dowran, to please the Vizier by advice of Row Kirpah Ram. The latter person was of some celebrity; he was long Vakeel on the part of Jye Singh at Delhi, and was a personal favorite of Mahomed Shah.

sincerity dictated, to obey the Emperor's wishes as appeared best to his judgment, and to refrain from the litigiousness he had formerly practised in causing unnecessary delays, &c. by pretended scruples, arising from the omission of a Firman, or any other alledged informality; neither would he in future endeavour to evade the performance of any duty or service by pretended want of cash or any such groundless excuse.

28. The Emperor MAHOMED SHAH had by two Sunnuds, one dated the 22d of Jumad-ul-Awul, and the other the 18th of the month Rujjub, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, appointed BALLAJEE to be Soubahdar of Malwa; but there was at this period a striking indirectness in all proceedings betwixt the Emperor and the PAISHWAH;—and the high office of Soubah of Malwa is, by a singular form, given by the second of these documents, in trust to the Vizier, to be bestowed upon the PAISHWAH. It appears, and was probably the case, that the weak Successor of TIMUR was ashamed of the concessions into which he was coerced, and this expedient originated in a desire to prevent his dignity being compromised by the form of the engagement. On these points the Mahratta Ruler was careless, and, so long as he advanced in the substance of power, he willingly left the name of it to others. BALLAJEE appears from other documents to have extorted from the Court of Delhi sums of money upon the most groundless and even insulting pretexts; among others, the fulfilment of a promise of a large sum which had been made to his father, on the condition of his joining the Emperor on the Invasion of NADIR, was claimed and extorted, though BAJEEROW had on that occasion not only kept aloof, but taken every advantage of the crisis to enlarge his possessions.

29. The great solicitude with which the PAISHWAH sought the title and power of Subadar of Malwa is proved by a variety of papers, propositions and minor agreements, in which he is profuse of his professions of obedience and allegiance, in the event of his wishes being complied with. There is among these records a curious instance of BALLAJEE'S readiness

readiness to subscribe any thing, and to endeavour by every means to promote his objects. In an engagement which he gave the Emperor, dated the 23d year of his reign, (one year before he obtained the grant of Malwa) it is written in the Preamble:- "I, BALLAJEE Row MOOKH PURDHAN, through the mediation of ASOPH JAH;" and in another paper of the same purport and date. On all other points he not only omits the mention of this mediation, but states that he, the PAISHWAH, will not contract any friendship with ASOPH JAH, or others, without the Royal permission.

30. It has been conjectured that the first of these records was the original draft, but, not being approved by the Emperor, the other was substituted; but it is much more probable, from both being carefully preserved among the State Papers at Poonah, that one engagement was forwarded to the Court of Delhi, and another to NIZAM UL MULK. Such a proceeding is quite conformable with the usage of Mahratta politicians, who, if they attain the object of the moment, are insensible to the disgrace of future detection and exposure.

31. The gratitude of BALLAJEE, when he obtained the office of Soubah of Malwa, was expressed in a written engagement* from him and his

* The following is a translation of the Articles of Agreement of PUNDIT PURDHAN BALLAJEE ROW and CHIMNAJEE ROW.

" As from beneficence and bounty the Sobahdaree of MALWA has been bestowed upon the Servants BALLAJEE Row and CHIMNAJEE Row, we are willing to perform our Service as follows.

1st. We wish to have the honor of enjoying the dignity of being admitted to the August Presence.

2d. We promise that we shall not invade, plunder, or lay waste any Country except MALWA.

3d. No other Mahratta Chief shall pass beyond the Ghauts of the NERBUDDAH into any of the Soubah of Hindostan. We take upon ourselves this responsibility.

4th. A respectable Mahratta Officer, with a body of 500 Horse, shall always be present in the Service of his Majesty.

5th We accept the sum which has this year been given us as Enam or Gift, but in future we will not ask for a fraction from the Court, which is the Centre of the World, and shall always remain steady and firm in our duty and allegiance.

6th. Whenever the victorious Army shall move abroad, a Body of 4000 Horse shall be furnished by us to accompany the Camp; but should more be required, their expences must in that case be defrayed by the enlightened presence.

7th. We will not exact from the Zemindars, beyond the river Chumbul, a fraction more than the established Paishkush.

his Uncle CHIMNAJEE, which, though written in a tone of submission to the Emperor, contained in its stipulations ample proof of the real condition of those, who sought the promotion of their temporary interests by unmeaning professions of allegiance and obedience.

32. In the anxiety of BALLAJEE to obtain possession of Malwa, he had recourse to that measure, which has been before noticed, of making his chief generals become the guarantees of his good faith, and the following document was given to MAHOMED SHAH to guard against his future encroachments: "We, RANOJEE SINDIAH, MULHARJEE HOLKAR, "JESWUNT ROW PUAR, and PILLAJEE JADHOA, hereby give it under our "hands, that BALLAJEE ROW MOOKH PURDHAN having agreed to serve "his Majesty, should he hereafter recede from his duty, we shall by our "representation prevent his retracting; but if, notwithstanding our en-"deavours, he still persists in withdrawing from his duty, we shall in that "case quit the service of the PURDHAN PUNDIT. In token of the same "we have written the above as a Deed." This Document is dated the 7th of Rubee-ul-Awul, in the twenty-third of the reign, A. D. 1743.

33. The retrospect of a few years gives a still more singular character to this extraordinary record. RANAJEE had carried the slippers of the father of the Chief for whose conduct he now pledged himself answerable, and MULHAR ROW HOLKAR had only a few years before been attending a flock of goats, at his native village in the Deckan; but it was a period of Revolution, and these were now high Military Commanders, who had each not only armies of his own, but interests, particularly north of the Nerbuddah, quite separate from those of the PAISHWAH, whose

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8th. Should the enlightened presence issue an order for us to punish any petty Zemindars in that quarter, we shall furnish one quota of 4000 Horse, who will exert their endeavours to effect the object required.

9th. With respect to the Jaghires of Killedars and the Perquisites of Kanoongoes, Moofttees, &c. as also lands, pensions, and other charitable institutions emanating from the bounty of the enlightened presence, we declare that we will not infringe upon them, but permit the full benefit of them to those on whom they have been bestowed, that they may employ themselves in uttering benedictions for his Majesty's eternal prosperity.

N. B. The Note found on the envelope of this agreement has been before noticed. Vide page 59.

whose history indeed, subsequent to the events here stated, has little connection with that of Malwa. To illustrate that, it will be necessary to give a concise account of the Mahratta families of PUAR, SCINDIAH, and HOLKAR; whose ancestors were employed in the first reduction of this Province, and to whom it afterwards became subject.

PART FOURTH.

THE FAMILIES OF PUAR AND SCINDIAH.

PUARS OF DHAR.

1. In the early parts of Mahratta History, the family of Puar appears to have been one of the most distinguished.* They were of a Rajpoot tribe, numbers of whom had been settled in Malwa from a very remote date; from that they had gone to the Deckan. Sevajee Puar, the first of the family that I can trace in the country, was a landholder,† and his grandsons Sambajee and Kalojee were Military Commanders, in the service of the celebrated Sevajee. Three sons of the former, Oudajee, Anund Row and Jugdeo, served the successor of that Prince, (Sahoo Rajah) during whose reign Oudajee, attained considerable rank as a leader. He was not only entrusted with a high command, but treated with great consideration, as appears from the form and purport of Letters and Sunnuds from this Prince and his Minister Bajeerow, still in the possession of the family.

2. Oudajee, eight years before Bajeerow conquered Malwa, was employed to establish the predatory claims‡ of the Mahrattas over that Province and Goojerat,§ and subsequently was charged with the collection

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* This tribe have been before noticed. Vide Page 17.

† He was zemindar of Sopaut Kingee and Kurungaum in the Deckan.

‡ Choute, Desmook, &c. &c.

§ Oudajee entered Goojerat, but made no permanent impression in that Province, in which, as has been before stated, Bandiah and Pillajee Guickwar had established themselves. The latter, after some warfare, obliged Oudajee, in A. D. 1726, to retire into Malwa, and to abandon the Forts of Daboye and Baroda, which he had occupied. Baroda became the capital of Pillajee, and has continued that of his descendants.

tion of that Revenue. He however offended the PAISHWAH, who first deprived him of all power, and afterwards imprisoned* him, and raised his younger brother ANUND ROW to be the head of the family. From this event occurring before the division of the Territories of Malwa, the latter is considered the Founder of the Principality of Dhar.

3. It is a curious coincidence that the success of the Mahrattas should, by making this city the capital of ANUND ROW and his descendants, restore the rule of a race who had seven centuries before been expelled from the government of that tract of territory; but the present family, though of the same tribe, (PUAR) claim no descent† from the ancient Rulers of Malwa; they have, like all the Kshatree tribes who became incorporated with the Mahrattas, adopted even in their modes of thinking, the habits of that people, and the heads of the family, with feelings more suited to Chiefs of that Nation than Rajpoot Princes, have purchased the office of Poteyl,‡ in some villages in the Deckan, and their descendants continue to attach value to their ancient, though more humble, rights of village officers in that quarter. Notwithstanding that these usages and the connections they have formed have amalgamated this family with the Mahrattas, they still claim, both on account of their being officers of the Rajahs of Sattara (not the Paishwahs) and their high birth, rank and precedence over the house of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR. These claims, even when their fortunes were at the

* One account states that OODAJEE escaped from prison and fled to the Deckan, where he died in obscurity at the Village of Mooltan near Poonah. Thus far is certain, that his name never again occurs in Mahratta History, and this circumstance, connected with his former fame, had given rise to suspicions that his death was hastened by the policy of BAJEE ROW, and the fears of his successor ANUND ROW, whose defection to the PAISHWAH is considered to have been the chief cause of his Brother's fall.

† The Rajahs of the petty principality of Soonte assert their title to this proud lineage.

‡ I have seen this Sunnud for the office of Poteyl for the village of Komtar, in the Pergunnah of Junneer, which was purchased for 1112 Rupees and a horse by ANUND ROW PUAR in A. D. 1710. The son of ANUND ROW JESWUNT ROW PUAR bought the half of the office of Poteyl of the village of Kungaum, in the Pergunnah of Kundah, in the province of Junneer, in A. D. 1731, when Prince of Dhar; he paid 751 Rupees for the purchase. These offices, which with their small immunities were occasionally disturbed in the time of the Paishwahs, have been eagerly reclaimed since the British authority was extended over the Poonah territories.

the lowest ebb, were always admitted as far as relates to points of form and ceremony. The late JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR and DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH were forward to acknowledge their superior rank, at the very moment they were usurping their power and despoiling their territories.

4. ANUND ROW PUAR received several Sunnuds to collect the choute of Malwa and Goojerat in A. D. 1731. This commission however could hardly have been acted upon, as the Paishwah, BAJEEROW, became Soubahdar of the Province in the ensuing year, and whatever forms the policy of the Mahrattas might have led them to observe, they were substantially the rulers of Malwa from this date. ANUND ROW soon after this settled at Dhar, which province with some adjoining districts, and the tankas or tributes of some neighbouring Rajpoot Chiefs, were assigned for his support and that of his adherents.

5. ANUND ROW died A. D. 1749, and was succeeded by his son JESWUNT ROW PUAR, who accompanied the Paishwah to Hindoostan, and was one of the many distinguished Chiefs* who fell in the celebrated action which the Mahrattas, commanded by SADASHEO BHOW, the Paishwah's brother, fought at Paniput, against the combined Mahomedan armies, under the Affghan sovereign AHMED SHAH ABDALLIE. KUNDEE ROW,† the

* JESWUNT ROW PUAR had attained high consideration amongst the Mahrattas, and is spoken of as alike remarkable for his kindness and valor by the inhabitants of Malwa, who have his fame only on tradition. The following anecdote of this Chief was related to me by one of my most respectable Native writers, KEALEE RAM, who had at one period the management of Bersiah. He said, that about thirty years ago he had a long conversation with HIMMUT SINGH, the hereditary Choudry of the district (then eighteen years of age) who praised the goodness and high spirit of JESWUNT ROW PUAR extremely. When the Bhow was encamped on the river near Bersiah, HIMMUT SINGH told him that JESWUNT ROW took him and some others to the tent of the commander to see what was going on. JESWUNT ROW had gone to the PAISHWAH's inner tent to pay his respects, while "I with other Zemindars (HIMMUT SINGH observed) sat myself down at the outer. Three Mahratta Chiefs dismounting from their horses, and having no horsekeeper, bade me and two others hold them while they went into the tent of the Bhow. We did so. JESWUNT ROW on coming out, enquired how we came to have such occupations; when informed of what had occurred, he exclaimed in anger, who dares degrade my Zemindars into horsekeepers? and then turning to us, said, 'Mount these animals and ride them home, they are your property.' We readily obeyed, said HIMMUT SINGH, and never heard more upon the subject, but kept our excellent horses and their fine housings."

† He was only two years and a half old.

the son of JESWUNT ROW, was a minor when his father was slain, and the management of the family possessions fell to a Brahmin of the name of MAHDOO ROW OUREKAR.* From this period the petty Dhar appears to have declined. ANUND ROW and his immediate successor had not only preserved the first territories assigned to them, but these had been encreased by several new grants, which had raised the revenue of the family to a considerable amount.

6. We hear at this period little of KUNDEE ROW, except that he married the Daughter of GOVIND ROW GUICKWAR. The only male issue of this marriage was ANUND ROW PUAR, who was born in the Konkan six months after his father's death, and went to Baroda, where he remained during his minority.

7. The distress and confusion which these events created were encreased by the contention of the Mahratta Chiefs in Malwa, all of whom in their turn took advantage of the weak and distracted state of this principality, and its ruin seemed at one period inevitable, when the well-known RAGOBAH, who brought misfortune on all who supported him, sent his family for refuge to Dhar, which was immediately surrounded by a detachment of the combined Forces of the Mahratta Chiefs, then leagued against him. ANUNDEE BAE, his principal wife, who had just been delivered of BAJEEROW, (the last of the Paishwahs) was within the Fort, and the object of the assailants was to obtain possession of her and the child. As the Puar† Chief openly joined the standard of RAGOBAH, his countries in Malwa were formerly resumed by the reigning Paishwah; their restoration was the price given for the surrender of ANUNDEE BAE and young BAJEEROW,‡ who were carried prisoners to the Deckan. The orders in the

* He was Dewan of the Puar Chief, and as such held his Office of the Paishwah.

† KUNDEE Row was then living.

‡ The infant who was so early doomed to a prison might have been pitied, but none commiserated his depraved ambitious mother, who, when the young unfortunate Paishwah NARRAINJEE Row flying from his murderers was clasping his arms round his uncle and imploring life, rushed from her apartment and unknit the Boy's hands, and threw him with violence from RAGOBAH. He met the fate to which, it is believed by almost all Mahrattas, she from a desire to raise herself and children was the chief cause

the name of Paishwah MADHOO Row, directing the restoration of the different Pergunnahs in Malwa to KUNDEE Row, explain specifically their tenure to be that of Serinjam,* or for the support of Troops; indeed that was the only grant that was ever made to the Military Chiefs, and no other appears to have been sought. It was, according to the usage of this loose state, no check to usurpation, and it gave them, when the paramount power was strong, an excuse with themselves and others for submission, which was congenial to their habits. The practice that rendered military command as well as civil charge hereditary, made them confident that their descendants would keep possession under this tenure, as long as they could under any other; for they well knew, from the principles of their Empire, that, when they ceased to be able to defend themselves, no titles, however valid, would save them from ruin.

A. D. 1797. 8. ANUND Row, the second ruler of that name, when he came from Baroda, was only seventeen years of age. The Dewan RUNG Row OURKKAR,† who had governed this petty state since the death of KUNDEE Row, thought his power would be endangered by the presence of his Prince, and endeavoured to obstruct his return. He was so far successful that ANUND Row was obliged to throw himself upon the

of his being doomed. RAGOBAH, (that name of ill omen to all and to none more than the English) who is considered by his countrymen as being weaker than he was wicked, continued through life under the influence of this bold bad woman, of whom I never heard a Mahratta speak but with disgust and indignation.

* It was by accident I discovered this tenure, having found it expressed in the orders to re-deliver the country to the Puars, after it had been resumed by MADHOO Row. The Pundit of Dhar shewed some alarm, at which I smiled, and told him his Master had now the best tenure in India, a treaty with the English Government, and no retrospect could or would be taken to his former rights. He said he believed so, but that many stories were told of our giving a construction to the terms of Grants, which, though liberal and perhaps just, was not consistent with the manner in which they were understood by Mahrattas.

† RUNG ROW OUREKAR, though termed Dewan or Minister of the Dhar State, was an Officer of the Paishwahs, and more meant as a check than an aid to his nominal Ruler. When a Military Chief was nominated to command, the principal Officers of his Army or Government were filled by the Paishwahs, who alone had the power to change them. These Offices became like others hereditary, and they have continued with the families of the principal Mahratta leaders in the enjoyment of their name and distinction, long after they had ceased to execute their functions as Guardians of the Interests of the Head of the Empire.

the protection of one of his dependents, the Rajpoot Thakoor,* or Lord of Wuckutghur, where he collected a small army composed chiefly of Rajpoots, and marching to his capital, demanded possession of the Fort as his place of residence. This the Dewan opposed, but finding the whole of the inhabitants of Dhar inclined to adopt the cause of their young chief, he was compelled to fly. He first went to Bersiah, where he raised some funds,† and then joined JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, who had just commenced his career.

9. From this date the History of ANUND ROW and of DHAR presents one series of misfortunes, and during the last twenty years the efforts made by its rulers have had less the character of a contest for power, than a struggle for existence.

10. JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR received the rebellious Minister in the most friendly manner, and, while he carried on an ineffectual negotiation to reconcile him to his master, plundered and laid waste the country. RUNGROW OUREKAR, finding however JESWUNT ROW could not accomplish his views, went to the Deckan, where he succeeded in instigating DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH to attack Dhar. That Prince at first demanded A. D. 1800.
thirty lacks of Rupees from this petty state, asserting that he had orders from the PAISHWAH to resume its lands, which he threatened to enforce if this requisition was not complied with. After a great effort, two lacks of Rupees were raised, which were given with an order for four more upon the Kotah Tribute; but this was only a part of the loss which the conduct of OUREKAR brought upon this principality. The Pergunnahs of Auggur and Soneil, which had been granted to that Minister for his support, were by him made over to SCINDIAH, and the oppression of the latter did not stop, till he had despoiled ANUND ROW of the principal parts: this possession of those A. D. 1803.
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* PERTHEE SINGH, the present Chief, adds to the possession of Wuckutghur the office of Mundlovee or principal Zemindar of the Pergunnah of Budnawur.

† He made over the temporary possessions of this Province to DURGIN SINGH LOL of Ragooghur, for the sum of 10,000 Rupees.

in Hurrowtee were all seized, and Dhar was a second time attacked A. D. 1807. by one of his leaders,* who extorted a considerable sum from its ruler.—In two years afterwards another † of these made war upon this declining principality, and took, after an action fought at Budnawur, the whole of that district, to satisfy the demand made by order of SCINDIAH for seventy-five thousand Rupees. A desire to regain his country led to this amount being raised and paid by ANUND ROW, but during this transaction that unfortunate Prince ‡ died; this event, with the confusion that ensued, was made the pretext of keeping both the money and the territory.

11. About the period of these transactions MEERKHAN, who had seized on Bersiah, made it over to KURREEM KHAN Pindarry, and some years afterwards the Pergunnahs of Taul and Mundawul, on the death of GUNGARAM, a principal officer of the HOLKAR Government, to whom they had been rented, were seized by JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, and granted to GUFFOOR KHAN for the support of Troops.

12. While the territories of this state in Malwa were taken and partitioned by every description of plunderers, the Dewan who had been the chief cause of these misfortunes, after a reconciliation with ANUND ROW, which led him to stay at Dhar a few months, fled to Poonah, where he completed the ruin of his Prince, by persuading BAJEEROW to seize upon his possessions in the Deckan.

13. RUNG ROW OUREKAR is still alive and resident at Poonah; he is represented as being an able man, and while he had the sole management of the affairs of Dhar it was well governed. His object was that ANUND ROW should remain at Baroda with his mother, but when the

* JUGGAH BAPPOO.

† SAMBAJEE JUGHA.

‡ He is supposed to have been poisoned by his Sister, who was of a very bad and dissolute character. Her supposed object was the Government, which she would have exercised in the name of some child she meant to adopt. These hopes, if ever entertained, were completely frustrated; she was seized and put to death, with several real or supposed accomplices, a few days after her Brother's death.

the impetuosity of that Prince (for though only seventeen years of age he is said to have acted upon the impulse of his own feelings) led to his sudden appearance in his own territories, and to a rupture with the Dewan; the latter, governed by ambition, seems to have found a malignant pleasure in giving his aid to destroy the state which he could not continue to rule, and he lately made an unsuccessful attempt to defraud his Prince of some small rights of inheritance in the Poonah territories, which he pretended had been assigned for his support.

14. MEENAH BAE, the widow of ANUND ROW, is the daughter of the eldest sister of GAHENA BAE, the senior widow of GOVIND ROW GUICKWAR, a woman of considerable ability, whose influence had for many years been paramount at the Court of Baroda, nor did her niece prove inferior in either talent or high spirit. This Princess was pregnant when her husband died, and fearing the designs of MORAREE ROW, an illegitimate son of JESWUNT ROW PUAR, who had formed a party at Dhar, she went to Mandoo, where she was delivered of a son called RAMCHUNDER ROW PUAR. This event gave strength to her cause, and the Killedar of the Fort of Dhar remaining faithful, obliged MORAREE ROW to have recourse to deceit. MEENAH BAE was persuaded by his professions of obedience and attachment to come to the Capital, but instead of allowing her to go into the Fort, as she expected, he compelled her to occupy a place in the town, where she was surrounded by troops, against whom she had to maintain a petty siege, which at one time proceeded to the extreme of her enemy trying to burn the house* in which she and her adherents lived; but the spirit of MEENAH BAE was not to be subdued, and while this contest was carrying on, she exchanged her child with that of a peasant's wife, and keeping the latter she instructed the woman to carry the young Rajah to the Fort, which was effected during the night. A. D. 1807.

* I listened when at Dhar in December 1818, to the animated detail which MEENAH BAE gave me of those events. Ask BAPPOO RAGONAUTH, she said, and others who are near you, what advice they gave me, when the house in which I lived was ready to be enveloped in flames; but I told them I would remain where my honor required I should, and if the purpose of my enemy was accomplished, it would be a Suttee (self-sacrifice) worthy of my late husband.

night. Moraree Row, the moment he discovered what had occurred, threatened vengeance; but the exulting mother told him he might wreak his rage on her as he pleased,—she was indifferent, now the Prince who represented the family was beyond his power. She had sent the Killedar a message, imploring him to defend her son to the last, and to be heedless of her fate. Moraree Row, after an unsuccessful attempt to take Dhar, fled upon hearing of the approach of a body of troops to the relief of Meenah Bae from Goojerat. The desperate condition of this principality had led the Regent Bae to apply every where for aid. Scindeah (in spite of his having been the principal despoiler) was solicited to save the legitimate Heir from ruin. The British Government was courted, through the Resident at Baroda, to interpose its protection; but it did not suit the convenience or policy of these States to interfere. The intreaties, danger, and spirited exertions of Meenah Bae at last interested her relations and friends so far, that supported by the influence of Gahena Bae, Seetaram, the Dewan of the Guickwar State, sent a force under his Brother Succaram Chimnajee to her support.

15. The avowed object of this aid was that of saving this principality from destruction; but it was no doubt contemplated, that Dhar might eventually become a dependance of the Guickwar Government, and the immediate expedition was looked to as a source of profit and strength to the individuals who had projected, and were employed upon it. The latter speculation was completely frustrated,—a load of debt was incurred without any adequate advantage. Succaram died, and his place was supplied by one of his officers Bappoo Raghonauth, who, though he failed in realizing the hopes of the Minister of Baroda, succeeded by his activity and energy, supported by the confidence and animated by the courage of Meenah Bae, in keeping this petty State alive, till those revolutions occurred which have restored it (though with reduced territories) to a condition of peace and permanent security far beyond what it had ever known.

16. The

16. The history of this change is short. During the last few years Meenah Bae, aided by her Goojerat friends, carried on with Moraree Row a petty warfare for the possession of the Principality, and made incursions on the territories of neighbouring Rajpoot Chiefs to support her Troops; for the country was rendered destitute of regular revenue, and they like others had no resource but plunder.

17. The Son of Anund Row died, but his Mother, sanctioned by the Hindu law, and by the concurrence of neighbouring Chiefs,* immediately adopted her Sister's Son, who was about the same age, and seated him on the Musnud, under the name of Ramchunder Puar. Moraree Row, after several vicissitudes, was ultimately compelled to leave the country, and soon after died. The Pergunnah of Kooksee was wrested from Dhar by the Mukranee Chief Muzaffer, who, having settled with a body of his countrymen in the strong country of Aly Mohun, which lies between Goojerat and Dhar, had made himself formidable to the latter, and several other petty States, on whom he in fact subsisted. The Goojerat Troops of Seetaram almost all retired to that country. Detachments of Scindiah's entered the Dhar territories to levy contributions, and within the last five years it has been subject to frequent predatory attacks from the Pindaries, and the different leaders of Holkar's Army.

18. At the commencement of the year in which the British Troops entered Malwa, Dhar was its only possession, and the whole Revenues of the Principality did not amount to more than Thirty-five Thousand Rupees; but while the Bae and her adopted Son lived in the Fortress, Bappoo Raghonauth with a rabble of an army, amounting to eight or nine thousand men, plundered the country, and levied contributions from Dongurpore to Nemaur. The advance of the English Armies gave advantages that were not neglected. Dowlut Row Scindiah was opportunely reminded of the gross injustice of his keeping the Pergun- A. D. 1817.
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* Both Dowlut Row Scindiah and Jeswunt Row Holkar concurred in this adoption.

nah of Budnawur, after the money for which it had been pledged was paid. His aid to recover Bersiah from the Pindarry Chief KURREEM was also solicited, and it was intimated, that should he refuse compliance the PUAR Prince must seek justice from the English, now the arbiters of India. The Court of Gwalior was not at that moment willing, that such a reference should be made. Budnawur was restored, and a promise made by SCINDIAH's Government to use its influence in re-obtaining the possession of Bersiah,—but that, from its being occupied by Pindarries, became an early conquest of the British Government, who not only restored it to the PUAR family at Dhar, but have since extended to that State a protection, from the benefits of which it already enjoys complete tranquility.

19. The Revenues of the petty State of Dhar will be hereafter noticed; it is rising into prosperity under the protection of the British Government.

20. The young RAJAH RAMCHUNDER PUAR is a fine boy, of twelve years of age. The Regent MEENAH BAE, who is still young in years, though old in the vicissitudes of life, entertains the most lively gratitude towards the English Government, and BAROO RAGHONAUTH is now displaying the same zeal and energy in promoting cultivation and tranquility, that he did two years ago in plundering and in disturbing* the general peace.

PUARS OF DEWASS.

21. It has been before stated, that SEWAJEE PUAR had two grandsons,

* I upbraided this intelligent and active man with his former courses, and asked how he could assemble and maintain an army of eight thousand men, without the means of paying eight hundred. His answer was prompt. "Can you contemplate what has occurred and blame the foresight that succeeded by keeping up the contest on any terms to preserve the title to a principality. With respect to our being plunderers, he added, there was no other class in Malwa. The course pursued was the only one left to protract the existence of this petty state, and we were from year to year in hopes that the extremity of misery to which the country was reduced would cause some great change, that has occurred, and you will judge by the future, he concluded, whether we are worthy of better fortune than we before enjoyed."

sons, SUMBAJEE and KALLAJEE. The descendants of the former became, as has been related, possessors of Dhar; those of KALLAJEE* appear to have pursued, though with less distinction, and to have experienced, though on a lesser scale, nearly the same fortunes as the elder brother of the family. KALLAJEE's two sons, TUKAJEE and JEVAJEE, came with BAJEEROW into Malwa, and in the subsequent division of that Province they obtained possession of Dewass, Sarungpore, Allote, and several other districts. This family subsequently received a grant of the District of Hummerpoor in Bundelcund, and of Kundelah in Hindoostan. These two latter possessions they have lost; but the remainder have continued (though often overrun and at times usurped by other powers) to the family. Though their name always obtained them some respect from their more powerful Mahratta neighbours, the Puars of Dewass have suffered throughout the last thirty years the extreme of misery. They have been in fact the sport of every change. With territories situated in the most distracted part of Malwa, and unable to maintain any force, they have alternately been plundered and oppressed not only by the Governments of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR, but by the Pindarry chiefs, and indeed every freebooter of the day. A detail of their history during the last twenty-five years only leaves an impression of wonder at their being in existence, or having an inhabited Village in their possessions; but all that belonged to them in Malwa is now restored. Sarungpore, which had been seized by SCINDIAH, was last year returned, and their territories (under the protection of the British Government, which has concluded a treaty with them) are rising into prosperity, and promise at an early period to give a larger revenue than they have ever yet enjoyed.

22. The first territory of the Puars of Dewass in Malwa was given to the two brothers, who followed BAJEEROW. They had a quarrel which led to a division of lands and villages, but the original union of power

* The Puars of Dewass have given me an account of the family, by which KALLAJEE is stated to be the elder Brother.

power and authority has been revived in their descendants. TUKAJEE, the elder of the two Rajahs of Dewass, is the grandson of Tukajee, one of the first possessors—while ANUND ROW, his cousin, is the adopted son of the grandson of JEWAJEE. They are equal in rank, in pretensions, and have equal share in all receipts. An enquiry was made into their exact relations to ascertain how they were to be treated in points of form and ceremony. It was explained by one of their officers, saying with a smile, "*If one lime is presented by a villager, it must be cut into equal parts* "*and divided between our two Rajahs.*" It was early discovered, that, though their chiefs were personally on good terms, their principal servants often came in collision, and in making arrangements for their future welfare, the chief object was to induce them to appoint one Minister. To this they agreed,* and the nomination of BAPPOO SUCCARAM, a respectable old servant of the family to this office, has placed their territories in a most improving state.

FAMILY OF SCINDIAH.

23. The family of SCINDIAH are Soodrahs of the tribe of KOOMBEE, or Cultivators. RANAJEE SCINDIAH the first, who became eminent as a soldier, had succeeded to his hereditary office of Poteyl of Kumerkerrah in the Pergunnah of Wye, when he was taken into the service of the PAISHWAH BALLAJEE WISWANATH, after whose death he continued in that of his son BAJEEROW BELALL. The humble office of RANAJEE was that of carrying the slippers of the PAISHWAH, but being near the person of the chief Minister of an Empire in any capacity is deemed an honor in India; and the frequent instances of rapid rise from the lowest to the highest rank lead men of respectability to seek such stations, and it is likely that ambition, not necessity, led the principal officer of a village to become in the first instance the menial servant of BALLAJEE WISWANATH.

* The arrangement was facilitated by the hereditary Minister of one of these Rajahs being a minor.

WISWANATH.—RANAJEE's rise is imputed to accident,* but he soon shewed himself worthy of the station he acquired, which was a command in the Pagah or stable-horse. From this period his rise was rapid, and we find him, when BAJEEROW came into Malwa, in the first rank of Mahratta Chiefs, subscribing a bond of security to the Emperor MAHOMED SHAH for the good conduct of his Master. RANAJEE appears to have been a very enterprizing active soldier, but his expences went far beyond his means, and he was loaded with debt. In the discharge of some of this he was aided by MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, with whom he formed a very intimate connection, the first bond of which was probably their similarity of condition, which gave them as military leaders a common interest. He died in Malwa, and is interred near Shujawulpore, at a small village called from him Ranagunge.

24. RANAJEE SCINDIAH had been married in the Deckan to a woman † of his own tribe, by whom he had three sons, JYEPAH, DUTTAJEE and JUTTOBAH, the two eldest of whom were distinguished as commanders. JYEPAH, who had been employed upon the earliest expeditions to Malwa, was after many vicissitudes of fortune massacred ‡ at Nagpore by two Rhattore Rajpoots, employed by BAJY SINGH, Rajah of Joudpore, against whom he was advancing at the head of a large force. DUTTAJEE, who had accompanied RAGONAUTH ROW in his conquests as far north as Lahore, was defeated and slain on the plain of Radber near

* It is stated that BAJEEROW on coming out from a long audience with the SAHOO Rajah, found RANAJEE asleep on his back with the slippers of his master clasped with fixed hands to his breast. This extreme care of so trifling a charge is said to have struck BAJEEROW forcibly; he expressed his satisfaction, and, actuated by motives common to men in the enjoyment of such power, he appointed RANAJEE to the Pagah or stable-horse.

This anecdote receives confirmation from a letter of Captain STEWART, Acting Resident at SCINDIAH's Court, dated 3d September, 1819: "RANAJEE (he observes) is stated, after he was promoted, to have carried with him carefully packed in a box, a pair of the PAISHWAH's old slippers, which he never ceased to regard with almost religious veneration as the source of his rise."

† Her name was MEENAH BAE.

‡ There is a beautiful Chutteree or Mausoleum over the ashes of this Chief on the banks of the Sacred Lake of Poorhur, and the sum of fifteen thousand rupees per annum was assigned by the SCINDIAH family on the revenues of Ajmere as its endowment.

near Delhi. JUTTOBAH, the younger brother, died at Kambure near Degh in Hindostan.

25. RANAJEE SCINDIAH besides this family had two sons by a Rajpoot woman, whom he obtained in Malwa, TUKAJEE and MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, the latter of whom, after his Nephew JUNKAJEE (the son of JYEPAH) was slain at Paniput, became the head of this family. His character early developed itself, and his rise to a station, to which he had no right from birth, would not appear to have been disputed. This chief was present at the battle of Paniput. He fled from the disastrous field, but was pursued to a great distance by an AFGHAN,* who on reaching him gave him a wound in the knee with a battle-axe, that deprived him for life of the use of his right leg. His enemy, content with inflicting this wound, and stripping him of some ornaments and his mare, left MADHAJEE to his fate. He was first discovered by a Bheastie, or water-carrier, of the name of RAMOO† KHAN, who was among the fugitives; this man placing him upon his bullock carried him towards the Deckan.

26. The survivors of the Mahrattas fled from the field of Paniput to the Deckan, and for a period the nation seemed stunned with the effects of that dreadful‡ day; but the return of AHMED SHAH ABDULLIE to Cabul, and the contests among the MAHOMEDAN NOBLES for the different Provinces

* MADHAJEE used frequently to recount the particulars of this pursuit. His fine Deckanee mare carried him a great way ahead of the strong ambling animal upon which the soldier who singled him for his prey was mounted; but during a pursuit of more than sixty miles, he used to say, whenever he rested for a period however short, his enemy appeared keeping the same rate; at last his fatigued mare fell into a ditch. He was taken, wounded, spit upon, and left. He used to say to the British Resident at his Court, the late General PALMER, that the circumstance had made so strong an impression upon his imagination, that he could not for a long time sleep without seeing the Affghan and his clumsy charger pacing after him and his fine Deckanee mare.

† His service was gratefully rewarded. RAMOO KHAN, the water carrier, was afterwards styled the Bhaee or Brother of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, raised to the first commands in his army, and afterwards loaded with favors. His Grandson (a weak young man) still enjoys some of the Jugheers that were granted to his ancestor.

‡ Few actions have been attended with greater carnage; the lowest at which the loss of the Mahratta army is estimated is more than two hundred thousand men, half of whom were slain, and the moral effect was still greater. The armies of the nation had collected for the struggle, and defeat was for a moment felt as the annihilation of their power.

Provinces of the broken Empire, enabled them to reoccupy Malwa, and again to spread themselves over Hindostan.

27. The family of SCINDIAH, with that of other Mahratta chiefs, had lost by the battle of PANIPUT their possessions in Hindostan and Malwa. MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, however, independant of his being the most distinguished leader of the PAUGAH of BALLAJEE, who had succeeded his father BAJEEROW in the imperial office of PAISHWAH, had entertained a large force of his own, and the death of MULHAR ROW, the founder of the family of HOLKAR, which took place three years after the defeat of PANIPUT, made him the first of the Mahratta military chiefs. His behaviour on the occurrence of MULHAR ROW's death was generous towards the family. When RAGOBAH, the uncle of the PAISHWAH,* and then commanding in Malwa, desired to coerce ALIAH BAEE, the widow of the son of MULHAR ROW, and the representative of the family, into an arrangement that would have destroyed its power, MADHAJEE,† though he offered his personal service as belonging to the household troops of the PAISHWAH, refused to command the Army which he had collected, independant of that Ruler, to act against the family of a deceased leader of eminence. His example was followed by JANNOJEE BHONSLAH of Nagpore, and the designs of RAGOBAH were frustrated.

28. The Mahrattas, having again collected an Army, marched three years after the defeat of PANIPUT in considerable force‡ into Hindostan, under VISAGEE KRISHN BEENA WALLAH, who commanded on the part of the PAISHWAH, and received a nominal obedience from MADHAJEE SCINDIAH; but that Chief had not commenced his own plans for forming a separate, if not independant Sovereignty. He had succeeded to all those assignments A. D 1764.

* MADHOO ROW, Son of BALLAJEE.

† It may be doubted whether this conduct was altogether gratuitous. ALIAH BAE had come into the possession of a full treasury, and there is reason to believe she used some of it with other means to gain the friendship of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH and the BHONSLAH on this critical occasion.

‡ This expedition was directed against NUJEEB UL DOWLAH, who had succeeded to the management of affairs at Delhi, which he conducted in the name of the weak SHAH ALLUM.

assignments of lands made to his father to pay the troops of the family; and both in Malwa and Hindostan, Rajah after Rajah was laid under contributions, and district after district was added to the territory he governed, in the name of the PAISHWAH, and though the share of the latter in these possessions was only nominal, his commands were made the pretext of exactions and conquests, from which his own territories were not exempt; for MADHAJEE SCINDIAH took full advantage of the dissensions which occurred at Poonah, after the death of BALLAJEE, to usurp as far as he could the rights and lands of the Chief of the Empire to the North of the Nerbuddah. The detail of the progress of this system of spoliation of both friend and foe is not necessary: suffice it to say, this able Chief was the principal opposer of the English in the war they carried on in favor of RAGOBAH. He was the nominal slave, but the actual master of the unfortunate SHAH ALLUM, Emperor of Delhi, the pretended friend, but the real enemy of the house of HOLKAR, the professed inferior in all matters of form, but the real superior and oppressor of the Rajpoot Princes of Marwar and Mewar, and the proclaimed soldier, but the actual plunderer of the family of the PAISHWAH.

29. Though by the Treaty of Salbye SCINDIAH became, as far as related to the English Government, an independent Prince, he continued to observe, on all other points which refered to his ties with the Poonah Government, the most scrupulous attention to forms.* When he became master of SHAH ALLUM and his Capital, he made the degraded Emperor sign a Commission appointing the Paishwah Vakeel-ul-Mootlik, or Vicegerent, and received from the head of the Mahratta State one

* MADHAJEE SCINDIAH originally carried on all affairs in the name of the PAISHWAH, and not only his Ministers, but all his public Servants, even to his Chobdars or Mace-bearers, were called the PAISHWAH's; but during the minority of SEVAI MADHOO ROW, when NANAH FURNAVEES was Dewan, all SCINDIAH's possessions South of the Chumbul were made over to his direct authority. In the conquests made North of the Chumbul, the PAISHWAH's name was used, and two principal Officers from Poonah attended MADHAJEE to guard the interests of the Chief of the Empire. On first entering Hindostan some grants were made in the PAISHWAH's name, but when the latter was nominated Vakeel-ul-Mootlik at Delhi, these were recalled, and regular Sunnuds given in the name of the Emperor with the Seal of the PAISHWAH, as Minister, and of MADHAJEE as his Deputy.

one as his Deputy in that high office; but when he came to Poonah, during the rule of the second MADHOO ROW, a scene was exhibited, which stands perhaps alone amid all the mummery to which the mock humility of artful and ambitious leaders has resorted to deceive the world. The actual Sovereign of Hindostan from the Sutledge to Agra, the conqueror of the Princes of Rajpootana, the Chief of an army composed of sixteen Battalions of regular Infantry, five hundred pieces of cannon, and one hundred thousand Horse, the possessor of two thirds of Malwa and some of the finest Provinces in the Deckan, when he went to pay his respects to a youth who then held the office of Paishwah, dismounted from his elephant at the gates of Poonah, placed himself in the great hall of audience below all the Mankerries or hereditary chiefs of the State, and when the PAISHWAH came into the room, and after receiving the salutes, desired him to be seated with others, he objected on the ground of being unworthy of the honor, and untying a bundle that he carried under his arm, he produced a pair of slippers which he placed before MADHOO ROW, saying, "This is my occupation, it was that of my Father." MADHAJEE, at the moment he said this, took the old slippers which he wrapped up carefully, and continued to hold them under his arm, after which, though with apparent reluctance in the presence of his master, allowed himself to be prevailed upon to sit down. This was not the only instance in which MADHAJEE SCINDIAH professed to feel pride, instead of shame, at the recollection of the origin of his family, as well as its first occupations. He had added to their property as Mahratta Ryuts in the Deckan, by some purchases, and he desired to be called by the title he derived from his humble inheritance. The feeling was national and made him popular, but he had no doubt other motives: these indeed are described in a common saying in India, "That MADHAJEE SCINDIAH made himself a sovereign, by calling himself a Poteyl;" but though we may smile at a conduct which appeared an endeavour to reconcile stations and duties that were incompatible, it must be confessed, that

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this able Chief was throughout his life consistent in the part he acted, which appeared more natural, from that manly simplicity of character which led him equally to despise the trappings of State, and the allurements of luxury. His actions were suited to the character of that Society in which he was born, which had a just pride in his talent and energy, and accounted him one of the ablest, as he was the most successful, of Mahratta leaders. Though MADHAJEE, following the example of the first Chiefs of his Nation, was content with the substance of power, and left others to wear its robes, there are strong grounds to conclude, he at one time cherished the intention of giving to his vast possessions a more settled and permanent form; but this plan, if he ever entertained it, was frustrated. His career (which was one of constant action) was marked by many acts of violence and oppression, but he was nevertheless a man of a mild disposition, and particularly desirous of improving the countries that he conquered or usurped. His ambition was however restless; and, tempted on one hand by the dissolution of the Moghul Empire, and on the other by the weakness and distraction of the rulers of his own nation, he extended his territories and influence too widely, and too rapidly, to admit of their being well managed.

30. MADHAJEE SCINDIAH continued through life to retain many Mahrattas in his Service, but, as he was during the greater part engaged in wars to the North of the Nerbuddah, these were soon outnumbered by Rajpoots and Mahomedans. This was, though unmarked at the moment, a serious departure from the first principles of the Mahratta confederacy; the habits of that nation were thus given to a population acting from a different impulse, and with few congenial feelings, but the policy of MADHAJEE carried this change a step further. His genius saw, that to realize his plans the mere predatory hordes of the MAHRATTAS could never prove adequate. It was a circle of plunder, and as one country was exhausted, the army had to march, with numbers encreased by those whose condition their success had made desperate, to ravage another. They had in their first excursions little or no means of reducing

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ing forts, nor did their system of war admit of protracted hostilities in a difficult country, and against a resolute enemy. These wants were early discovered by their enemies. The Bheels from their mountains, and the Rajpoots and others from their strong holds, (which were multiplied by their fortifying every village) not only resisted, but retorted upon the Mahrattas, by laying waste their lands, the wrongs they had suffered. This evil was not to be remedied but by a regular force. We are distinctly informed, that its existence led MAHDAJEE SCINDIAH to determine upon the measure he now adopted, of raising some Corps of Infantry, and accident gave him the aid of a man of no ordinary description. DE BOIGNE, who entered his service at this period, is said to have been brought by chance to the notice of MADHAJEE, who discovered in the author of a plan to frustrate his operations against GOHUD, that Military genius, which was afterwards to raise him to a greater if not a more consolidated* power than any Indian Ruler had attained since the death of AURUNGZEBE.

31. MADHAJEE, accompanied by the Brigades or Campoos as they were termed of DE BOIGNE, took forts and fought pitched battles, in a manner that the Mahrattas never before attempted. Not merely the petty disturbers of the peace of Hindostan and Malwa were attacked and subdued, but the proud spirit of the higher Rajpoot States was completely broken. The Battle of Meirtah, which was fought against the collected † Force of Marwar, was a great triumph, and fixed the ascendancy ‡ of

* The numbers of his regular Troops were increased from two Battalions to eight, and afterwards to sixteen, with eighty pieces of Artillery and a Corps of well-appointed Cavalry. The Pay and Equipments of this Army were liberally fixed, and the successive proofs which they gave of their superiority led to arrangements which made this body of men for a long period more efficient than any one of a similar nature that had ever been instituted in India.

† Two thousand Horse of the tribe of CHUNDAWUT, of the Marwar Army, made the only effort on this memorable day; they actually cut through DE BOIGNE's Corps, but were, when rallying to return, almost destroyed by grape, A. D. 1790.

‡ BEEJA SINGH, who was Ruler of Marwar when the Battle of Meirtah was fought, was the same Prince who had directed the murder of JYEPAH SCINDIAH, and independant of the Tribute now exacted, accession of the Province of AJMERE was demanded and made as the price of the blood of that Leader.

of MADHAJEE over that principality and the neighbouring weak state of MEWAR, the ruler of which had twenty years before been compelled to make over some of its most fertile possessions* to the families of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR, soon after the battle of Meirtah. DE BOIGNE fought an action with the Troops of Jyepore, aided by the Army of ISMAEL BEG, at Pattun.† To these victories were added the defeat at Lakheree of JUNKAJEE HOLKAR and the destruction of four corps of
A. D. 1792. regular Infantry under a French‡ Officer in the service of that Chief. Before this last action took place, MADHAJEE SCINDIAH had left Malwa, and arrived at Poonah, where he died in A. D. 1794.

32. The character of this Prince is shewn in his life, the object of which was to give a more permanent shape to his government than had ever belonged to that of a Mahratta Chief. His success was great, and he improved it to the utmost. He generally resided in Hindostan, but sometimes came to Malwa, and remained for a short time at Oujein. The countries under his own observation were well managed, as were all those where the inhabitants were peaceable and obedient; but in his efforts to reduce the Chiefs of Hindostan, the Princes of Rajpootana, and the petty Rajahs of Malwa to the state of subjects, he let loose all the irregular violence of his Army, and the proceedings of some of those he employed to complete the subjugation of the Rajpoots were marked by a spirit of rapacity and oppression, that has perhaps never been surpassed in the annals of the Mahrattas.

33. MADHAJEE SCINDIAH had been early the enemy of the English, but he was not insensible to the benefit he derived from that nation, acknowledging

* In A. D. 1771, Jowud, Neemutch, Ruttenghur, Khonee and Byjpoor were made over to MADHAJEE SCINDIAH. Bampoorah, Rampoorah, Mulharghur and the Purtarbghur tribute were given to the Government of HOLKAR. The amount of these cessions is computed at seventy-five lacks of Rupees.

† Usually called Rowke Puttun. It is on the Shahkavuttee frontier.

‡ Monsieur DUDERNAIC was the Commander of this Corps. He escaped, but every other European Officer with them was either killed or wounded.

§ AMBAJEE INGLIAH, who was first deputed after the battle of Meirtah, joined with his oppression of their Princes considerable kindness and consideration for the Ryuts; and the country under the direct rule of the Mahrattas was, while under him, well managed,—at his departure the scene of devastation commenced.

knowledging him as an independant Prince, which was done by the term of the Treaty* of Salbye, and by keeping a Resident at his Court; but these circumstances could not make him indifferent to the rapid growth of a foreign power, and it is probable that the materials he collected for Empire were formed into the shape he gave them, with a hope that they might one day prove sufficient to arrest its progress; he refused to become a party in the Treaty of Poonah, and he arrived at that City when Lord CORNWALLIS was before Seringapatam against TIPPOO,† with (it was conjectured) no friendly feeling to the British nation. Whatever were his designs as relating to the English, he did not live to put them into execution, and his great power devolved, before it was well condensed, upon a successor so little equal, from his extreme youth, to complete the arduous task that he had inherited.

34. MADHAJEE SCINDIAH had no Sons; his Brother TUKAJEE had three,‡ the eldest of whom died without issue. The second had two sons, but feelings of affection for the Father, led MADHAJEE SCINDIAH to adopt as his heir, DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, the Son of his youngest Nephew ANUND ROW, who was only thirteen years of age, when his grand uncle died, and left him not only his vast Countries, but an Army which rendered him the most powerful Chief of the Mahratta Empire. The succession of DOWLUT ROW was disputed by a party formed

* This Treaty, which was negotiated by Mr. DAVID ANDERSON, has been often alluded to as furnishing an extraordinary proof of the "Anomalous Government of the Maharattas, SCINDIAH, a Military Cief, subordinate to the PAISHWAH, becoming guarantee for the latter's conduct." But at this period the actual condition of the State warranted the assumption. The Infant PAISHWAH was in the hands of a Dewan, NANAH FURNAVEES, who was, like SCINDIAH, an Officer of the State; and it was in fact whatever Etiquette in form required a guarantee by the leading Military Chief of the Mahratta Empire, of the conduct of one of the principal Officers, and done with the latter's advice and concurrence, and after all MADHAJEE SCINDIAH had the precedent of his Father, who was one of the four principal Chiefs, who became in A. D. 1743 guarantee to the Emperor, MAHOMED SHAH, that the PAISHWAH BALLAJEE, then in the plenitude of power, should not infringe the engagement into which he had entered with the Sovereign of Delhi.

† MADAHJEE SCINDIAH had a short time before proposed to become a party in the confederacy against that Prince, on condition that the British Government would grant him two Battalions to march with him to Poonah. "Engage to defend his possessions in Hindostan, and aid him in his wars with the Rajpoot States." This proposition was for obvious causes rejected.

‡ KEDANJEE, JOTEEBA, and ANNUND ROW.

formed by the principal wives of the late MADHAJEE, who proclaimed another Prince, and having assembled an Army did not give up the contest, till they had been defeated in several actions. The territories of the SCINDIAH family in Malwa, which were at the death of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH nearly the same as at present, though of considerable extent, were comparatively a small part of the dominions inherited by DOWLUT Row, the foundation of whose power was laid in Hindostan, and the greatest part of his regular army subsisted upon the revenues of that country, as also upon those tributes, which its discipline and efficiency enabled him to collect from the Princes of Rajpootana. The Government of HOLKAR, which had declined from the death of its founder MULHAR Row, had been expelled from all share in the territories north of Jypore. Its title to the tribute of that country, however, was still recognized; but this, as well as the preservation of its possessions in Malwa, was owing in the latter years of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, less to any power the HOLKAR family possessed of maintaining its rights, than to those ties which as yet subsisted between Mahratta Chiefs, and which were not forgotten, even in the hour of battle. This national feeling gave a peculiar feature to their occasional contests with each other, which frequently terminated in a way that was unintelligible to those who did not understand the character of the confederacy. The value of this disposition to reunion, when apparently in the most broken and divided state, had been fully appreciated by MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, and he maintained, sometimes by great sacrifices, all those bonds and relations upon which it depended. When in the plenitude of power he did not deny the justice, though he evaded, by a counter statement of expences, the payment of the large demands made upon him by NANAH FURNAVESE, for the PAISHWAH's share of the revenues of Malwa and Hindostan, and of the tributes he had collected. He is said to have discharged part of a large debt his Father owed to the house of HOLKAR, and when a dispute about their respective shares of the tributes led to his Troops attacking those of TUKA-

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JEE at Lekhairee, no advantage was taken of the latter's defeat, beyond the favorable settlement of the point in dispute, and we find MADHAJEE immediately afterwards in the most amicable and intimate intercourse with this Chief; but sentiments and conduct such as have been described could not be expected in his successor. Born and educated at a distance from the Deckan, surrounded by Europeans, Mahomedans, and Rajpoots, despising, when opposed to his disciplined bands, the irregular and predatory hordes, whose activity and enterprize had established the fame of his ancestors, DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH was, and considered himself, more as the principal Sovereign of India, than a Chief of the Mahratta confederacy. Some national feelings were still cherished by the high hereditary Officers of his Government, but their attachment to the former usages and rules of the Empire was unequal to resist the growing influence of the Rajpoot and Patan Soldiers, who constituted the bulk of his Army, and whose Commanders were among the first rank of his counsellors.

35. During the life of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, though intrigues were in progress among the different Mahratta Chiefs for the management of the Affairs of the PAISHWAH, whose power had for a long period, like that of the SAHOO Rajahs, become nominal, no open rupture took place, and the peace of the country was preserved. The war undertaken against the NIZAM promised to their united efforts so easy and rich a booty, that it proved, for the few months it continued, a bond of union; but this short campaign soon terminated in a convention, by which the NIZAM, in alarm for his person and family, purchased safety at an enormous sacrifice of territory and treasure. This great success was immediately followed by a scene of intrigue, art, and treachery, which is perhaps unparalleled. The chief of those events, which may be enumerated as its causes and consequences were, the unfortunate death of the young PAISHWAH MADHOO ROW, the death of TUKAJEE HOLKAR, the imprisonment of NANAH FURNAVESE, the murder of PURSERAM BHOW, and the release of

A. D. 1795.

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AZIMAL OMRAH, Prime Minister of the NIZAM, who had been given as a hostage for the performance of his Master's engagements. During the contests that ensued between the different Mahratta Chiefs, the Poonah territories were laid waste, and all the miseries, which the predatory bands of the Mahrattas had inflicted upon other countries, were now retaliated by the inhabitants of Malwa and Hindostan; for of such (as has been before stated) the Armies of both HOLKAR and SCINDIAH were almost entirely composed. The youth of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH has been stated as an excuse for his early abuse of power, but his unfortunate marriage with the daughter of SIRJEE ROW GHATKIA, (which took place at this period) by placing that designing and wicked man at the head of his Councils, was perhaps the chief cause of that shameless and bold rapacity which marked the commencement of his reign. The seizure of NANAH FURNAVESE in violation of the most sacred pledges, the murder of several Brahmins, (among whom was the brother of NANAH) the plunder* of the inhabitants of Poonah, and the principal places in its vicinity, the giving his aid to CASSEE ROW HOLKAR to slay his brother MULHAR ROW, and the confinement of KUNDY ROW, the infant son of the unfortunate MULHAR ROW, were among the crimes of this Prince before he left the Deckan. When he returned to Malwa, whither he was summoned by alarm at the growing power of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, his conduct on every occasion shewed that his views of aggrandizement were unchecked by any of those scruples that had restrained his predecessor. He accepted, as has been stated, from the rebellious Minister of Dhar two Provinces of the Puar Princes; the whole of the Dewass Territory was seized, and only restored on the payment of a fine.

36. JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR had, before DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH reached Malwa, made himself master of Ougein, but was satisfied with exacting a large amount from its wealthy inhabitants, and he forbade its being plundered; but SIRJEE ROW GHATKIA, who commanded a force, which

* One of the chief pretexts was the expences of the Marriage with BAIZEE BAE, the daughter of SIRGEE ROW.

which a few months afterwards defeated JESWUNT ROW, and took possession of Indore, sacked that city in the most merciless manner, and ordered its principal houses to be burnt, after he had either murdered or pillaged of their property the greater part of its inhabitants. This profligate Chief was well aided in the work of destruction by his friends the Pindarries, numbers of whom were at this period attached to SCINDIAH'S Army. The Pergunnah of Indore, and several others belonging to the HOLKAR family, were, on this occasion, placed under the management of SCINDIAH'S Officers, without any form being observed, either of resuming them in the name of the PAISHWAH, or of declaring the possession temporary, till the succession to the HOLKAR territory was settled. This was considered a departure from usage, that forms a new era in Mahratta History, and the cause of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR was greatly strengthened by the union which it promoted among the adherents of the house of HOLKAR, who, however hostile to the character and pretensions of JESWUNT ROW, saw nothing but the complete ruin of the family in the success of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.

87. The* period of trouble, as it is emphatically called, had now commenced in Malwa, but the tide of intrigue and war was again turned to the Deckan. JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR marched towards Poonah, with the professed design of making the PAISHWAH; BAJEEROW, Arbiter of the difference between the family of HOLKAR and SCINDIAH. This movement forced SCINDIAH to leave Malwa. He first went to Boorhanpore, from whence he sent a detachment to join BAJEEROW, and to maintain his preponderance in the Councils of that Prince.—The arrival of SCINDIAH'S Troops at Poonah put an end to JESWUNT ROW'S hopes (if he ever entertained any) from the PAISHWAH, and his fear of being hemmed in between two forces,

* GURDEKA WUKT, or the time of trouble, is the name given to the period from 1800 to 1818; that is, from the first appearance of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, as the supporter of his Family against DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, till the destruction of the Pindarries, A. D. 1818.

A. D. 1802. forces, if SCINDIAH advanced, led him to instant hostilities. The victory obtained by this Chief, his alliance with AMRUT ROW, the flight of BAJEEROW, the Treaty of Bassein, the interference of the British Government, its war with the Mahratta Chiefs, DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, and RAGOJEE BHOOSLAH, are events that do not belong to this part of the subject. Suffice it to say, that DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, after a vain trial of his strength against the Armies of the British Government, had within a few months all his dreams of glory and ambition dispelled. The Brigades* formed by DE BOIGNE, and completed by PERRON, were destroyed; upwards of five hundred guns, made in the arsenals which scientific Europeans had established in his dominions, were taken, and he was compelled to purchase peace by the sacrifice of some of the finest possessions in Goojerat, Hindostan and Bundelcund. This Prince had still a large territory, and, however little his conduct merited it, the doubtful Articles of the Treaty of SIRJEE ANJENGAUM were interpreted in his favor, and he gained by another enagagement, concluded two years afterwards, a considerable addition to his dominions. †

38. Subsequent to his making peace with the English Government, the Troops of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH were constantly employed in the reduction to his direct authority of the numerous Rajahs in Malwa and adjoining countries, who owed him allegiance or tribute. He was in general successful; many Chiefs were coerced into complete submission, while others were destroyed, but the result of this warfare was to feed and excite that predatory and turbulent spirit, which now pervaded Malwa. The miseries which that Province had suffered from Pindarries and Rajpoot Plunderers soon appeared as a light evil, to what it was destined

* The regular Infantry Brigades in the Army of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, at the commencement of the War, consisted of seventy-two Battalions, amounting in the aggregate number of armed men to forty-three thousand six hundred and fifty, with a large proportion of Field Artillery.

† The Territories of Gohud, and the Fort of Gwalior, were given up by the Treaty of Peace concluded at Muttra, in 1805.

destined to sustain from the regular Brigades, or Campoos, of its principal rulers. Those of SCINDIAH levied contribution indiscriminately on all the towns and villages through which they passed, and the constant state of mutiny these Corps were in, from want of pay, made their oppression of the inhabitants more indiscriminate and insufferable.

39. Those causes, which made DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH so instrumental in dissolving the ties by which the chiefs who constituted the loose confederacy were bound, have been stated; he had since attempted, in vain, to arrest the progress of British power by an union with RAGOJEE BHONSLAH and JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR. The feelings which had once supported such combinations no longer existed in any force. BAJEEROW however made a last effort to revive them, and there is ground to suppose that he succeeded to a very considerable extent. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH could not but be secretly hostile to a power, by which he had been so humbled as the English, and he saw with satisfaction the encreasing embarrassments of the war that nation was carrying on in Nepaul; but though his intrigues in that quarter, when discovered, were passed over with a generosity that must have made a strong impression, still he was not able to resist the call of the PAISHWAH, to whom there can be no doubt that he promised support; but SCINDIAH acted upon this occasion more from the recollection than the existence of ties, and from a sense of distant, not proximate, danger. Such motives were not of a strength to make a ruler, like him, engage in a war which, from the measures adopted to prevent his precipitating that step, must have commenced in the hazard of his sovereignty; he preferred the path of safety, and entered into an alliance, by which he engaged to combine his efforts with those of the Brstish Government in suppressing the predatory system, and restoring the general tranquility of the country. That this was an act of necessity, not choice, there can be no doubt; and it has been since proved, that he secretly

A. D. 1817.

endeavoured

endeavoured to evade the performance of engagements into which he had entered. But his situation was painful and difficult, and he was only able to preserve his dominions, by a departure from all that is deemed honor* in the tribe to which he belongs; he merited on this account the indulgence and consideration, with which he has been treated, and its effects have not been lost. Dowlut Row Scindiah, who is personally of a good disposition, and is now free from those Counsellors who betrayed and corrupted his youth, sees in their true light the motives that have actuated the British Government in their conduct towards him; he appears already to have conformed to the great change that has occurred, and, viewing the struggle for superiority as past, is forward to recognize the paramount power of the British Government, and to benefit, by its action being directed to restoring and

A. D. 1802. maintaining the peace of his dominions.

* The following is the literal translation of a Letter from Bajeerow to Dowlut Row Scindiah, given to me in April 1818, with an assurance of its being a true copy of the original. It purported to be taken from an Ackbar or Paper of Intelligence. "Your father Madhajee Scindiah agreeably to "the orders of the Sircar went to Delhi, was made a Wuzier, and acquired a high reputation. He "served us with his Heart and Soul. When you became his successor you entered into alliance with "the English; thus you govern in Hindostan, and thus you shew your gratitude. In thus serving us "it is befitting you to put bangles on your arms and sit down like a woman; after my power is de-"stroyed, is it possible that your's should stand?"

Dowlut Row, having heard the above, remained in much distress during two hours, and afterwards went to sleep; he sent no answer.

PART.

PART FIFTH.

FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

1. The family of Holkar are Soodras of the Dhoongur* or shepherd Tribe. The first who obtained any eminence, or indeed rose above the class of peasants in which he was born, was Mulhar Row. His father is only termed, in the record given to me by the present Minister† at Indore, a respectable cultivator or ryut of a village in the Deckan, called Hull,‡ from which this Chief and his decendants take their name of Holkar, or rather Holkur. §

2. Mulhar Row was born near the end of the Seventeenth Century;|| his father, whose name was Cundajee Chongula, died when he was between four and five years of age, and his mother, in consequence of some dispute with her husband's relations, removed to her brother's, Nuranjee¶ Bargul, a respectable zumeendar or landholder, who lived at

* In Hindostan this family are usually described as Gadrees or Goat-herds, which is a shade below the tribe of shepherds, to which they consider themselves to belong.

† Tantia Jogh.

‡ The village of Hull is in the Pergunnah of Phultin, in the Jaghire of Nunbalkur; it is near a bridge on the Neva, and about five coss from Phultin, and twenty coss from Poonah.

§ Many of the principal Mahratta families derive their name from a compound similarly formed from that of the village where they were born, and the substantive Kur, which signifies an inhabitant, as Nimbal-Kur, Pattun-Kur, &c.

|| I believe in A. D. 1693: there is no exact register or accurate account of births, except among the principal families, kept by the Mahrattas. They guess from events antecedent or subsequent to their birth. Had Mulhar Row been born a chief, his *Junnum Putr*, or State of the Heavens, written by the Astrologer at his birth, would have been kept. This is the usage among all Hindus of any rank.

¶ In a Persian MS. in my possession, she is said to have carried her son to one of her brothers called Mudhkur, who resided at the village of Sasunt; but I follow in this place the paper given me by the present Minister, Tantia Jogh, which I believe to be correct. Mudhkur was the maternal uncle of the second Mulhar Row, the son of Tukajee, and the similarity of name has occasioned the mistake of the Mahomedan author.

at the town of Taloudah in Candeish. The first employment of his nephew marks the condition of NARANJEE. MULHAR ROW was for several years appointed to watch the sheep of the family, from which occupation (according to a fable which belongs to the youth of almost all Hindus that have attained eminence) he was only released by the accident of a snake having been seen to interpose its crest or hood,* between his face and the rays of the sun, as he lay asleep in the fields. This gave at first alarm, but was afterwards construed favorably; and, according to the family record, his uncle NARANJEE, acting from the impression it made, placed him in a small party† of Horse that he kept in the service of KUDDUM BANDEE, a Mahratta Chief of rank, connected with the family of SEVAJEE, to whose Jaghire Taloudah belonged. Whatever circumstances raised the young HOLKAR from the occupation of a shepherd to that of a soldier, he early shewed that he possessed all the qualities necessary to acquire distinction in the latter. In one of the first actions in which he was engaged, he slew a leader of NIZAM UL MULK. This deed, and his extraordinary zeal and activity on all expeditions, brought him into early notice. His uncle NARANJEE gave him his daughter ‡ in marriage, and after a few years his encreasing fame

* The snake was one of the COVRA CAPELLA, a species which is deemed peculiarly sacred.

† Twenty five in number.

‡ The name of this lady was GOTAMA BAE, who afterwards rose to celebrity as the principal and indeed only wife of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR. Her family, that of BARGUL, are now extinct. The Brother of GOTAMA BAE (whose name like his father was NARRAIN) attained some eminence. He was in the service of the Rajah of Oudepore, who gave him the Pergunnah of Boodda, near Mundissore, as a Jaghire, half of which he bestowed as a present to his sister, who immediately named the principal town of her share MULHARGHUR, in honor of her husband, while her brother called the capital of his lands NARRAINGHUR. At the death of NARANJEE, this Jaghire went to his son BONJ ROW who, on the countries around his Jaghire being delivered over to the Mahrattas, became a Jaghiredar of the HOLKAR family. BONJ ROW died about thirty years ago, leaving the Jaghire to his sons, MOGAJEE and SHUMKUR ROW. It was resumed in the year 1805 by JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, and restored in 1807. MOGAJEE died A. D. 1813, leaving NARRAINGHUR to SHUMKUR ROW, who held it for two years, after which it was resumed, and SHUMKUR ROW, who fled to the neighbouring fastness of Sattobee, gained a precarious livelihood by plundering. To induce him to leave off these incursions, two villages of his former Jaghire were given him; of these he was deprived after the peace of Mundissor and the last of the family died a few months ago in the extreme of poverty.

fame led the PAISHWAH, BAJEEROW, to take him into his own service, in which he was at once raised to a charge of five hundred Horse. This change of masters was with the entire concurrence of KUDDUM BANDEE, who rejoiced in the good fortune of the young shepherd, while the latter gave a marked proof of his gratitude, by assuming the colors * of the Bandee chiefs as his standard; and it still remains that of the HOLKAR's, as it is of the GUICKWAR family, who were originally followers of the same leader.

3. The progress of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR to high command was very rapid. Shortly after he entered the PAISHWAH's service, he was detached with BAJEEROW's brother CHIMNAJEE to the KONKAN, in the subjection of which they were very successful. Bassein, Shastee, and many other places of reputed strength in that quarter, were wrested from the Portuguese. The fame that MULHAR ROW acquired on this occasion was subsequently increased by his conduct in a war with NIZAM ALI KHAN, † and on several expeditions, in one of which he went as far south as the territory of Balghat, or Upper Carnatic. A. D. 1757.

4. MULHAR ROW HOLKAR received ‡ his first lands north of the Nerbuddah (twelve Mahals) in 1728, and in 1731 seventy Mahals were granted § to this Chief, who appears at this period (probably to check the growing insolence and ambition of OUDAJEE PUAR) to have been nominated by a letter from the PAISHWAH to the general management ‖ of

* The standard is of a triangular shape, striped red and white, and surmounted by penons of streamers of the same colors. The present representative of the once-celebrated family of BANDEE is about twelve years of age—He fled some time ago from the persecution of the late Paishwah to Baroda to beg a pittance for his support from the Guickwar Rajah, whose ancestors owe in a great degree their rise to his family.

† HOLKAR acquired much distinction in an affair that took place at Rahisbon, and in the peace which followed he obtained several possessions for himself and family. The Pergunnah of Ambah was granted at this time to the family.

‡ In the Rozkurd or Diary of the Poonah Office in A. D. 1728, we find the first grants of twelve Mahals to MULHARJEE HOLKAR, and thirty-three to OUDAJEE PUAR.

§ Poonah Diary.

‖ It is mentioned in the Poonah Diary that in this year 1730-1, the Paishwah wrote a letter to MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, committing Malwa to his charge, and stating he must remit the claims of the Sircar, &c.

of the Mahratta interests in MALWA, and in the ensuing year he com-
A. D. 1732. manded, as has been stated, the advance of the Army that invaded that province when DIAH BAHADUR was defeated and slain. MULHAR ROW was at this period at the head of a considerable force, and obtained, before the Mahrattas ascended the Vindyah mountains, possession of several places in Nimar, of which the town of Mohysir was the principal. When Malwa was conquered, the Pergunnah of Indore was assigned him for the support * of his troops.

5. The high rank and consideration, which MULHAR ROW had at this time attained, have been before noticed; and it is sufficiently proved, by his name being in the deed of guarantee, given by the principal military leaders to MAHOMED SHAH, as a security against the insincerity or treachery of their superior, the PAISHWAH. He may, in fact, be deemed from the invasion of Malwa till his death (a period of more than thirty years) the most distinguished of the Military Chiefs† of the Mahratta Empire, and he appears from his continual employment to have been greatly favored by BAJEEROW, to whose authority he continued, even in the zenith‡ of his power, to pay the greatest deference. The life of this leader, though he established his family and government in Malwa, has little connection with the history of that province. The Deckan and Hindostan, but epecially the latter, were the scenes of his principal military achievements.—In one of the first incursions of BAJEEROW into that country, he was among the chiefs who plundered the celebrated Juttra, or fair at Khalka Bhowanee,§ within fifteen miles of Delhi, when the weak Emperor MAHOMED SHAH was residing at that capital.

* A. D. 1735—It was according to usage a Serinjam grant.

† He was by an order of the PAISHWAH associated with RANOJEE SCINDIAH, and directed to collect on account of Desmookh and other Mahratta claims thirty-five per cent. of the revenue of Malwa. These Chiefs were to pay one lack and five thousand rupees the first year, one lack and ten thousand the second, and one lack and twenty five thousand rupees the third and future years to the Poonah state; dividing the remainder betwixt them equally.

‡ Poonah Diary.

§ The Mahrattas on this memorable and bold incursion shewed their contempt of the Mahomedan power by hanging a hog over the bridge near HUMAOON's tomb.

capital. The booty taken was immense, and MULHAR ROW obtained on this occasion a share of wealth and fame, which completely recompensed him for a defeat, which he had sustained a few months before from the imperial army.* The PAISHWAH, who had been secretly aided in this enterprize by JYE SINGH, returned by the way of Kotah, and had an interview with that Rajpoot Prince, who with others of his tribe agreed to pay their tributes to the Mahrattas; and, on BAJEEROW proceeding to the Deckan, the principal charge of realizing this revenue, and of military operations, was committed to MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, to whom considerable lands† were assigned for the maintenance of his increased contingent. There is little interest in the detail of the predatory warfare he carried on in Malwa, Rajpootanna, and Hindostan; it was a series of petty actions, and of plundering incursions. In one of these MULHAR ROW took the baggage of MALIKA ZUMANEE, Queen of MAHOMED SHAH, and his family preserved with great care, till the death of ALIAH BAE, two substantial records of this Mahratta victory over the property of a female; the one was a Ruth, or carriage, the curtains of which were embossed with seed pearl, and the other a couch, richly ornamented with jewels, and worth upwards of one lack of rupees.

6. MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, encouraged by the wretched condition of the Moghul Empire, appears to have entertained the design of fixing the power of his nation permanently over Hindostan. We find him both alone, and in combination with other chiefs, labouring to effect this object, by operations which extended from the Province of Oude to the Indus, from the hills of Rajpootanna to the mountains of Kumaoon.

7. The

* The imperial Army was commanded by BURHAN-UL-MULK, who came up with MULHAR ROW at Mootta Baug near Agra, to which place he had come after ravaging part of the Dooab.—The Mahratta chief with difficulty escaped and joined BAJEEROW at Gwalior.

† His Serinjam land for the support of his troops is generally stated in a MS. in my possession to have been territory, and tributaries, yielding forty lacks of rupees in Malwa, and twenty lacks in the Deckan, or southward of the Sautpoorah range. The number of his contingent was fixed at fifteen thousand Horse.

A. D. 1751. 7. The Vizir SUFDUR JUNG had, in the reign of AHMED SHAH, called in the Mahrattas to save Oude from the Rohillas; and, during the war that ensued, MULHAR ROW HOLKAR particularly distinguished himself, by a night attack which he made with a very small body upon the enemy. The success upon this occasion is referred to a happy stratagem*. He directed torches and lights to be tied to the horns of some thousand cattle, which were driven in a particular direction, while in another he placed lights upon every bush and tree, and when this was done marched silently in the dark by another route to the attack. The enemy, pressed in one quarter by an actual assault, and seeing lights in several others, thought themselves surrounded and in danger of destruction; thay dispersed, and fled in dismay, leaving their camp to be plundered by the conquerors, whose leader acquired a just increase of fame for this victory; and, in recompence for his zeal and gallantry during the whole of this service, the Emperor granted him a Sunnud for the Desmookh of Chandore, which is the only Royal grant in possession of the family. It is indeed stated, that when MULHAR ROW HOLKAR was asked what reward he wished, he replied, that he was the Officer of the PAISHWAH, and desired to have no country independent of him, but that a nomination to the office of Desmookh of Chandore in Candeish would be acceptable. The request was complied with, and the family have ever since held the office. When the province of Candeish was recently ceded to the English Government, a politic attention to the feelings of the house of HOLKAR led to a restoration of the title and immunities of the situation.

A. D. 1752. 8. MULHAR ROW HOLKAR had connected himself with GHAZEE UDEEN, one of the sons of NIZAM UL MULK, whom he accompanied to the Deckan to aid him in asserting his succession to the Royal Office (for such it had become) of Soubah of that Division of the Empire; and the PAISHWAH,

* The similarity of this stratagem to that recorded of HANNIBAL is remarkable. Human invention has every where the same character, and this coincidence must be accidental, for we cannot suspect the Mahratta soldiers of having read Rollins' History.

WAH, with the principal Mahratta Chiefs, who had also engaged in the same enterprize, assembled at Aurungabad, from whence they were about to march, when the sudden death of GHAZEE UDEEN from poison* put an end to the expedition, and gave temporary peace to the Deckan.

9. Invited by the weakness of the Mahomedan Government in Hindostan, the PAISHWAH again detached MULHAR ROW HOLKAR to that quarter to maintain his interests; conferring on him the title of Subadar,† and giving him a considerable force besides his own adherents. The annual invasions of the Afghans under AHMED SHAH ABDALLIE had now commenced, and the Mahrattas were forced, as has been stated,‡ to evacuate the Punjab. DUTTOJEE SCINDIAH was slain, and MULHAR ROW, who had encamped at Secundra, after intercepting and plundering some supplies going to the camp of AHMED SHAH, was himself surprized, and completely routed, by a Corps of the Afghans. The occurrence of these events led to the battle of Paniput. The early escape of MULHAR ROW, on a day so fatal to his nation, has given rise to some reproaches; but his advocates ascribe his safety to his superior knowledge as a leader, which made him, when he saw the action lost, keep his party together, and retreat with an order, that none of the others preserved. This account will be more probable, if we credit the statement given of his quarrel with his commander, on the morning of the day on which the battle was fought. He had, it was affirmed, entreated SADOSHEO BHOW to delay the action for one or two days; but the latter, whose pride and vanity exceeded all bounds,§ impatient of the advice, exclaimed, "who wants the counsel of a Goat-herd." ! || If this anecdote be true, we cannot wonder that a Chief of MULHAR ROW's character A. D. 1759.

* He was poisoned by his mother, whose desire to save another son, NIZAM U' DOWLAH, from destruction, impelled her to the horrid act.

† This title descended to his successors; and DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH and other rulers always addressed them by it as their highest distinction.

‡ Vide page 78.

§ SADOSHEO BHOW used to allow his attendants to exclaim PURSERAM OOTAR, or an incarnation of PURSERAM (a Deo or Demi God) as one of his titles.

|| A similar taunt lost the Mahrattah Commander the services on this day of one of his most efficient allies, SOORUJ MULL, the Jhat Prince of Bhurtpore.

ter should not have anticipated success.* At all events he was one of the few that escaped; he retreated into Malwa, where he employed himself in settling his possessions. These had been increased, in the mode usual to Mahratta Chiefs, and with the exception of one district,† all that now belongs to the HOLKARS in Malwa was bequeathed by their founder MULHAR ROW, who, besides his lands in this province, left extensive claims upon Rajpoot Chiefs. Taking advantage of the disputes which occurred on the death of JYE SING, he had established a considerable influence in the country of Jyepore, and on the succession to the Rajpoot rule of MADHOO SING, through his aid, the latter agreed to pay in money, to an amount of seventy-six lacks,‡ an annual tribute of three and a half lacks of rupees, and a grant of four districts, Tonk, Rampoorah, Torah, and Pottah. MULHAR ROW had obtained several possessions in the Deckan, and a considerable part of the province of Candeish had been assigned to him for the support of his troops. Besides these, several grants of villages were given, both by the PAISHWAH and NIZAM, as presents to females of his family.

10. MULHAR ROW was seventy-six years of age when he died; he had for more than forty years of his life been a Military Chief of reputation, and during the latter part of this period was certainly one of the most distinguished in the Mahratta Empire. His remains were interred at a place, now named Mulhargunge in honor of him, in the district of Alumpore, and about forty miles from Gwalior. Though inferior to MADHAJEE SCINDIAH as a statesman, MULHAR ROW was his equal, if not his superior, as a soldier. For simplicity of manners, and manly courage, no Mahratta leader stands higher in the opinion of his countrymen;

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* This victory, which is to be ascribed to the superior courage and energy of the Afghans, is naturally enough referred by the Mahrattahs to other causes, among which the death of WISWASS ROW, the son of the Paishwah, is the chief, which was imprudently proclaimed to the army by the obstinate impatience of SADOSHEO BHOW, who, it is affirmed against all advice, made the elephant sit down, that he might see for the last time his favorite nephew.

† Taul Mundawul, usurped from the Dhar family by JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR; the greater portion of it now forms part of GHUFFOOR KHAN's Jaghire.

‡ According to some statements eighty-four lacks.

men; nor were his talents limited to those of a soldier. His rule over the countries of Malwa, subject to his direct authority, was firm, but considerate; and if we judge his character, from his conduct to the petty Rajpoot Princes of this province, the conclusion will be favorable to his memory. He conciliated their respect, if not their regard, by his good faith and moderation* in the exercise of power. BULBUDHUR SING, the Rajah of Ragooghur, GOKUL Doss of Baglee, and many others were his associates and adherents, and their descendants still speak of his memory with sentiments of gratitude. This feeling, however, may owe much of its strength to the opposite conduct of some of his successors. The principal virtue of MULHAR Row was his generosity. He had personally no regard for money; he was wont to declare (probably with truth) that he understood nothing of accounts, and he listened with impatience to those Ministers who recommended occasional diminution of his frequent largesses.† To his relations, and indeed to all Mahrattas, he was uncommonly kind. It is stated of this Chief, that in his conduct to the PAISHWAH, and in the performance of all his duties as a member of the Mahratta confederacy, he did that from the heart, which MADHAJEE SCINDIAH did from the head; the one was a plain, sincere soldier, and the other added to great qualities all the art of a crafty politician.

11. MULHAR Row HOLKAR had only one son, KUNDEE Row, who some years before the battle of Paniput was killed at the siege of Kumbhere‡ A. D. 1754.
near

* He is stated to have reduced the tribute of Purtaubghur to seventy-five thousand rupees, which, though as much as the Chief of that Petty State could pay, was not more than one half of what had been hitherto assessed.

† It is recorded of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, that, when pleased with a soldier's gallantry, he used to exclaim, "Fill his shield with rupees."

‡ Kumbhere is four coss from Deig; between that place and Bhurtpore it is equally distant. NAWUL SINGH, grand-son of SOORUJ MUL, was at this period Rajah of Bhurtpore. After he made peace with MULHAR ROW, a Mausoleum or Chettery was built in honor of KUNDEE ROW, and the revenue of five villages assigned as a charity for the support of the Brahmins who attend it, and pray for the deceased. The feeling of all Mahrattas towards the Jhats of Bhurtpore is strong, from a recollection which still exists of the protection the Rajah of that place afforded their ancestors after the disastrous battle of Paniput. He not only clothed and fed the fugitives who came to his territories, but furnished them with
means

near Deig. This Prince had married ALIAH BAE, of the family of the name of SCINDIAH, by whom he had one son and one daughter. To the former, whose name was MALLEE ROW, RAGOBAH DADA (the uncle of the reigning PAISHWAH, who was then commanding the Mahratta armies at Dohud) immediately sent a khillut or honorary dress, recognizing him by this act as the successor to the power and possessions of his grand-father. This youth, however, did not long enjoy his station; his end, which occurred nine months after his elevation, was very melancholy; he had been always considered of weak and unsettled intellect, but no symptom of positive insanity had appeared before he came to the head of the Government, when every action displayed it. His conduct was at first more marked by extremes of folly than guilt; the life of his mother was devoted to acts of charity and benevolence, but she was particularly kind to Brahmins. This tribe became objects of MALLEE ROW's malicious ridicule. It was a common usage with him to place scorpions in cloths and slippers that he gave them; he also put these venemous reptiles in pots filled with rupees, which he invited the holy mendicants to take, and, when their eager cupidity caused them to be stung, his joy was as excessive, as the grief of the pious ALIAH BAE, who used to lament aloud her hard destiny, in having a perfect demon born to her as a son. The avowed sentiments of his wickedness and his incapacity for rule have given rise to a tale,* that this admirable woman hastened the death of her own offspring.—Every evidence proves

means of reaching their homes in the Deckan. In consequence, there is hardly a family of any note in this nation that has not a tradition of a debt of gratitude to the Jhats of Bhurtpore; such facts are important, as a knowledge of them often gives a very different color to actions of political consequence. It is, however, to be added that, according to Mahratta system, this feeling did not prevent the chiefs of Bhurtpore being laid under contributions, when their professed friends were able to coerce them into payment.

* This report of the death of MALLEE ROW has been stated to several European enquirers, by whom it was believed. I thought it a duty, as connected with the memory of ALIAH BAE, to make the most minute investigation of the fact, and the result has been a conviction of her complete innocence of a crime, which no circumstances could have excused. I have no doubt that she was led by horror at his cruel acts of insanity, and a despair of his recovery to look upon his death as a fortunate event for him, herself, and the country; but such a feeling is an honor, instead of a disgrace, to her character.

proves this to be false, and his death is referred by all that have been interrogated (and among them many were on the spot when it occurred) to the same cause. He had slain, in a jealous fury, an embroiderer who, he believed, had formed an intimacy with a female servant of his family. The innocence of the man was established, and remorse for the crime brought on so severe a paroxysm of madness in MALLEE ROW as to alarm all for his life. It is a confirmed belief with the natives of India, that departed spirits have, on some occasions, the power of seizing upon, and destroying the living. It was rumoured, that the embroiderer was a man with supernatural power, that he warned MALLEE ROW not to slay him, or he would take terrible vengeance, and the ravings of the latter were imputed to the person he had murdered, and who, according to their preposterous belief, now haunted him in the form of a Jin or demon. ALIAH BAE, satisfied of this fact, used to sit days and nights by the bed of her afflicted son, holding communion, as she thought, with the spirit that possessed him, and who spoke to her through his organs. She shed tears in abundance, and humbled herself to the earth: she passed whole hours in prayer; she offered to build a temple to the deceased, and to settle a Jaghire* upon his family, if he would only leave her son, but all was vain;—a voice still answered, "He slew me innocent, and I will have his life." Such is the tale of the death of MALLEE ROW. It merits notice as connected with the history of ALIAH BAE, whom it compelled to come forward to save from ruin the interests of the family to which she belonged, and to exhibit in the person of a female that combined talent, virtue and spirit, which made her, while she lived, a blessing to the country over which she ruled, and has associated her memory with every plan of improvement and just government in the province of Malwa.

12. The daughter of ALIAH BAE had been married into another

* The amount of one thousand rupees' annual rent is specified as that which she offered to grant to the family of the *Putwa*, or embroiderer, on MALLEE ROW's recovery.

ther family, and could therefore, according to Hindu usage, have no claim to power in the HOLKAR Government. Under these circumstances GUNGADHUR JESWUNT, the Brahmin Minister of the late MULHAR ROW, strongly recommended, that some child (distantly related to the family) should be adopted to succeed MALLEE ROW, a plan which would have secured the continuance of his own authority as Dewan.* This proposition was combined with the offer of a large separate provision for ALIAH BAE, whose abilities were admitted, but her sex objected to, as a disqualification for the conduct of public affairs. GUNGADHUR JESWUNT at the same time intended to give a considerable Nuzerana or present to RAGOBAH DADA, in the event of his agreeing to this arrangement, and assisting to carry it into execution. This venal chief gave a ready assent to the measure, and his concurrence was considered by the Minister so conclusive, that he waited upon ALIAH BAE, in the full assurance, that, if other motives failed, a despair of successful resistance would make her consent to his proposal; but he soon discovered his error; he was told at once by this high-minded woman that his plan was disgraceful to the house of HOLKAR, and should never have her consent, and she particularly disapproved of his intended gift to RAGOBAH, whose right of interference on the occasion she positively denied. The heirs of MULHAR ROW, she said, were extinct on the death of her son, and she had, as wife, and mother of the two last representatives of the family, the sole right to determine upon the successor,—a right which, she concluded by observing, she was resolved at all hazards to maintain. It is probable that ALIAH BAE had not only consulted with her own principal adherents, but with the Mahratta Military Chiefs who were in Malwa when these events occurred. Her whole conduct, however, at this crisis of her fortune, and that of the Holkar Government, shewed that her resolution had been seriously taken, and would

A. D. 1766.

be

* GUNGADHUR JESWUNT held his station of Dewan to the Holkar chief from the PAISHWAH. He had been nominated by BAJEEROW to that office with MULHAR ROW, when the latter was first promoted to high command.

be firmly maintained; and, on hearing that RAGOBAH (enraged at her refusal of GUNGADHUR's proposition) was making preparations to coerce her into compliance, she sent him a message, earnestly advising him not to engage in a war with a woman, from which he might incur disgrace, but could never derive honor. She added, to give effect to this remonstrance, every preparation for hostilities; the Troops of HOLKAR evinced enthusiasm in her cause, and ALIAH BAE made a politic display of her determination to lead them to combat in person, by directing four bows, with full quivers of arrows, to be fitted to the corners of the howdah of her favorite elephant. RAGOBAH seemed at first equally resolved to bring matters to extremities, but his followers were reluctant, which made him hesitate,—when, combined with the refusal of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH and JANNOJEE BHOOSLAH to unite with him, and an ungrateful Minister, for the destruction of the independance of the family of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, and the arrival of a letter from the PAISHWAH MADHOO ROW, to whom ALIAH BAE had referred, turned the scale completely in her favor. That Prince directed his uncle to desist from all further attempts against the respectable widow of KUNDEE ROW, whose right to the management of the affairs of the family of HOLKAR was fully recognized. RAGOBAH, on receiving these commands, desisted from all further attempts to disturb her and ALIAH BAE gave, in her first act, a proof of her judgment, to which much of that A. D. 1767.
prosperity and reputation that attended her, rule may be referred. She elected for the Commander of her Army, and to fulfil those duties which as a female she could not perform, TUKAJEE HOLKAR, a Chief of the same tribe, but no way related * to MULHAR ROW. TUKAJEE was highly esteemed as a soldier by that Chief, and commanded the Pagah or Household Horse; and, before he had reached his present power, had established a character, which he maintained through life, of a plain, unaffected

* As this Chief is the grand father of the present representative of the House of HOLKAR, he is always termed by the present Minister and others a relation of the great MULHAR ROW; but this is not the case.

affected Mahratta Soldier. RAGOBAH after this settlement proceeded to Poonah, and was invited to take the route of Moheysir, where he was most hospitably entertained by ALIAH BAE. She directed the contingent of the family to accompany him to the Mahratta capital, under the command of TUKAJEE, who, she desired, should be presented to the PAISHWAH, and receive an honorary dress and Sunnuds, confirming him in his high station, all of which was done to her wish, and GUNGADHUR JESWUNT was forgiven, in consequence of his former services and high character.

13.—The divided power established in the HOLKAR State, from the day of TUKAJEE's elevation, had a character which, judging from common rules, was not likely to admit of its subsisting for a week; but it remained for upwards of thirty years, undisturbed by jealousy or ambition. This is to be referred to the virtue and moderation of the parties, to their respect for each other, and to their having distinct, and, generally speaking, distant spheres of action.

14.—ALIAH BAE had chosen TUKAJEE to command the armies of the Government, and to be the titled head of the State, after he was at an age when the mind is confirmed in its habits. A partiality for her own choice made her very indulgent to him, and TUKAJEE seems never to have lost for a moment his original sense of obligation to his benefactress; besides which, the respect that her virtues and liberal piety had established over all India, (for her charity had no bounds) had given her such a reputation, that to have treated her with neglect, or ingratitude, much less to have returned her generous kindness with any usurpation of her property or rights, would have consigned him to general execration: but it is justice to this manly soldier to state, that he appears never to have needed the check of such considerations. Though at one time much under the influence of the Dewan of the Government, NARROO GUNNEISS, (an artful and ambitious Brahmin, who was not favorably

vorably disposed to ALIAH BAE) he never deviated from the path he first took. He was more than obedient : he was dutiful, and all his actions were shaped to please and conciliate her, to whom he was solely indebted for his high station. He constantly called her his mother, but, as she was much younger than him, this relation was not engraved upon his seal. On that he was styled by her command "TUKAJEE, the Son of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR."—These facts will appear still more extraordinary, when we advert to the manner in which the State was governed. When TUKAJEE was in the Deckan, (and he remained there at one period for twelve years) all the territories of the family (excepting the personal estates of ALIAH BAE) south of the Sautpoorah Range, were managed by him, and the countries north of that were under ALIAH BAE, to whom the different tributaries also made their annual payments. When TUKAJEE was in Hindostan, (he never remained long in Malwa) he collected the revenues of the countries that had been acquired there, and in Bundelcund, and also the tributes in Rajpootanna. The districts in Malwa and Nimaur continued as usual under the management of ALIAH BAE, and her authority was on such occasions extended over the possessions in the Deckan. The treasures of the family, which were very considerable, (said to have been nearly two crores) remained with ALIAH BAE, and she had, besides, personal estates yielding annually upwards of four lacks of rupees, which with the treasure were entirely expended as she chose ; while all the rest of the receipts were brought into a general account, and applied to the purposes of the Government. The accounts of receipts and disbursements were kept with scrupulous exactness, and ALIAH BAE, after paying the civil sebundy charges, sent the balance that remained of the public revenues under her care to meet the frequently pressing wants of the Army employed abroad. TUKAJEE was no doubt, from the distance at which he was placed, and the scenes in which he was engaged, often obliged to act from himself; but he is stated to have

referred

referred, on every occasion in which the general interests of the Government were concerned, to ALIAH BAE, and in all matters that related to peace or war, or the foreign relations of the State, her supremacy was proclaimed by the Vakeels or Envoys of all the principal, as well as the petty, Rulers of India residing at her Court; and Vakeels, deputed directly from her, resided at Poonah,* Hyderabad, Seringapatam, Nagpore, Lucknow and Calcutta, while inferior Agents remained at the Durbars of the petty Rajahs, particularly those from whom tribute was collected.

15. The fact will appear, from what has been stated, that ALIAH BAE was the actual ruler of Government, and TUKAJEE, gratified by his high station and her complete confidence, continued during her life to exercise no duties beyond that of the chief command of the Army, and the collection of those revenues that his vicinity enabled him to realize with more convenience than any other Agent of her rule. The servants of the HOLKAR Government, who held office at the period, speak all one language on this point, and, with a disposition to praise TUKAJEE, strengthened by his grand-son being upon the Musnud, they never go higher in their eulogium than to say, that he fulfilled all the expectations of ALIAH BAE, and was to the last hour of his existence attentive, faithful, and obedient.

16. It has been stated, that TUKAJEE went to Poonah to attend the PAISHWAH, but his stay was short in the Deckan. If the behaviour of the Bhurtpore Jhats, subsequent to the battle of Paniput, had excited gratitude in the minds of the Mahrattas, that of many of the Mahomedan Chiefs in Hindostan, and above all NUJEEB U DOWLAH, † had kindled the resentment of that nation. An attack upon Pattergհur, Nujeebabad,

* When TUKAJEE was in the Deckan, he was the medium of all intercourse with the PAISHWAH; but in his absence ALIAH BAE kept an intelligent agent at the Court of Poonah.

† To the courage and conduct of this celebrated chief, the victory of Paniput has been in a great degree attributed; and there can be no doubt he was the chief author of the combination among the Mahomedans, which produced that memorable success.

jeebabad, the strong hold of the latter's family, was determined upon, and a large army marched from the Deckan for the accomplishment of this object. TUKAJEE was on the expedition, but acted only a subordinate part, being under the direction of RAMCHUNDER GUNNEISS,* who commanded on the part of the PAISHWAH. It appears from a Persian MS. that TUKAJEE opened a communication with NUJEEB KHAN, on the ground of the former friendship that had subsisted between that Chief and MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, which was approved by RAMCHUNDER, but reprobated by MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, who demanded, if a peaceable settlement was to be the end of that revenge for which they had united,—" I " claim (he said) for the PAISHWAH the country which this Chief and " the AFGHANS possess. I claim for myself the blood of my brother " DUTTAJEE, Putteyl, of my Nephews JUNKAJEE and SAMBAJEE, and my " own leg, of all use of which I am deprived. Nor will I abandon such " claims of revenge, because TUKAJEE HOLKAR chooses to make a bro- " ther of this OMRAH. You may write however (he added) to MADHOO " ROW at Poonah, and if he authorizes by his command such proceed- " ings, I am a servant, and shall obey."† These sentiments did not prevent the council of TUKAJEE being adopted; it was agreed that it was better to take advantage of the good disposition NUJEEB U DOWLAH evinced, as proceeding to extremities with so brave and popular a Chief might again unite the Mahomedans; and it was further agreed, that peace with him would enable them to levy undisturbed tribute on the Jhats and Rajpoots, and increase their resources for future operations. This policy was pursued, and a twelvemonth passed in plundering their Hindu friends.‡ NUJEEB U DOWLAH was at this moment in the last stage of

Hejira 1184. A. D. 1770.

* This Chief is distinguished from another of the same name by his title of BEENEEWALLA, or Quarter Master General of the Mahratta Armies. He had on this occasion upwards of sixty-thousand Horse, of whom many were stated to be Pindarries.

† I translated this from a Persian MS. written for Sir CHARLES MALLET, by MEER-U-DEEN HUSSEIN KHAN, the father of the Nabob KUMAL UDEEN, and given me by the latter's son, the present Commander of the Guickwar Horse in Malwa. MEER-U-DEEN was an actor in the scenes he describes.

‡ Among these, NEEVAL SINGH of *Bhurtpore*, for whom they possessed such friendship, was the chief sufferer.

of his existence. He visited the Mahratta Camp, and an attempt was
Hejira 1185. made to reconcile him and SCINDIAH, but neither were sincere, and, a few weeks before NUJEEB U DOWLAH retired to his capital to die, he placed the hand of his son ZABITAH KHAN in that of TUKAJEE, with an anticipation of that ruin, which was soon to overwhelm his family. The death of this Omrah removed the last barrier to the Mahratta conquest of Hindostan, the capital of which, with its finest provinces, soon afterwards fell into their hands. They were aided in the accomplishment of this object by the weak SHAH ALLUM, who had left the protection of the English Government to give his name, and what little influence he still possessed, to enable the enemies of his power and religion to destroy the
A. D. 1772. only Mahomedan Chief who enjoyed any means of opposing their progress. These events led, as has been stated, to the aggrandizement of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, who became the actual Sovereign of Delhi and its surrounding territories, while TUKAJEE HOLKAR returned to Malwa; where he sunk into the rank of a secondary Chief before the rising fortunes of his abler and more aspiring rival.

15. The death of the PAISHWAH MADHOO ROW, * and the murder of his younger brother, NARRAIN ROW, by RAGOBAH DADA, called at this period all the Mahratta Chiefs to the Deckan. The celebrated confederacy of BARRAH BAE, or the twelve brothers, as those were designated who united against the murderer, was joined by MADHAJEE SCINDIAH and TUKAJEE HOLKAR, which brought these Chiefs into a war with the English Government, whose name is, at this period of Mahratta History, associated with the cause of guilt and usurpation. The united Chiefs had proclaimed MADHOO ROW the posthumous son of NARRAIN ROW PAISHWAH, and the real power of that high station devolved on BALLAJEE JUNARDUN, commonly called NANAH FURNAVESE, an able Brahmin, who first formed the conbination against RAGOBAH. The results of this combination have been noticed. The treaty† of

* MADHOO ROW died the 18th November, 1772, and his brother NARRAIN ROW was murdered on the 30th August, 1773.

† A treaty was concluded by Colonel UPTON in 1776, but hostilities recommenced, and the war was not terminated till the Treaty of Salbye.

of Salbye confirmed the triumph of those by whom it had been made.

18. TUKAJEE HOLKAR, after this contest had terminated, appears acting a very prominent part in a war, which the Poonah Government, aided by the NIZAM, carried on against TIPPOO SULTAUN, and he proceeded, the year after it was over, to Moheysir, to pay his respects to ALIAH BAE. A.D.1785 6. There, however, his stay was short, as he was called upon to take part in those operations, which terminated in fixing the power of ALLY BAHADUR, the natural son of BAJEEROW, over a great part of Bundelcund, and that of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH over the whole of Hindostan. The force of TUKAJEE bore no proportion to that of the latter, and he consequently derived little benefit beyond the immediate support of his Troops from these conquests. The claims of the family of HOLKAR to an equal share were nominally admitted, and in the settlement of accounts,* made after these transactions, some districts were granted to liquidate the acknowledged balance in their favor, but the prevailing power of MADHAJEE prevented any benefit from this cession, and when that Chief proceeded to Poonah, to establish his influence at the Court of the PAISHWAH, TUKAJEE became involved in disputes with the leaders, particularly LUKWA DADA, whom he had left in Hindostan;† which terminated, as has been before stated, in an action at the pass of Lackherrie, where he was defeated by DEBOIGNE.‡ This victory was, A. D. 1792. from reasons before assigned, productive of no immediate consequences. SCINDIAH's Troops returned to Hindostan, and those of TUKAJEE pursued their march to Indore and Moheysir, without retaliating the aggression upon MADHAJEE's possessions in Malwa. This fact leads to a conclusion, that it was more of a quarrel between TUKAJEE and MADHAJEE's commander, than between the families of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR.

19. TUKAJEE

* These accounts had commenced between RANOGEE SCINDIAH and MULHAR ROW HOLKAR and had remained unsettled till now.

† Vide pages 84 and 86.

‡ This, like all Mahratta defeats, is imputed to treachery, and in the MS given me by TANTIA JOGEE no less persons are accused than KOSSEE ROW and BAPPOO HOLKAR the son and nephew of TUKAJEE.

19. TUKAJEE remained but a few months in Malwa, from whence he was summoned to join the Mahratta Chiefs, then assembling at Poonah for a general attack on the dominions of NIZAM ALLY KHAN, which had
A. D. 1795. been long projected. The result of this has been narrated. TUKAJEE HOLKAR, who was at this period about seventy years of age, had risen into more consideration since the death of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, being looked up to as the oldest of those Mahratta Military Chiefs, who had witnessed the zenith of their power, but his real strength was greatly inferior to that of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, whose youthful impetuosity calculated solely on force, and the consequence was that TUKAJEE took less lead in the transactions which followed the defeat of the NIZAM,
A. D. 1797. and the death of the PAISHWAH MADHOO ROW, than might have been expected from his age and reputation. He appears throughout this scene of unparalleled intrigue, as the friend and supporter of SCINDIAH, but he was probably from age and infirmities incapable of exertion; for before it terminated he died, leaving behind him the character of a good soldier, a plain unaffected man, and one whose courage was supposed superior to his craft, which is not slight praise for a Mahratta leader. We are greatly prepossessed in favor of TUKAJEE, by the temper, gratitude and obedience, which he evinced towards ALIAH BAE. Throughout the long period that intervened between his elevation and her death, which occurred two years previous to his own, there never was any serious* dispute, much less a rupture, between them; this reflects great credit on both, but perhaps the greatest on ALIAH BAE, whose rule of the territories of HOLKAR in Malwa must now be noticed. It presents us with few events, similar to what have been before narrated, but its merit is their absence; the character of her administration was for more than thirty years the root of that prosperity which attended the family to which she belonged; and

* I considered this fact so extraordinary that I made the most minute enquiries from numerous persons personally acquainted with both; these all confirm the truth of what we learn from their history.

and, though latterly that family was overtopped by the genius and success of Madhajee Scindiah, it continued during her life to hold its rank, as one of the principal branches of the Mahratta empire. The manner in which the authority of the state was divided between Tukajee and Aliah Bae has been mentioned. The management of all the provinces in Malwa and Nimar was the peculiar charge of the latter, and her great object was, by a just and moderate government, to improve the condition of the country, while she promoted the happiness of her subjects. She maintained but a small force independent of the Sebundy or Militia of the country. But her troops were enough, aided by her system of rule, to preserve internal tranquility; and she trusted to the army of the state, employed on constant service in Hindostan and the Deckan, and her own reputation, for safety against any external enemies.

20. It is not common with the Hindus* (unless in those provinces where they have learnt the degrading usage from their Mahomedan conquerors) to confine females, or to compel them to wear veils. The Mahrattas of rank (even the Brahmins) have, with few exceptions, rejected this custom, which is not directed by any of their sacred laws or institutions. Aliah Bae, therefore, offended no prejudice, when she took upon herself the direct management of affairs, and sat every day for a considerable period, in open Durbar, transacting business. Her first principle of government appears to have been moderate assessment, and an almost sacred respect for the rights of the Wuttundars, or native proprietors of village offices and lands. She heard every complaint in person, and though she continually referred causes to Punjayets, or Courts of Arbitration, and to her Ministers for settlement, she was always accessible; and so strong was her sense of duty, on all points connected with justice, that she is represented as not only patient, but unwearied in

* The principal exceptions are the higher classes of Rajpoots, and particularly the Rajahs and chiefs of this tribe; and there is reason to think they have taken this usage in a great degree from the Mahomedans, as we find many passages in their popular tales to warrant a belief that their customs on this point were different when the Hindu Government prevailed over India.

the investigation of the most trifling cases, when appeals were made to her decision.

21. Aware of that partiality, which was to be expected from the information given by members and adherents of the family of HOLKAR, regarding ALLAH BAE, facts were sought from other quarters to guard against the impressions, which the usual details of her administrations are calculated to make. It was thought that the ordinary representation of it had been overcharged with bright colours, to bring it more in contrast with the opposite government, that had since prevailed in those countries over which she ruled; but, though enquiries have been made among all ranks and classes, nothing has been discovered that should lessen those eulogiums, or rather blessings, which are poured forth whenever her name is mentioned. The more, indeed, enquiry is pursued, the more admiration is excited; but it appears most extraordinary, how she had mental and bodily powers to go through the labors which she imposed upon herself, and which from the age of thirty-eight to that of sixty, when she died, were unremitted. The hours gained from the affairs of the state were all given to acts of devotion and charity—and a deep sense of religion appears to have strengthened her mind in the performance of her worldly duties. She used to say, that she "deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power," and in the full spirit of a pious and benevolent mind was wont to exclaim, when urged by her Ministers to acts of extreme severity, "Let us, mortals, beware how we destroy the works of the Almighty."

22. In a very minute account,* which has been obtained, of ALLAH BAE's daily occupation, it appears that she rose one hour before daybreak

* This was given me by BAROMAL DADA, the present Manager of Moheysir. This sensible old man now near ninety years of age) was the Kower, or adopted domestic. His occupation was to wash her tutelary deities and attend her person. His reverence for her memory exceeds all bounds. He gave me a MS. containing the account in the text of her usual appropriation of time, and of the devotional exercises she imposed upon herself every month in the year, which varied according to the rank and attributes of the presiding divinity of the season.

break to say her morning prayers, and perform the customary ceremonies. She then heard the Pooranahs read for a fixed period, distributed alms, and gave food (which she personally saw placed before them) to a number of Brahmins. Her own breakfast was then brought, which was always of vegetable diet; for, though the rules of her tribe did not require it, she had forsworn animal food. After breakfast she again went to prayers, and then took a short sleep; after rising from which, and dressing herself, she went about two o'clock to the Durbar, where she usually remained till about six in the evening, where two or three hours were given to religious exercises and a frugal repast, and business was commenced again about nine o'clock and continued till eleven, at which hour she retired to rest. This course of life, marked by prayer, abstinence, and labor, knew little variation, except what was caused by the occurrence of religious fasts and festivals, (of which she was very observant) and emergencies of public affairs.

23. The success of ALIAH BAE in the internal administration of her countries was altogether wonderful. The principles upon which the collection was made and justice administered, under her rule, will be noticed hereafter: suffice it here to say, that so efficient were those relations which she established with foreign Princes and Chiefs, that her territories were never invaded, except for a few weeks by ULSEE RANAH of Oudipore, who made an unsuccessful* effort to aid some of his tribe who had seized upon Rampoorah. The internal tranquility of the country was even more remarkable than the exemption it enjoyed from foreign attack. This was equally produced by the mode in which she treated the peaceable inhabitants of the country, and the more turbulent and predatory classes; she was indulgent to the former, and, though firm and severe, just and considerate of the latter. We can take no such correct standard for judging of the administration of a Government

* ALIAH BAE instantly detached a force under SHUBIFF BYE, the Commander of her Pagah, who surprized and defeated the invaders at the village of Palsorah, twenty-four miles north of Mundissore. The RANAH, on hearing of this event, sued for peace, which was granted.

ment in India, as by the frequency, or otherwise, of the changes of its Ministers, and their reputation, and that of the Managers of its provinces or districts. It is a criterion which the natives always apply to their Rulers. AHLAH BAE had the same Minister,* a Brahmin of excellent character, throughout the whole period of her rule, and her Komisdars or Managers were seldom, if ever, changed.†

24. Indore, which she had raised from a village to the rank of a wealthy city, was always regarded by her with particular consideration. Many extraordinary instances of her maternal regard for its inhabitants are narrated. TUKAJEE HOLKAR, when encamped near it with the Army, had desired (at the instigation of some interested people) to share in the wealth of a rich Soukar ‡ who died without children. The wife of the deceased hastened to Moheysir, where she implored relief of AHLAH BAE. Her story was listened to;—a dress, which confirmed her as sole mistress of the house and property of her husband, was bestowed upon her, and TUKAJEE instantly received an order to march a short distance from Indore, and not to vex her city with unwise interference, and unjust exactions. A ready obedience to the mandate made amends for the error of TUKAJEE, while the occurrence more endeared AHLAH BAE to a town, where her name is to this day not merely revered, but adored.

25. AHLAH BAE derived much aid, in the internal administration of her country, from the strength and reputation of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, which kept his possessions in Malwa in a state of tranquility. She had been greatly indebted to this Chief at the commencement of her career

* His name was GOVIND PUNT GUNNOO.

† KUNDEE ROW was for upwards of twenty years manager of Indore, and it is the report of all that he gratified his mistress less, by the regularity with which he collected the revenue, than the spectacle he presented her with of a happy and contented population.

‡ The name of this Soukar was DAVYCHUND. It is true that, according to the usage of the Bunniah tribe, the wife succeeds, and it may in strictness be termed unjust to have acted otherwise than AHLAH BAE did on this occasion; but on reference to the common practice of native governments, we find that, in such cases, a large share of the property is often claimed by the State, and a further sum is usually required to be devoted to charitable purposes.

career, and she continued through life to cultivate his friendship with the fullest sense of its importance. His character forbids the conclusion that his motives for supporting her were disinterested; but, though he might have desired to share in the treasures that MULHAR ROW had left to his successors, no Ruler was ever more sensible to the value of impression, and in seeking to be considered the friend of ALIAH BAE. MADHAJEE was quite aware how much he advanced his own reputation. It does not appear at what cost she purchased his first support; she, however, afterwards lent him no less a sum than thirty* lacks of rupees, for which he gave a bond, but probably without any intention of ever paying it. He perhaps accounted his active friendship as conferring benefits that fully discharged this pecuniary obligation. His managers and officers, civil and military in Malwa, had not merely orders to respect her territories, but to aid and support her administration, and this gave a strength to her government, which, from the intermixed nature of the territories of the two states, it could have derived from no other cause.

26. The tributaries of the HOLKAR family were, during the rule of ALIAH BAE, treated with an attention and moderation that made delays even in their payments unusual, and when these occurred, her indignant remonstrances, which were as severe as they were just, inspired an awe that hardly ever failed of effect. The Grassiah Chiefs, who had from their power of plundering established a claim to a portion of the revenue, were almost all brought to a fair and amicable adjustment of their claims. And, as MADHAJEE SCINDIAH observed the same policy, this class, generally speaking, were tranquil and contented. The province of Soandwarrah was an exception, and the excesses which the predatory inhabitants of that part of Malwa continued to commit made ALIAH BAE direct her Manager at Mahidpore to unite with those of SCINDIAH and PUAR to reduce them to order by the most severe examples;

* Besides this loan, HURKAH BAE (oftener called MOSSEAH BAE) the favorite Mistress of MULHAR ROW, advanced MADHAJEE when in distress six lacks of rupees.

amples; but, though hardly a year passed without three or four hundred Soandees being slain or executed, the evil (though in a diminished degree) still remained, and a full proof was afforded that coercive measures alone were inadequate to establish tranquility in that country, but the policy of ALIAH BAE cannot be impugned for want of success in settling a district, in which her share was comparatively less than that of governments ruled on different principles. The fond object of her life was to promote the prosperity of all around her, and she rejoiced, we are told, to see Soukars, Merchants, Farmers, and Cultivators rise to affluence; and, so far from deeming their increased wealth a ground of exaction, she considered it a legitimate claim to increased* favor and protection. The settlements of ALIAH BAE with the Goand plunderers on the Nerbuddah, and the Bheels who inhabit the mountainous parts of the country, were as happy as other arrangements; and that they had not complete success, is to be imputed to other causes than her want of vigour or sagacity. She had first tried gentle measures of concilation with this class, but finding them ineffectual she had recourse to a more rigid system. Several incorrigible offenders, particularly MUNDROOP SINGH of Sillanah,

* KHEALEE RAM, the nephew of HIMUT ROW (formerly a Civil Officer of great consideration in the service of the Nabob of Bhopal) who has been two years one of my principal writers, informs me that about thirty-two years ago, when he was manager of Bersiah, a rich Soukar, SUBU KEM DOSS, died at Seronje without heir. The manager demanded three lacks of rupees, threatening, if it was not paid, to seize the property on the part of the State. The family desired the widow should adopt a son, but this he peremptorily refused to allow, unless they paid the present, or rather fine, he had demanded. The widow and her nephew whom she wished to adopt, attended by a numerous party of relations and friends, hastened to Moheysir. ALIAH BAE did not keep them a day in suspense; she removed her manager, confirmed the adoption, and refused even a small present. Taking the adopted child upon her knee, she gave him clothes, some jewels, and a palanquin, and sent him and all concerned back to Seronje to speak, while they existed, of her goodness and justice. The object of her bounty is still alive, but he has lived to be despoiled of all his wealth by AMEER KHAN the present possessor of Seronje.

Another remarkable instance of ALIAH BAE's disinterestedness was related by TANTIAH JOGH, the present Minister. TUPPEE DOSS and BENARES DOSS, two brothers who were Soukars in Khergon, died about the same date without heirs, leaving two lacks in specie, and two more due to them. TUPPEE DOSS's wife came to ALIAH BAE at Moheysir, and through the elder brother of TANTIAH JOGH proposed to make over to the State the fortune that her husband and her brother had accumulated under its protection. ALIAH BAE refused to receive the offer, and advised the widow (if she did not want it) to bestow it in charity, or expend it in public and useful buildings that would do honor to her husband's memory. The advice of the virtuous Ruler was taken, and a Ghaut or flight of stone steps to the river at Khergon, with a Temple dedicated to GUNPUTTY, still remain as memorials of the manner in which the wealth which ALIAH BAE rejected was expended.

Sillanah, were taken and put to death. Such examples of her severity were rare; for though she knew well how to inspire dread when it was necessary in the minds of the most hardened robbers, conciliation and kindness were the means she preferred; and, while she deterred them from the continuance of a life of plunder by the establishment of posts, she invited them to a better mode of life, by the most considerate attention to their habits. Their ancient rights to a small duty* on goods passing their hills were admitted, but she exacted, in recompence for her concessions and for the grants she made them of waste lands, an obligation to protect the roads, and to recover any property that was stolen within their respective † limits. There would be no end to a minute detail of the measures of her internal policy. It is sufficient to observe she has become by general suffrage the model of good government in Malwa; and TANTIAH, the present Minister of the minor Prince MULHAR ROW, is satisfied that he is at once pleasing us, gratifying the family with the management of whose affairs he is entrusted, and gaining popularity by professing to follow the example of this extraordinary female, from the rents she fixed on a province to the pay for the lowest servant of the State; and her name is, on all points, such authority, that an objection is never made, when her practice is pleaded as a precedent.

27. The correspondence of ALIAH BAE extended to the most remote parts of India. It was generally carried on through Brahmins, who were the agents of her pious munificence, which was as unexampled as it was unbounded. When the treasuries of HOLKAR came into her possession she is stated to have made them over, by the performance of a sacred ceremony ‡ (common to the Hindus) to the purposes of charity and good

* This is called the Bheel's Cowry. It differs in almost every place, but is no where above half a piece on a bullock load.

† I have had the same settlement to make with the same class of people, and while the present administration of the HOLKAR Government have considered that they went as far in liberal conciliation as they could by agreeing to restore the relations which were established in ALIAH BAE's time, I have never found the rudest inhabitants of the mountains desire more indulgence. This is incontrovertible evidence to her able conduct of the most difficult part of her administration.

‡ She placed water in her hand, and having mixed with it some leaves of the Toolsee Tree while a Brahmin pronounced a prayer, she sprinkled the water over the treasure, which was considered by this act devoted to charity.

good works. She built several forts, and at that of Jaum made a road at great labor and cost over a part of the Vindyah range, where that is almost perpendicular. She laid out considerable sums in religious buildings at Moheysir, and built many Temples,* Deremsallahs (or places of rest for travellers) and wells over the HOLKAR possessions in Malwa; but such works were not limited to her own territories;—at all the principal places of Hindu worship in India, including as far as East and West as Jaggernath and Dwarka, and as far North and South as Hurdwar and Kidur† Naut, among the snowy mountains of Himalah and Ramiseram, she built holy edifices, maintained establishments, and sent annual sums to be distributed in charity. The principal of her buildings are at Gyah, where a figure of herself adoring the image of MAHADEO is preserved in one of the temples, and she is sainted among her own tribe, by this being placed along with the statues of the God RAMCHUNDER, and his wife the celebrated Goddess SEETTA.

28. The fixed annual amount, which ALIAH BAE sent to support her establishments at these holy shrines, was *fifty-five* thousand rupees, of which seven thousand were sent to Pryag or Allahabad, five thousand to Punderpore, four thousand to Benares, and an equal sum to Gyah. To the other holy places, proportionable but less sums were remitted. In addition to this established charity she gave occasionally other presents, and nothing added more to her fame in the southern parts of the Peninsula, than the constant supply of Ganges water, which she sent them to wash the sacred images of the different temples. These extensive pious donations probably proceeded from a sincere belief in her religion, and a desire to promote her own and her country's welfare, by propitiating the favor of the Deities she worshipped; but we find in many

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* That at Nimawur opposite Hindia, which she built, though small, is one of the most beautiful buildings I have seen in this quarter of India.

† Captain STUART, my assistant, when travelling to Kidur Naut in 1819, had frequent opportunities of remarking the veneration in which the memory of ALIAH BAE is held in that remote part of India. There is an excellent stone Dhurrumsala still in good repair, and a Koond or reservoir of water built at the expence of that Princess for the accommodation of pilgrims and travellers at the stage beyond Mundul, about three thousand feet higher, where not a vestige of any other habitation is to be found.

many of her observances and institutions in Malwa a spirit of charity which had the truest character of wisdom and benevolence; she fed every day numbers of poor. On particular festivals she gave entertainments to the lowest classes. In the hot months of the year people were stationed on the roads to supply travellers with water, and at the commencement of the cold season she gave clothes to great numbers of her dependants, and to weak or sickly people. Her feelings of general humanity were often carried to an extraordinary excess. The beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the fish of the river shared in her consideration; portions of food were allotted to them, and the peasant near Moheysir used in hot days to see his yoke of oxen stopt during their labor to be refreshed with water given by a servant of Aliah Bae; while fields, which she had purchased, were covered with flocks of birds, to whom they were allotted, and which had been (properly she used to observe) driven by cultivators from destroying grain, on which the latter depended for their own support.

29. We may smile at such efforts at universal benevolence, and perhaps censure the bigotry, which gave to the tribe of Brahmins the chief share of her charity, and wasted the treasures of a state in the erection and support of edifices in foreign and distant lands; but it was well asked by an able and intelligent Brahmin, (to whom some such remarks were addressed) "Whether Aliah Bae, by spending double the mo-
"ney on an Army that she did on charity and good works, could have
"effected the same end of preserving the country for upwards of thirty
"years in a state of almost profound peace, while she rendered her sub-
"jects happy, and herself adored. No person (he added) doubts the
"sincerity of her piety, but if she had merely possessed worldly wisdom,
"she could have devised no means so admirably calculated to the
"object. I was (this person concluded) in one of the chief offices at
"Poonah during the last years of her rule, and know well what feelings
"were excited by the mere mention of her name. Among the Chiefs
"of her own nation, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege to

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"have become her enemy, or indeed not to have defended her against "any enemy. She was considered by all in the same light. The Ni-"zam of the Deckan and TIPPOO SULTAUN granted her equal respect "with the PAISHWAH, and Mahomedans joined with Hindus in prayers "for her long life and prosperity."

A. D. 1795. 30. ALIAH BAE died at the age of about sixty, worn out with care and fatigue, and according to some she hastened her death by a too strict observance of the numerous fasts prescribed by her religion. She was of middle stature and very thin, though at no period of her life handsome;* her complexion, which was of a dark olive, was clear, and her countenance is described as having been to the last hour of her existence agreeable, and expressive of that goodness which marked every action of her life. She was very cheerful and seldom in anger, but, when provoked by vice or wickedness, the most esteemed of her attendants trembled† to speak to her. The mind of this extraordinary woman had been more cultivated than is usual with Hindus; she read a little, and understood well the Puranahs or sacred books, which were her favorite study, and she is represented as having been singularly quick and clear in transacting public business. Her husband was killed before she was twenty years of age, and to that misfortune was added the vice and insanity of her son. These afflictions made a strong impression on her mind—she never after her husband's death wore colored clothes,‡ and never put any jewels beyond a small necklace—and indeed remained, amid every temptation, unchanged in her habits or character. Flattery even appears to have been lost upon ALIAH BAE. A Brahmin

* When the beautiful but wicked ANUNTIA BAE, wife of RUGOBAH, and mother of BAJEEROW, was at Dhar, envious perhaps of the fame of ALIAH BAE, she sent a female attendant to bring an account of her looks. The woman is reported to have said on her return, "ALIAH BAE has not beautiful features, but a heavenly light is on her countenance." "But she is not handsome you say," was the only reply of her Mistress, who felt consolation in this part of the report.

† BARAMAL DADA, the venerable Manager of Mohejsir, who was for many years one of her most favorite servants, assures me that when really in anger, which was of rare occurrence, her countenance struck terror into the minds of the boldest.

‡ She always dressed in plain white clothes, without even an embroidered or colored border—which is the usage of Hindu widows.

Brahmin wrote a book in her praise, which she heard read with patience, and after observing "she was a weak sinful woman, and not deserving such fine encomiums," directed it to be thrown into the Nerbuddah, and took no further notice of the author. The facts that have been stated of ALIAH BAE rest on grounds that admit of no scepticism.* It is however an extraordinary picture. A female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance,† a mind imbued with the deepest superstition, but receiving no impressions except what led to the benefit and happiness of those under its influence;—a being exercising in the most active and able manner despotic power, not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraint, that a strict conscience could lay upon human action—and this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others. To sum up all, she was goodness in its most comprehensive sense personified.

31. Such is the picture which the natives of this quarter give of ALIAH BAE; with them her name is sainted, and she is styled an Aouter, or descent of the divinity. In the most sober view that we can take of her character, she certainly appears within her limited sphere to have been one of the purest and best rulers that ever existed, and she affords a striking example of the great benefit which the mind may receive from performing worldly duties under a deep sense of responsibility to its Creator.

32. The life of ALIAH BAE has been given at greater length than was intended, but it forms too proud a feature in the history of the house of HOLKAR

* Independant of the numerous and authentic sources from which these facts are drawn, my duty has led to my making in detail settlements and agreements with the same classes, and the minute evidence I have obtained regarding the acts and measures of her internal rule puts the real character of that beyond all doubt.

† Intolerance is not a defect of the Hindu religion, but ALIAH BAE is represented to have gone further, and to have been peculiarly kind and considerate of those of her subjects whose faith differed from her own.

HOLKAR to have been too slightly passed over. She left no heir* to her fortune and power, and we now proceed to the notice of those who came like destroyers to ruin the fair prospects which her rule had opened to the inhabitants of her dominions.

33. For nearly two years after the death of ALIA BAE, the territories of the HOLKAR family in Malwa remained in a prosperous state, but the death of TUKAJEE was followed by contests which led to their desolation and that of all the surrounding provinces. TUKAJEE left two sons, KASSEE ROW and MULHAR ROW, by his wife, and two, JESWUNT ROW and ETOJEE, by a mistress. The pretensions of KASSEE ROW were prior from birth, but he was weak in intellect and deformed in body, and quite unequal to the active duties of the Government. This made his father and ALIAH BAE desire that he should remain at Moheysir, while MULHAR ROW, a brave and aspiring youth, should command the armies. In other words, that the latter should perform the duties of TUKAJEE, and his brother those of ALIAH BAE. The

* The melancholy end of ALIAH BAE's only son, MALEE ROW, has been noticed. She had besides one daughter, MUCHTA BAE, who was married to JESWUNT ROW PAUNSEAH. The fruit of this marriage was one son, called NUTHFABAH, who, after reaching manhood, died at Moheysir. Twelve months afterwards his father died, and MUCHTA BAE declared immediately her resolution to burn with the corpse of her husband. No efforts short of a coercion that a mother and a sovereign could use were untried by the virtuous ALIAH BAE to dissuade her daughter from the fatal resolution. She humbled herself to the dust before her, and entreated her as she revered her God not to leave her desolate and alone upon earth. MUCHTA BAE, though affectionate, was as resolved as she was calm. "You are old, mother, she said, and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel would be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with honor would have passed!" ALIAH BAE, when she found it was impossible to alter her resolution, determined to witness the last scene. She walked in the procession and stood near the pile. She was supported by two Brahmins, who held her arms, though obviously suffering great agony of mind. She remained tolerably firm till the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-command, and while her shrieks increased the noise made by exulting shouts of the immense multitude that stood around, she was seen to gnaw in anguish those hands she could not liberate from the persons by whom she was held. After some convulsive efforts she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbuddah, when the bodies were consumed. She then retired to her palace, where for three days, having taken hardly any sustenance, she remained so absorbed in grief that she never uttered a word. When recovered from this state, she seemed to find consolation in building a beautiful monument to the memory of those she mourned.

I state these particulars on the authority of several who were near witnesses of this affecting scene, besides BARAMUL DADA, who was throughout in attendance on her. It is pleasing to find that her devotion, though it forbid her to infringe what usage had sanctioned and rendered holy, had not subdued in this admirable woman's mind the natural feelings of humanity.

The belief of such a plan being practicable, is a proof how easily the judgment may be blinded by affection; a day's union was not to be expected from the opposite character of these brothers, and from the moment of their father's death, they plotted each other's destruction. MULHAR Row had pressed his father on the ground of his superior fitness to name him his sole successor, and offended at non-compliance had thrown himself upon the protection of NANAH FURNAVESE, who promised him aid. The army of the family was also in his favor, and his successs in becoming head of the state seemed certain, when KASSEE Row, then at Moheysir, entreated DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, or rather his minister, the notorious SIRJEE ROW GHATKEEA, to support his pretensions. This was procured, and on his arrival at Poonah his cause was openly espoused. To prevent, however, the escape of his brother and a protracted warfare, a reconciliation was sought and concluded, but on the night of that day on which this was effected, and the sacred ceremony of Bel Bundar* (a sacred oath) had passed between them as a pledge of sincerity, the camp of MULHAR Row was surrounded by the battalions of SCINDIAH. He was apprized at day-light of his danger, and immediately mounted, but before he could make any arrangements for defence, he fell under two balls, one of which pierced his forehead. The price of this act of treachery and violence was the restoration of the bonds† given by MADHAJEE SCINDIAH to ALIAH BAE and HURKAH BAE, and the payment of fifteen‡ lacks of rupees, ten of which were given in ready money, and the revenue of Amber, in the Deckan, mortgaged for the remainder.

34. The whole§ of HOLKAR's Troop, except a few followers of KAS-

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* The Bel tree is rendered sacred to, its leaves being used in the worship of MAHADEO— When this oath is taken, some of its leaves are filled with turmeric and interchanged with solemn pledges by the parties.

† I am assured of this fact by men who were in the service of the HOLKAR family at the period, and must have been informed of its correctness.

‡ This sum was demanded as payment for powder and shot expended on the occasion.

§ The Army of HOLKAR with MULHAR ROW at Poonah only amounted to three or four thousand men.

SEE Row, were dispersed and their camp plundered. Among the fugitives was JESWUNT Row, who carried with him a few of the Pagah Horse, and according to report some of the family jewels. He sought protection at Nagpore, but a belief of his possessing property, or a desire to conciliate the Poonah Government and SCINDIAH* made RAGOJEE BHONSLAH seize and confine him. He remained in prison six months, when he made his escape, but was again taken: he however managed a second time to elude his guard, and arrived in Candeish, about a year and a half after MULHAR Row was slain. He was accompanied in this second flight by a Mahomedan† soldier, who had assisted his escape, and an active intelligent Hindu of the name of BHOWANEE SHUNKUR.‡ When they reached Candeish, JESWUNT Row went to the village of Goorgaum to see his tutor CHIMNA BHOW, who gave him a mare§ and three hundred rupees, advising him not to remain there, but to proceed towards Malwa. He went first to the small fort of Kookernada within six coss of Nunderbar, and we may judge of his low and desperate condition at this period, from his having become for two or three months the associate of the Bheel Chief JUNJAR NAICK, the possessor of the fastness to which he had fled.|| From Kookernada JESWUNT Row went first to Burwanee, and afterwards to Dhurmpooree, a town on the Nerbuddah, belonging to the family of PUAR, the Chief of which ANUND Row, when he heard of his arrival, sent directions for his being forwarded by the route of Mandoo to Dhar; he also sent a dress and a palankeen to meet him, and directed that all his wants should be liberally

* Both the Ministers of the PAISHWAH and DOWLUT Row SCINDIAH addressed strong letters to RAGOJEE BHONSLAH on this occasion.

† This man's name was SHAW MAHOMED; we hear no more of him, and he probably died soon, as JESWUNT Row was not ungrateful to the few friends that aided him in adversity.

‡ BHOWANEE SHUNKUR was, when he attached himself to JESWUNT Row, a common writer to a party of ten Horse, rose to be Buckshee, or Paymaster of all his Army. He will be noticed hereafter.

§ The name of this mare was Lunka; she was of a chesnut color, and became, though old and not handsome, a great favorite, and was celebrated by JESWUNT Row making her on the Dusserah feast, his chief object of Poojah, or worship, and calling her, the origin of his fortunes.

|| It was about this period that he must have learnt the fate of his brother EETOJEE, who flying from Poonah at the same time had become the associate of freebooters, and was taken and trampled to death by an elephant in that city.

liberally supplied. These extended, at this low ebb of his fortune, even to clothes to cover himself and his few followers.

35. Jeswunt Row remained two or three months at Dhar, where several of the old adherents of his family joined his standard, but these were, like himself, in a wretched state of poverty. Fortunately, at this period Rung Row Oureker, with a body of Patans and Pindarries, made an attack on Anund Row at Kisowul.* The Puar Prince had actually commenced his retreat, and had abandoned two guns, when he was stopped by Jeswunt Row, who entreated him to stand, and that he would still win the victory for him. Taking a slip of paper he wrote a short note addressed to the leaders of the Pindarries with Oureker, stating that "Jeswunt Row Holkar was with the Puar, and desired them "as adherents of his family to withdraw." The Pindarries at first doubted the fact, but when convinced of the truth by the messenger who carried it, they fell back and created a confusion, during which the guns were recovered. Jeswunt Row, springing from his horse, seized a spunge staff and aided by some men, whom his example excited, fired two or three rounds with good aim at the Afghans, who were again advancing to the attack; the consequence was their retreat from the field, and the precipitate flight of Oureker.

36. The gratitude of Anund Row was commensurate with the service that had been rendered him, but Jeswunt Row asked nothing but a promise to give him refuge when in extreme distress. His having fled to Dhar was no sooner known than Scindiah threatened Anund Row with the highest displeasure, if he was not seized or expelled, and it is stated that the generosity of Jeswunt Row refused to be the ruin of his protector, which seemed certain if he protracted his stay. He solicited and was granted a small aid in money, and having received, besides ten thousand rupees, a present of seven horses, he left Dhar with this number of mounted

* Kisowul is a village sixteen miles South East of Dhar.

mounted followers and seven more belonging to SHAMROW MULIK (a Mahratta who attached himself to his fortunes at this period.) To this train he added about one hundred and twenty ragged, half-armed, foot, composed of his adherents, who had been plundered at Poonah of their horses and property. The first enterprize he attempted with this body of men was against a party of one hundred stable horse at Debalpore,* which by a rapid movement he completely surprized, and not only obtained some good horses, which he much wanted, but a seasonable supply of money, which he exacted from the helpless inhabitants. This enterprize may be deemed the commencement of that predatory career which he appears from the moment he returned to Malwa to have contemplated, as the only means of preserving his own power, or saving the possessions of the family from DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, in whose hands KASSEE ROW was at this moment a mere instrument. JESWUNT ROW was not however at this period inattentive to the feelings and pride of the family of which he was an illegitimate branch, and he knew too well the strength he might gain or lose by consulting or neglecting the usages and prejudices of the adherents and subjects of the house of HOLKAR, to venture on a direct usurpation of the Chief authority in his own name, but, on the ground of KASSEE ROW's incapacity from natural defects of body and mind, he proclaimed his allegiance to KUNDEE ROW, the infant son of MULHAR† ROW, by having a Persian seal engraved, before he left Dhar, with the inscription "JESWUNT‡ ROW, the subordinate of SEVAEE KUNDEE ROW," and under this title he began to collect an army, into which all classes, Pindarries, Bheels, Afghans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots,

* Debalpore is a town belonging to the HOLKAR family, situated about four miles from the right bank of the Chumbul. The chevalier DUDERNEC, who had been encamped at it with a brigade that he commanded in the service of KASSEE ROW, marched for Indore, leaving the Pagah horse for its protection.

† This child was born some months after the death of his father.

‡ This Persian seal was "JESWUNT ROW FEDWEE SEVAEE KUNDEE ROW." On his Mahratta one was engraved "at the feet of the husband of MAHALIA, (i. e. Kundee Row, the God of Jejoory,) the son of MULHAR ROW KUNDEE ROW."

poots were indiscriminately admitted. He had gone from Debalpore to Jowrah, and from that to Mahidpore, but the manager of the former* desired to seize him,—and the officer in charge of the latter district refused him the slightest aid. He marched east towards Sarungpore, and VIZEER HUSSEIN, a Syud of that city, who had been before in the service of the HOLKAR Family, was the first man of respectability in Malwa who joined him. This leader added to the value of his name, and the services of forty or fifty horse, and two or three hundred foot, a present of five thousand rupees, and it was by his advice that JESWUNT ROW made an overture to AMEER KHAN, then encamped at Bhopal with fifteen hundred foot. This Chief was in the service of BALARAM JUGHAH, who had been defeated, and fled, leaving AMEER KHAN in the Fort of Futtyghur, which he had, on the Nabob of Bhopal agreeing to pay the arrears of his men, just surrendered. The invitation of JESWUNT ROW found him quite disengaged, and ready for any enterprize. He marched immediately to Shujahalpore, and the meeting of those two Chiefs, since so celebrated in the annals of predatory warfare, took place at Ranoogunge † The terms of their union A. D. 1798. were soon settled. AMEER KHAN gave an engagement never to desert the fortunes of JESWUNT ROW, and received a written pledge to share equally in all future plunder and conquest. There could be little trouble in making an agreement between men, whose fortunes were at the moment alike desperate, and neither of whom were restrained by any principle likely to consider the obligation of its future performance as an obstacle that could ever obstruct the promotion of their personal interests.

* GUNGRAM KOTTAREE, a Banyan, was at this time manager of Jowrah. He was an able man, and JESWUNT ROW, when he came to power, after making his conduct on this occasion a pretext for exacting some money, employed him in high charge. He was for nine or ten years manager of Rampoorah and Bampoorah, and several other districts. MUGNEE RAM, the Son of GUNGARAM KOTTAREE, is still in the service of the family of HOLKAR, but of no note.

† This place has already been mentioned, (vide page 77): is built in honor of the memory of RANAJEE SCINDIAH.

interests. Their joint career commenced in a demand of contribution from the Amil of Shujahalpore, and that Officer, who had a few days before insulted JESWUNT ROW with an offer of two hundred rupees, was now compelled to pay seven thousand to purchase his absence and that of his new ally. After marching from Shujahalpore, JESWUNT ROW proceeded westward, and the plunder of some merchants whom he seized on the road near Debalpore, consisting of clothes to an amount of forty thousand rupees, furnished his new levies with pay, and gave a character to his proceeding, which brought thousands of recruits. His
A.D. 1798. next enterprize was to plunder some towns and districts belonging to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH on the Nerbuddah. From Hindia, which he sacked, he went to the village of Kusrawud opposite Mundlasir, where he had an action with a strong detachment of the Campoo or Brigade of the Chevalier DUDERNAIC, (then in the service of KASSEE ROW) that had been sent from that Officer's head quarters at Indore to attack him.—JESWUNT ROW, however, was victorious, after a severe contest; the detachment was destroyed, and eight standards and four guns, which fell into the hands of the conquerors, greatly increased his means and reputation. He marched immediately to Moheysir, but he was soon driven from that by the Brigades from Indore, and fled towards Suttwass, where he took seven guns, which he repaired and carried along with his Army to Burgondah,* with the intention of inviting to his standard the troops of KASSEE ROW, which were assembled at Indore. The latter, who were disgusted with acting for a nominal ruler, saw, in the enterprize and daring spirit of JESWUNT ROW, a chief better calculated to save the family they served from being destroyed by the unprincipled ambition of SCINDIAH. The consequence of this feeling was, that the Chevalier DUDERNAIC with his Battalions, and NUJEEB KHAN, who was attached to them with eight hundred

* The village of Burgondah is six miles south west of the cantonment at Mhow, and nineteen in nearly the same direction from Indore. It is in the road from the latter to Moheysir by the Jaum Ghaut.

hundred Horse, joined JESWUNT ROW, and before the year was completed, the fugitive, who had fled from Poonah only to be made a prisoner at Nagpore, was at the head of a considerable army, and acknowledged and obeyed as the representative and guardian of the interests of their minor Prince over all the HOLKAR territories in Malwa.

37. JESWUNT ROW, after settling with the regular Brigades, proceeded to Moheysir, where great pains were taken to discover the treasures of ALIAH BAE, and a considerable amount both of money and jewels is reported to have come into his hands. Thus far is certain, he immediately commenced issues of pay, and published his intention of establishing order and regularity in his army* and government. After remaining about three months at Moheysir, JESWUNT ROW returned to his cantonment at Bergondah, where he was kept longer than he had proposed, by the bursting of a firelock, which he was firing at a mark; a piece of the barrel struck his eye, and his total loss of it was the consequence. He bestowed at this time the title of Nabob upon his associate AMEER KHAN, to whom he gave a magnificent present † on the occasion, and the Patan Chief flattered his vanity by styling himself on his seal " Fedwee, or the subordinate, of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR." The new Nabob was detached with a strong corps in an eastern direction to plunder and levy contributions. The Rajahs of Dewass were compelled to pay one lack of rupees, and a large sum was also exacted from Auggur, which was afterwards

* JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR divided his Horse into three classes. To the first-sized Horses he gave five hundred rupees per annum. The second three hundred, and the third two hundred and fifty.—Officers had higher allowances; twenty days' pay only was given each month, and the arrears settled every year. In all these arrangements there was a remarkable distinction between the Mahomedans and Hindus. The former had the pay stated, while the latter had only for first Horses four hundred, for the second two hundred, and for the third one hundred and fifty. I have asked the reason of this distinction; some referred it to the influence of AMEER KHAN and the Mahomedan Sirdars, others to the Patans, and their Horses being stronger and requiring more food; others to the Mahrattas having more latitude for plunder: but the real cause appears to have been a desire to accommodate with the loose habits of his Mahratta followers, who had a greater number of ponies, upon which their women, children and servants rode, registered in their parties, and whose Sheerah or average pay, though nominally lower, became, from the indulgence on all such points that was extended to them, actually higher.

† An elephant, horse, rich dress and jewels.

A. D. 1799. wards plundered. AMEER KHAN next marched to Bersiah, Seronje and Saugor, destroying as he went, particularly at the latter place, where his army acquired according to all accounts an enormous booty. Saugor, which belonged at this period to the PAISHWAH, was defended for three days by VENAICK ROW, and at last taken by storm; and it is stated in an account given by one who was then high in the service of AMEER KHAN, that a scene of promiscuous and unrestrained pillage continued for the whole period (nearly a month) that the army remained near this unfortunate city.*

The consequences of the proceedings at Saugor were such as might have been expected. The army of AMEER KHAN, which was before disorderly, became wholly unmanageable. Those who had acquired booty had no thoughts but how to preserve it, while others, who had been less fortunate, were clamorous and discontented. VENAICK ROW had applied to the Rajah of Nagpore, and BENI SINGH,† one of the favourite leaders of that Chief, was sent to his aid. The latter made such rapid marches, that AMEER KHAN did not hear of his approach till he was within a few miles

* KHEALEE RAM, the son of HIMUT ROW, who was with his father and brothers in the service of AMEER KHAN, states that Saugor had been set on fire the day of the storm, and the flames continued to rage in one quarter or another of the town throughout the whole period. About four or five hundred of the garrison and inhabitants only were killed, but all were ruined; for no property was spared, and the last days were employed in dragging the tanks and wells, for what had been cast into them for the purpose of temporary concealment. AMEER KHAN is represented to have made repeated efforts to put an end to the excesses of his troops, which were attended with great loss of reputation as well as of property to himself; but he was the mere Chief of a rabble who despised his orders, and nothing could exceed the insubordination and insolence of the Patans, of whom the army was almost wholly composed. When their Chief attempted to stop them, they derided him with his former low condition, asked him if he forgot who made him a great man, and warned him to beware how he provoked a resentment which would reduce him in a moment to his original insignificance. He answered their insolence, according to the narrator of these facts, by a patience little honorable to his character, using no means but the ineffectual one of soothing entreaties to recal them to their duty.

KHEALEE RAM gives an account of the varied species of insult and torture inflicted upon the male and female inhabitants of Saugor, that is hardly credible. One mode he mentioned to discover if the party had wealth, or was poor, is curious. The Afghan soldiers, when they caught a Brahmin or Hindu of high cast, used to feel his head, and examine his skin with great care, to discover from its softness and delicacy, whether he had been leading a luxurious life or one of labor, and according to the result of this inspection, they proceeded to extremities with their prisoner, or let him loose.

† This Chief was afterwards slain at Gawilghur, when that fortress was taken by the present Duke of WELLINGTON in 1803. He fell during the storm, and left the character of a brave soldier.

miles of Saugor. He mounted, and directed his army to attend him. Two or three thousand men listened to his orders, but the remainder either openly disobeyed them, on the plea of not having received pay, or evaded immediate compliance by promising to follow as soon as they were ready; and the latter, amongst whom were included some of the principal Afghans* who had enriched themselves with plunder, the moment their Chief was out of camp, actually marched in an opposite direction for Rathgur, a fort at the distance of about twenty-five miles, belonging to the Nabob of Bhopal. Their example was followed by numbers. AMEER KHAN, not aware of this defection, continued to advance with a small body in the confidence of being supported by the remainder of his troops. He made an attack upon the Nagpore force, in which he was thrown from his horse, and though he was soon remounted, one of his leaders, who saw him fall, gave up all for lost, and galloped back to the lines near Saugor. All hurried to ask him what had occurred, and what AMEER KHAN was doing. He was too alarmed to answer, and could do nothing but make a motion with both his hands,† to pack up and be off. This signal was well obeyed; in a few minutes the camp was standing (Bazars and all) without one inhabitant, in which state AMEER KHAN found it when he returned, half an hour before dark, after an indecisive action, which it was his intention to renew next day. His astonishment cannot be described, but, unacquainted with any thing except the direction in which his followers had fled, he could not venture with the few that remained to pass the night so near an enemy who must soon have information of what had occurred. He directed therefore his camp, with all that was in it, to be set on fire, and proceeded towards Rathgur, where he not only found the fugitives, but his brother KURREEM U DEEN, who

* The names of the leaders who acted in this disgraceful manner were AKBER KHAN, HIMUT KHAN, DORAB SHAH, and NADIR KHAN.

† KHEALEE RAM states in his account that he was the first person who interrogated this alarmed fugitive, but could only obtain the answer of the described signal for flight.

who had been sent by Jeswunt Row with a strong reinforcement to his support. The mutual reproaches of the different parties were silenced for three or four days by the extreme necessity of the troops, which may be judged by the condition of Ameer Khan, who had neither a tent to shelter him, nor a suit of clothes beyond those he wore. A small present from the Governor* of Rathgur, and the plunder of its principal Soucar,† relieved for the moment their wants, and Kurreem u Deen, after upbraiding his brother on his bad management of the service which Jeswunt Row Holkar had entrusted him with, proposed that he should in part indemnify his late losses by forcing those Commanders who had deserted him to restore part of that booty which had caused their misconduct. Ameer Khan agreed to make the demand, but the Afghan Chiefs, enraged at the proposal, left the camp the day after it was made. Kurreem u Deen resolved that they should not so escape, pursued them with his own detachment, and coming up with them at the village of Kuroaee completely surrounded them; for three days nothing decisive occurred. On the morning of the fourth their camp was attacked, and after a short contest they were defeated, and fled in every direction. Akbar Khan, the principal of these Chiefs, was slain, and his head cut off and sent to Ameer Khan, to whom the whole plunder retaken was sent. Kurreem u Deen gave, in the manner in which he performed this service with a corps almost composed of Pindarries, a very useful lesson to his elder brother of the advantage of enforcing obedience;—but this young Chief was every way superior to Ameer Khan— and

* Mahomed Khan, son of Morred Mahomed Khan, was at this time Governor of Rathgur. He made his unwelcome guests a present of five thousand rupees.

† Mohun Lal, the nephew of Dale Chund, a Soucar of reputation, was concealed at Rathgur. He had fled from Saugor, where he was discovered by Ameer Khan, and demanded of the Governor, who gave him up. He promised to pay five thousand rupees, and was given over to Khealee Ram to realize the money. After paying about one thousand rupees he begged to go into his house to bring the rest, and contrived to make his escape by a window at the top of his house. This produced rage and alarm in the person who had charge of him, who not finding him proceeded to his Doucan or Shop, which (I use his own expressions) was swept, and the produce to Ameer Khan was full forty thousand rupees.

and the favor and confidence with which JESWUNT Row treated him is a proof of the latter's sagacity. He did not, however, live long to enjoy the high character he had acquired; he was killed in attacking Shujahalpore. His death, and the plunder of that place, which was completely sacked, enraged JESWUNT Row still more than he had been with the conduct of AMEER KHAN at Saugor; and, on receiving information that the latter (who had now an army of nearly thirty* thousand men) cherished hostile intentions to his government, he sent SHAMROW MADICK with a strong corps to seize him. AMEER KHAN, alarmed at this proceeding, sent his confidential moonsheet† to Indore, charged with professions of obedience and attachment; but JESWUNT Row demanded, as a proof of his sincerity, that AMEER KHAN should come alone to his camp. The Patan Chief, in whose character art predominated, and who always strove to gain his ends by pliancy more than firmness, did not hesitate to comply with the request. He went with only one hundred horse to the camp of SHAMROW, whom he accompained to Indore, and immediately waited on JESWUNT Row, before whom he laid his sword and shield, observing, "You have listened to calumniators: "I present you with my arms, which never can be used but in your service." These concessions did not immediately appease the anger or allay the jealousy of the Mahratta chief, but AMEER KHAN, resolving to obtain his confidence, went one morning to see him without a single attendant, and presenting his dagger said, "You had better, if your doubts still "continue, end them by taking my life. I shall be satisfied, if you are "convinced it is for the good of your state to do so." JESWUNT Row immediately embraced him, and declared he was ashamed of ever having suspected for a moment so good and so attached a friend.

39. All these events succeeded each other so quickly, that before DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH could collect an army to protect his possessions

* He had been joined by NUJEEB KHAN, MEER MAHOMMED KHAN, GHOLAM GHOUSKHAUN, and several other chiefs, with a number of followers from Hindostan.

† HIMMUT ROW.

ons in Malwa, they were half ruined. The repose that province had enjoyed for more than thirty years had left men ill prepared for the storm that now burst upon them; the spirit of rapine was let loose, and acts of treachery and violence generated each other so rapidly, that within a few months every district was a prey to anarchy and oppression. The
A. D 1799. approach of SCINDIAH obliged HOLKAR to collect his troops, which now consisted of sixty or seventy thousand* men. The first small detachments which SCINDIAH sent into Malwa were defeated, but JESWUNT Row sustained a serious reverse at Sutwass, from which he retired upon Indore. After halting there a few days he marched to Sarungpore, where he was joined by AMEER KHAN. Though it was the height of the rains, they determined on attacking a division of SCINDIAH'S army, consisting of a Campoo or Corps of eight Battalions, and upwards of twenty guns at Ougein. Skirmishing commenced the day of their arrival near that city, but it was eight days before a decisive action took place. This was hard fought, and only won by the courage and talent of JESWUNT Row, who, while he gave orders for a desperate charge of both his Infantry and Horse on the enemy's front, directed a large body of Horse under AMEER KHAN to turn their flank unseen under cover of a deep Nullah; and these troops coming from the circuit they had made in the direction of Ougein, which protected the rear of SCINDIAH'S Battalions, were at first view hailed as friends, and had cut in upon the rear before the mistake was discovered. Never was defeat more complete; the Battalions are represented as having been completely annihilated. We receive a strong impression of the order JESWUNT Row had established, and the vigor of his character from the fact that Ougein was not plundered after this success, but he reserved it from his troops to exact a heavy contribution from its wealthy inhabitants, who were fined in proportion to their

* The details already given will shew how JESWUNT Row's army was composed; among others many Pindarries had joined his standard; but with the exception of the parties of KAUDUR BUKSH, TUKOO and SAHIL KHAN, almost all the Chiefs of that class of plunderers attached themselves to SCINDIAH when he moved towards Malwa.

their real or supposed wealth. It is a curious coincidence, that on this occasion nearly the same mode of exaction was pursued by JESWUNT Row as had been adopted by the great prototype of plunderers, NADIR SHAH, at Delhi; and, in both cases, many of the base and sordid inhabitants rented from the conqueror the right of exacting from the different mehals, or wards of the city, what they could obtain of money or goods.

40. This defeat of SCINDIAH's Battalions and plunder of his capital were soon cruelly revenged. After the rains were over, SCINDIAH detached SIRJEE Row with a strong corps to attack Indore. HOLKAR hastened from Ougein to its relief. He appears on this occasion to have underrated his enemy; for, though there is reason to believe the Chevalier DUDERNAICK would not have obeyed his orders, there can be no doubt that the Officer who had conquered for him at Ougein, and was then at Jowrah with all his Brigade, would have attended his summons; but JESWUNT Row thought his light Troops sufficient for the service, and carried only one Campoo of Infantry, in which there was no European Officer. He however brought with him all the guns he had taken at Ougein, which are said to have amounted to nearly three hundred.

41. JESWUNT Row reached Indore some days before SIRJEE Row. The latter, when he came, encamped near Beejulpoor, a village three miles south of the city, close to which JESWUNT Row had taken post. For nine or ten days there was a continued skirmishing and cannonading between the armies, when JESWUNT Row determined on an attack, and for this purpose directed AMEER KHAN and BHOWANEE SHUNKER (already Bucksee of the Army) to move at night, and intructed them to make a circuit with ten or twelve thousand men, so as to come in the early part of the ensuing day on the high ground in the rear of the enemy, when a gun was to be the signal of a simultaneous charge. This arrangement had the fate of many similar in better ordered armies; the insolence of SIRJEE Row's Pindarries provoked a retaliation on the part of some of the Mahomedan Horse of JESWUNT Row,

 before

before whom the Pindarries fled, and SIRJEE Row's Mahrattas who came to support them followed their example; the panic spread, and part of SCINDIAH's Infantry had actually abandoned their guns, and thrown down their arms, when JESWUNT Row, who had not been able to restrain this attack, lost a victory by not supporting it. He remained for a moment undecided, and before he saw his error, the Infantry of SCINDIAH recovered from its alarm; and, observing only two or three hundred horse, rallied and repulsed them. JESWUNT Row made repeated efforts, but in vain, to throw them again into confusion. About this period AMEER KHAN and BHOWANEE SHUNKER arrived, but instead of a signal gun, and a combined attack, they found JESWUNT Row half defeated, and the day very far advanced; the action was in favor of SCINDIAH's troops, and many parties of HOLKAR's took shelter in the town; and at this moment, some leaders* gave orders to load their baggage. This completed the impression of defeat among the followers of JESWUNT Row, who, before it was dark, commenced their flight. The Pindarries, who always watch this part of an army, were instantly among the baggage, and the confusion soon became irremediable. JESWUNT Row, seeing that all was lost, fled with his horse and a few Infantry to Jaum, leaving his guns, camp, and capital to the enemy.

42. The loss of the battle of Indore has been variously ascribed—to the bad conduct of the Infantry, to the treachery of the Artillery who had been recruited from SCINDIAH's broken corps at Ougein, and are said to have retained their attachment for their former Prince, and to AMEER KHAN, who after his horse was killed, is accused of having set a bad example, by seeking the shelter of some trees; but enough has been said to account for the loss of this action. It may be added that the confusion was from the first greatly increased by the vicinity of the capital, and JESWUNT Row was blamed by all for chusing such a position for action.

43. The

* DHERMA KOUR and HURNAUT DADA, two favorites of JESWUNT ROW, are accused of having first given this imprudent order for loading the baggage.

43. The horrid atrocities of SIRJEE ROW GHAUTKEA at Indore have been before noticed; they far exceeded those which were perpetrated by the army of AMEER KHAN at Saugor: there was also this difference,—the Mahomedan chief, though deficient in authority, and perhaps energy, evinced the inclination to stop the outrages of his lawless adherents, while SIRJEE ROW is stated by all to have enjoyed the scene, and to have encouraged his Pindarries to acts of horror that were novel even to that barbarous race. There is no ground to suspect exaggeration in the statements, which represent the wells within the limits of Indore, as filled by bodies of unfortunate females, who escaped by voluntary death from the shame and cruelty to which they were for more than fifteen days exposed. The death or flight of almost every inhabitant, and the demolition of every house, alone terminated this scene of plunder, massacre and destruction. Between four and five thousand persons are said to have perished, and the remainder who fled saved no property.

44. While his enemies glutted themselves with the plunder of his capital, JESWUNT ROW remained shut up at Jaum, a strong position on the verge of the Vindhhya range, defended by a fortress; but as the Pindarries came every day to within a mile or two of his camp, his supplies began to fail, and the Army without food or pay, were with difficulty kept together from day to day at the earnest entreaties and exhortations of their leader, who promised that means should be early devised to improve their condition. The extreme to which he was at this moment reduced, may be judged by the measure to which he had resort. He obtained from his Chiefs a promise of stilling the clamours of their followers for eight days (the time he required) on his giving to each Horseman a piece of gold bullion to the value of five rupees, which was obtained from breaking up all the ornaments, even to the trinkets of females found in the treasury of ALIAH BAE. After this he sent the little baggage left belonging to himself and followers to

Moheysir,

Moheysir, and with nothing but men and horses, made a march* of one day and night to the wealthy town of Rutlam, which he completely plundered. He told his followers when he reached Rutlam, that he had fulfilled his promise, and that they were at liberty to help themselves This feast (for it was literally such to his hungry Army,) lasted thirteen days, during which man and animal fed to surfeit. He marched back to Moheysir with an Army loaded as heavy as their horses could bear with booty, and on his arrival there, he plainly informed all his adherents, that his means of giving them regular pay, were at an end, but that he was ready to lead those, who chose to follow his fortunes to plunder.† This promise, we are assured, was received by all ranks with delight.

45. Dowlut Row Scindiah, finding that he could not promote his interest by associating them with the cause of Kassee Row, desired that Prince to leave his camp and proceed to Moheysir, where he arrived two days after the return from Rutlam of Jeswunt Row, by whom he was kindly and honorably treated, but admitted to no concern, either nominal or real, with the administration of affairs. When Kassee Row was one day boasting‡ of his influence in the Councils of Dowlut Row Scindiah, he proposed to Jeswunt Row Holkar to effect a reconciliation between him and Scindiah. "Hold your tongue," said the former with impatience. "Had God in mercy to the House of Holkar ordained you to "be a female, you would have benefited another family by bearing "Children; but you have the name of a Man, and have been in consequence the ruin of your own."

46. Scindiah

* The distance is 78 miles.

† This fact proves that he had expended whatever supply of money (which is said not to have exceeded twenty or thirty lacks of rupees) he found in the Treasury of Allah Bae; for he gave up to this period all those arrangements he had made when that first came into his possession, for giving his Army regular pay, and now publickly proclaimed himself without any resource but plunder.

‡ I heard this anecdote from a very respectable person, who was present when the conversation occurred, and have since had it confirmed by others.

46. SCINDIAH had done more than desire KASSEE ROW to go to Moheysir. He had some time before offered to release the Son of MULHAR ROW, and with him all the HOLKAR possessions, if JESWUNT ROW would cease from further devastation of his Provinces; but the latter, though he had originally made no other demand than what DOWLUT ROW was now ready to concede, had already gone too far as a freebooter to be able to stop with safety. We must refer to this feeling, his insisting upon cessions of some territories which had not been in possession of the HOLKAR family, since the days of MULHAR ROW. On this being refused he prepared to carry on the war on a more extended scale. He sent FUTTY SINGH MENIA, accompanied by two Chiefs of the Patan tribe of Bungush, A. D. 1801. to plunder the Provinces of SCINDIAH, and the PAISHWAH in the Deckan; while he himself marched to the Northward, levying heavy fines as he went upon all the principal towns.* He also, at the commencement of this expedition, obliged ZALIM SINGH of Kotah (to which city he marched) to pay him seven lacks of rupees to save his country from plunder. JESWUNT ROW was joined at this period by all his Infantry Brigades, in which however a considerable change had taken place. The Chevalier DUDERNAICK, who had either taken alarm for his personal safety, or entered into a correspondence with his countrymen in the service of SCINDIAH, kept aloof at his Jaidad (or assigned lands) of Ramporah. JESWUNT ROW sent SHAMROW MADIK, to give him any assurance of good treatment he could desire. The latter finding he could not persuade DUDERNAICK, prevailed upon his Corps, by a promise of paying their arrears, to leave that Officer,† and join the Army which had now arrived at Jowud, from

* Nolye, Katchrode, and Mundissore, with all their dependant villages, had to pay large sums for exemption from destruction.

† DUDERNAICK, though he resided himself at Rampoorah, kept his family and property under the protection of ZALIM SING. When he found his men diverted from their obedience to him by SHAMROW MADIK, he went with two hundred Horse to Kotah and surrounded the house in which SHAMROW dwelt, and entering himself, threatened that Chief with death. ZALIM SING, aware of the bad consequences to himself if a favorite Chief of JESWUNT ROW suffered injury within his territories, hastened to the house, where he found the parties in violent altercation. It terminated by his separating them and putting restraint on DUDERNACK. JESWUNT ROW demanded he should be given up, but this ZALIM SING

from whence all the Infantry, except one Battalion with its four guns were detached to Moheysir, while the Horse commenced the plunder of the Districts of Rajpootana under JESWUNT ROW, who had proceeded north as far as Touk, when the arrival of a Corps, which SCINDIAH had detached in pursuit, made him move in a westerly direction. He was likewise induced, by reports of the riches of Nat Duara in Mewar, to make rapid marches, in hopes of relieving the wants of his Army by plundering those treasures and jewels with which the liberal piety of Hindus had ornamented its sacred images. The Mahratta Soldiers had sometimes shewn a regard to religious feelings, even when opposed to their interests; but JESWUNT ROW derided the scruples of his countrymen on such points. The God NAT-JEE had been carried away at his approach, with jewels upon him to an amount of four or five lacks of rupees, and it was probably from their having effected their escape, that he assumed a tone of moderation; for two years afterwards he plundered this sacred Shrine, and jestingly called the booty he seized the Purshad, or holy present of a Divine Being, who condescended to favor him. Such sacrilegious wit endeared him to the Patans, who predominated in his Army, and whom he always particularly courted, but many of the Hindus of his Army were shocked, and date his insanity from this act,—while others refer the miserable close of his life to the offence he gave upon this occasion to a principal Divinity.

47. After destroying a great part of Mewar, JESWUNT ROW retired to Rampoorah on the Chumbul, and while his army remained in that quarter, he is believed to have discovered considerable treasures which had been concealed in the neighboring fort of Hinglaisghur. He proceeded from Rampoorah to Amjherrah, which he plundered and burnt, being provoked by the spirited but ineffectual resistance of its Rajah. He next passed the Nerbuddah, and fell upon SCINDIAH's Districts in Nemar, which he laid

SING refused to comply with, the act he said would stain his name with infamy. A small sum was paid to obtain JESWUNT ROW's permission for his French Commandant to depart, and the Chevalier proceeded to Hindostan with all his property, escorted by a party from the Regent of Kotah,

laid completely waste. Kundwa, at that time an opulent town, was reduced to ashes, after being completely sacked, and heavy contributions were levied from Berhampore, near which city he was joined by his Infantry, with whom and a few Horse he proceeded to collect money in Candeish, while AMEER KHAN and other Chiefs were detached in different directions to subsist their followers by plundering* the countries of the PAISHWAH and the NIZAM.

48. It would be useless to dwell upon the scenes of pillage and atrocity, that marked the progress of JESWUNT ROW's Army to Poonah. The alarm caused by his advance towards the capital led DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH to detach SADASHEO ROW to support the PAISHWAH. A partial affair took place as this corps passed JESWUNT ROW's Army, in which AMEER KHAN gained an advantage over two of SCINDIAH's Battalions, but the latter proceeded without further molestation to their place of destination.

49. The battle which was fought near Poonah on the twenty-fifth of October, between the army of JESWUNT ROW and the Troops of BAJEE-ROW and SCINDIAH, has before been noticed. JESWUNT ROW after drawing out his Army opposite to his enemies, with the Cavalry in the rear and flanks of the Infantry, dismounted and stood upon an eminence about a mile in the rear. It is likely he took this position for himself, that he might have a clear view of the whole action, but according to the statement of some of his confidential Officers, he cherished to the last hopes of A. D. 1802.

* Heavy fines were imposed upon Malligaum, Toka, Kygaum, Para, Sunjun, and Jaulnah, and many other Towns near them were plundered. Amber, of which SCINDIAH held possession since the death of MULHAR ROW, was surrendered after three days' opposition to AMEER KHAN, and that Chief is stated to have been very anxious to save it from pillage; but his utmost efforts were unavailing. From that he moved to Vinchoor, with the Jaghiredar of which he fought an action, that terminated in the complete route of the latter, and the consequent plunder and destruction of the town by the Patans. AMEER KHAN after these exploits joined JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR at Fultimbha, which he expressed an anxious desire to plunder. Though JESWUNT ROW is stated to have shewn some reluctance to allow this sacred place to be injured; he at last gave his conduct to a fine of fifteen thousand rupees being taken, and treble that sum was extorted from the inhabitants.

of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment, and was always very reluctant to bring affairs to extremities with the PAISHWAH.*

50. At the commencement of thebattle some of the Horse of HOLKAR's Army gave way. The moment JESWUNT Row observed this retrogade movement, he sprung upon his horse and addressing a small party of his men, advised all who did not intend to die or conquer, to save themselves and go to their wives and children. "As for me (he exclaimed) I have no intention of surviving this day; if I do not gain the victory, where can I fly to?" This proclamation of his resolution was well seconded by his actions. He hastened to his Infantry Brigades, which, commanded by an English† Officer, were continuing the fight, and having met his flying Horse, he succeeded by his reproaches and example in rallying them. The panic which had begun to spread, now ceased, and a complete victory was the reward of his efforts. A considerable number of the PAISHWAH's Troops, and more of those of DOWLUT Row SCINDIAH, were killed and wounded. Their Camp was plundered, and Poonah was only saved from the same fate by the desire of the Conqueror to reserve this prize for himself. The Patans of AMEER KHAN, who

* It was probably his profession, but it is not likely to have been the case; there were too strong feelings of hatred between them for him seriously to have anticipated BAJEEROW's consent to any union, except in the last extremity. ETAJEE, the brother of JESWUNT Row, had fled at the same time he did from Poonah. His necessities had compelled him to the life of a common plunderer. He was taken and trampled to death by an elephant in Poonah. It was true, he had committed a crime that merited death, but he was the son of TUKAJEE HOLKAR, and amongst the Mahrattas it was deemed an outrage to execute him like a common malefactor. This act of BAJEEROW and the confinement of KUNDEE Row were always pleaded by JESWUNT Row as his excuse for that life of violence and crime to which he had been compelled, and in which he had gone so far, that he could neither forgive nor hope to be forgiven. Besides this the horde of plunderers he had collected propelled him forward. He had no regular resources to pay them, and they were to be fed from day to day by the plunder of the country in which they acted. JESWUNT Row had with no more sincerity than he professed attachment to BAJEEROW, courted the amicable interference of the British Government, but authentic documents prove that from the commencement of his career he was hostile to that state, from a knowledge that its whole policy was at that moment directed to the object of terminating the predatory system, upon which his existence and that of his followers depended.

† Captain HARDING, a very gallant young adventurer, who had been a short time in his service. This Officer was slain, and his loss was much deplored by JESWUNT Row.

who had been the first to turn their backs* at the commencement of the day, were now forward to plunder; they had reached the skirts of the City, and begun the work of pillage and massacre when Jeswunt Row ordered some of his own Guns to fire upon them. It was the only order the Patans would have obeyed, but they did not wholly desist, till on a party of them trying to force the Pagah or Household Horse that were sent to protect the place, Jeswunt Row, wounded as he was, galloped to the spot, and slew two or three with his spear. His conduct on this occasion, as at Ougein, displayed a remarkable degree of personal energy.

51. Jeswunt Row after this victory, waited fifteen days till the arrival of Amrut Row (with whom he had before intrigued) enabled him to proceed, with some attention to national prejudices, in his efforts to give some shape to his power. On the ground that Bajeerow, by flying from his Capital, had virtually abdicated all power, Amrut Row assumed the functions, but without taking the name of Paishwah. The British Resident† at Poonah had been treated with great respect by Jeswunt Row, and every endeavour was made to make the English friendly to the new Government; but finding that impossible, passports for his proceeding towards Bombay were reluctantly granted.

52. For two months no outrage of a violent character was committed on the inhabitants of Poonah. The money that was collected during that period, was obtained in a manner that excited no serious alarm, but the preparations of the British Government to support Bajeerow hurried on a crisis unfavorable to the hopes of Amrut Row, who had been selected by Jeswunt Row as a member of the family of the Paishwah, through whose aid he thought he might govern

their

* Jeswunt Row was sitting prepared under a Tree, tying up a wound in his hand with a piece of his T[illegible] when Ameer Khan came to congratulate him upon the Victory. "You have been lucky "Brother," said Jeswunt Row, smiling. The other replied he had, but pointing to his broken ornament of his Bridle (which it is affirmed he broke himself) he said, "I have been in [illegible] That was done by a cannon ball." Jeswunt Row, who was always on such oc[illegible] [illegible]st into a laugh and said, "Indeed you are a lucky fellow, but how the de[illegible] [illegible]scape, as the Khulgee was so worn between them."

their territories, and no doubt the former had entered into his views in the hopes of being kept by the Army of HOLKAR in the office of Dewan, which through life had been the object of his ambition. But the flight of BAJEEROW, and his Treaty with the English Government, disappointed all such expectations, and left AMRUT ROW without the power of fulfilling the promises he had made to JESWUNT ROW. The latter however insisted upon a large sum of money, to satisfy the immediate wants of his Army. This could only be obtained by the plunder of Poonah, and that was now determined upon. Every house of decent appearance was entered, and guards placed over it. Every inhabitant who had the reputation of possessing property was seized and tortured till he paid the sum demanded from him. Troops were placed in every direction to prevent the escape of the citizens. The booty obtained was very considerable, and JESWUNT ROW, after paying great part of the arrears of his Army, marched with a large sum in his treasury towards Malwa.

53. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH had remained during the whole of these transactions, encamped near Berhanpore, occupied in preparations
A. D. 1803. for war, which in conjunction with RAGOJEE BHONSLAH he now meditated against the English Government. It appeared to the confederates of the utmost consequence to secure the aid of JESWUNT ROW, and a Treaty was signed, by which the promise of support* was obtained by a cession of all the countries that had formerly belonged to the HOLKAR family, and the release † of KUNDEE ROW and of BEEMAH BAE, JESWUNT ROW's daughter.

54. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, when he sent him his nephew and daughter, wrote to JESWUNT ROW, then at Moheysir, that as the war would instantly commence, he hoped he would send a part of his Army

* This promise of JESWUNT ROW to join the confederacy against the English Government, was distinctly admitted by the Officers of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, who negociated the Treaty of Sirjee Aujenghaum.

† Both these children had been made prisoners by DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH when he slew MULHAR ROW at Poonah. They had been for some time confined in Asseerghur, from whence they were now sent to JESWUNT ROW's Camp.

Army to the Deckan. The first resolution of that Chief was to comply with this request, and the whole of AMEER KHAN's Troops actually crossed the Nerbuddah, then full (it was the middle of the Monsoon) but HOLKAR having gone in one of the last boats with AMEER KHAN, some conversation passed between them of which nothing was ever known, except that it was followed by a complete change of measures and next day the Patan Army began to recross. HOLKAR is understood to have written a long letter to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH in excuse of this conduct, which he referred to the want of money to pay his followers, and he at the same time recommended to that Chief to send his Infantry Guns, Baggage, and family to Malwa, and carry on a predatory war against the English, observing that if he attempted to fight like a Sovereign * he would be defeated; if like a Mahratta, he would be successful. SCINDIAH could not be expected to pay much attention to the advice of one, whose first act shewed him so faithless, and who, the moment he observed his Armies occupied in Hindoostan and the Deckan, took advantage of the defenceless state of his provinces in Malwa, to plunder and destroy them,—while AMEER KHAN was pillaging the more eastern provinces of Ashta, Shujahalpore and Omutwarra. JESWUNT ROW, after passing the rains at Indore, went to the vicinity of Bampoorah, where he continued for a short time on the banks of the Chumbul, and then moved to the frontier of the Jypore country, and Ajmere, plundering and collecting indiscriminately from the countries his armies overran. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH soon made peace with the English Government, but the great losses he had sustained, and the irritation which arose from some disputed articles of the treaty, led to his again entering into a negociation with JESWUNT ROW. A. D. 1804. This was conducted by AMBAJEE INGLIA. SCINDIAH is represented to have stated through that person, that he had been betrayed by RAGOJEE BHONSLAH

* All the papers of the HOLKAR family are lost. I state this fact on the authority of several persons who from their situation at the period were likely to be correctly informed of what passed.

BHONSLAH, deceived by his Ministers, and deserted by his army, and that he saw no hope for the Mahratta interest, but in the energy and courage of JESWUNT ROW. The latter answered, that he had foreseen the result of that description of war, which SCINDIAH attempted to carry on against the English, but his advice was despised. He was, he said, nevertheless ready to make one effort more against that nation, provided DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH would send him such a supply of money as would put his troops in motion. He received an answer through AMBAJEE that SCINDIAH* had no treasure to send him, but he was at liberty to levy contributions from his principal towns. This latitude was gladly accepted, and while AMEER KHAN was directed to supply his wants (which he did most amply) from Bhilsah and the western parts of Bundelcund, JESWUNT ROW marched to Mundissore. This city was not only the capital of a province, but a great emporium of commerce between Goojerat, Rajpootanah, Malwah, and Hindostan. Though not so large, it was almost as wealthy as Ougein. Contributions had before been levied upon it three times by HOLKAR; but as these exactions were in some degree made good to those from whom they were made by a partial remission of revenue, the city was not ruined. The present visitation was different. JESWUNT ROW, to prevent the inhabitants flying, agreed when within twelve miles, to take a comparative light fine of three lacks of rupees, but next day when he had completely surrounded it, and brought two hundred guns to bear upon its weak defences, he summoned the Governor to deliver up the town at discretion, or to abide the consequences of an immediate assault. Opposition was in vain, the surrender was agreed to, and the city was systematically plundered of all its wealth. Officers were appointed to every quarter and furnished with troops, accountants and

* It is to be regretted that the correspondence of this period was burnt with all the papers of the HOLKAR family by a dreadful fire which occured nine years ago at the cantonment of Kotalah, near Bampoorah. Nothing hardly was saved on this occasion from the flames. I write what is here stated on the verbal communications of two respectable persons, one of whom was at the Court of HOLKAR, the other confidentially employed with AMEER KHAN, to whom the progress and result of this negotiation was regularly transmitted.

and workmen. The house of the Governor alone was exempted from a search, which was carried so far as to dig up the floor of every other, where there was an appearance of comfort or wealth. The property found was directed to be seized, with the exception only of clothes and ornaments, which females had upon their persons. Though a few of those public officers who were supposed to conceal money were tortured till they revealed it, no other excesses or cruelties were committed, nor any insult offered to individuals; but this regularity made the work more complete, and the loss greater than could have been incurred in indiscriminate plunder. The lowest estimate of the public and private property taken on this occasion, is one crore of rupees; so far is certain, that JESWUNT ROW received in money, jewels, goods and grain, an amount equal to sixty lacks, with which he paid the arrears of his army, which was at this period called upon to engage in a war with the English Government.

55. A negotiation had been for some time carrying on between JESWUNT ROW and Lord LAKE; but, while the former professed friendship, his demands were of a character that marked his insincerity, and several intercepted letters to Rajahs in Hindostan laid open his hostile designs, which were confirmed by his rejection of every overture to a reasonable settlement. The barbarous murder of the English* officers proclaimed the nature of the war intended to be carried on. He had written to General WELLESLEY who commanded in the Deckan, in terms of boastful arrogance† that could only be considered as a declaration of War, but the Governor General desisted from giving orders to treat him as an enemy till all hopes of his adopting a course consistent A. D. 1804.

* The names of these Officers were TOD, RYAN, and VICKERS; they were murdered at Nahar Mughanah, or (Tiger's Hill) about fourteen miles from Oudipore. This occurred in May, 1804; the reason assigned was their correspondence with the English Commander in Chief.

† This letter was written in Tehmary, 1804. "Countries of many hundred coss (JESWUNT ROW "observed) shall be overrun. He (meaning Lord LAKE) shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamity will fall on lacks of human beings by a continued war, in which my army will "overwhelm like the waves of the sea."

consistent with the general tranquility or safety of the Company's possessions, were at an end.

56. When war commenced a Detachment was ordered to reduce JESWUNT Row's Territories in Candeish, while a strong corps was advancing from Guzerat and Malwa, and another was sent to Jyepore, which HOLKAR, who was returning from Marwar after lodging his family with the Rajah of Joudpore, now threatened with attack, on the advance of the British Troops: he, however, retreated to Malwa, where he had before sent his heavy baggage and guns.

57. It is foreign to the object to detail the events of the War which ensued between the English Government and JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR. It commenced by his losing the Fort and Province of Tonk Rampoorah, but the imprudent advance of the Detachment under Colonel MONSON into Malwa, though attended at first with success,* enabled HOLKAR to bring his whole Force upon a small Corps, removed from all support, and its disastrous retreat made him enter Hindostan at the head of a very numerous army as a Conqueror. The anticipation of success which this event gave to his followers was destroyed by a series of memorable reverses. The failure of the attack on Delhi, the complete route of his Cavalry at Furruckabad, and the defeat of his Infantry and guns at Deig, were crowded into one month; and though the British suffered severely in the subsequent unsuccessful attack upon Bhurtpore, this event did not prevent the necessity of HOLKAR's leaving Hindostan in seven months after he entered it, with an army defeated and disgraced by the loss of almost all its guns and equipments.

58. He had entered Hindostan, according to the most correct account that had been obtained of his Army, with ninety-two thousand men, of which sixty-six thousand were Horse, seven thousand Artillery, and nineteen thousand Infantry, and one hundred and ninety pieces of ordnance; and he left it with his whole force diminished to thirty-five thousand Horse,

* The capture of the Fort of Hinglaisghur.

Horse, seven thousand Infantry and Artillery, and thirty-five guns. His principal loss of men was by desertions, and among those that left him were some of his oldest and best officers.*

59. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH who had nearly involved himself in a second war with the English Government, from falling again under the influence of SIRJEE ROW GHATKIA, who had added to his other atrocities the plunder of the British Residency, was recalled by the events of this Campaign to a sense of his danger. He concluded a second Treaty with the English Government, agreed to exclude for ever from his Councils a flagitious Minister, who was the avowed cause of his aberration from his faith, and abandoned altogether the cause of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR. The latter chief had separated from his army, but not before he had aided them to seize and plunder SCINDIAH'S principal Officer, AMBAJEE INGLIA, who had been long employed in the charge of large Provinces, and was now compelled to surrender his wealth† by means as violent and unjust as those by which it had been amassed.

60. JESWUNT ROW remained with his diminished army during the rains in Mewar, and then entering Hindostan, proceeded by rapid marches to the Punjab, followed by the British army, who compelled him to sue for a peace, by which, contenting himself with the recovery of the possessions of HOLKAR, as they were in the time of ALIAH BAE, with the exception of all claims and possessions north of the Chumbul he abandoned all those wild pretensions he had for some time cherished of restoring through the means of predatory War, the Mahratta name to its former glory. It is difficult to discover what hopes JESWUNT ROW could

* BHOWANEE SHUNKER, his oldest, and hitherto his most faithful friend, left him on this occasion. There is but one account of his defection. It was caused by the danger in which both his honor and life stood from the hostility of HINAMUNT DADA, the unworthy favorite of JESWUNT ROW, who during this service had made several efforts to ruin a man whose character and conduct were continually contrasted with his own, by an army who respected BHOWANEE SHUNKER as much as they detested him. I have every reason to believe from what passed between me and BHOWANEE SHUNKER when he came over, that the account given of him is correct.

† Fifty-six lacks were extorted from AMBAJEE, of which JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR got half.

could have indulged from his last enterprize; several of his officers who have been interrogated state, that he had hopes of aid from RUNJEET SINGH, and that he expected (if at all successful) that DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH would again be disposed to adopt the cause of his Nation; but the fact probably was, that having lost his possessions in the Deckan, and indeed in Malwa, (for almost every place had been occupied by the English) and having no means of keeping his Troops together but by plunder, he desired to lead them into a Country where they would be subsisted, and it is highly probable that SCINDIAH encouraged a plan which carried JESWUNT ROW and his lawless followers to a distance.

61. When JESWUNT ROW returned from the Punjab, he halted for about a month in the country of Jyepore, and while his armies wasted its fields, he exacted eighteen lacks of rupees, from the fears of the Rajah and his Ministers who had (from causes which it is unnecessary to state here) been at that moment deprived of the friendship and A. D. 1806. support of the British Government. From Jyepore he marched to Poken in Marwar, where he commenced a complete reform of his army, on the principle of bringing its numbers to a scale more suited to his receipts, and of adding to the efficiency of those he retained, by introducing order and discipline. He directed the discharge of most of those loose bands of Horse he had hitherto* maintained, advising them to return to their homes or seek other service, as he had no power to continue a war against the English, and had no revenues to support them.

62. MAUN

* The Troops he directed to be discharged upon this occasion were as follows:

Weeded from his Pagah,	1,500
Sillahdars,	15,000
Pindarries,	5,000
Total	21,500

62. MAUN SINGH, Rajah of Joudpore, visited JESWUNT Row when in the Province of Ajmere,* and brought up with him that Chief's family, of which he had taken charge when he marched to the Punjab. This Prince was then engaged in war with the Rajah of Jyepore on account of a Princess of Oudipore, to whose hand they both pretended. The fear of his giving aid had hastened the payment of the money JESWUNT Row had demanded from the Rajah of Jyepore, and the reproaches of MAUN SINGH, of violated faith and neglected friendship, were lost on the callous ear of a Chief, whose life had passed in sacrificing every tie to the necessities of the moment. A serious mutiny had broken out in his Army, and with this excuse for the non performance of his engagements, he dismissed his old friend, promising however to be neutral in the ensuing contest, and that he would hereafter send AMEER KHAN to aid him.

63. The Chief Mutineers in JESWUNT Row's Army were the Deckanee Horse, or others that he proclaimed it his intention to discharge. He had, to calm their violence, given his nephew, KUNDEE Row, as an hostage for the payment of their arrears; but provoked by his evasions and delays, they determined to raise this boy in whose name the Government was carried on, to a more direct exercise of power, and taking advantage of GUNPUT Row, the Dewan of the family being with him, they hoisted his standard and declared, that allegiance was due to him alone as the legitimate representative of the House of HOLKAR, and that JESWUNT Row, who was the son of a slave, could only be deemed an usurper. GUNPUT Row was a willing instrument on this occasion†, but KUNDEE Row though only ten years old, is stated by all to have remonstrated with a spirit and sense above his age against their proceedings. "You will (he used to say) receive your arrears A. D. 1806.

* JESWUNT Row had removed from Poken to near Morah, a plain almost twenty-four miles North of it.

† GUNPUT Row was made Prisoner, but effected his escape, and first fled to Jyepore, from whence he went to Benares, and did not return till JESWUNT Row ceased to rule over the family of HOLKAR.

rears, which is all your object, and then abandon me to destruction." The anticipations of the child were too just. All that HOLKAR received from Jyepore was given to the mutineers, who on receiving their pay, marched for their homes, and within the week the sudden death of KUNDEE ROW was announced to the remaining Army. There is no doubt that he was poisoned by JESWUNT ROW, acting it is supposed by the advice of his Goroo or religious guide, CHIMNA BHOW, a man of dissipated and cruel character, to whose influence some of the worst actions of JESWUNT ROW are imputed. The alarm which the conduct of the mutineers had caused in the mind of JESWUNT ROW, was not allayed by the sacrifice of KUNDEE ROW; while KASSEE ROW lived, he was still in danger. His death was resolved upon, and CHIMNA BHOW is believed to have suggested this second act of atrocity: one point is certain, he lent himself to its execution.*

64. A feeling of horror is represented to have been the consequence of these crimes; but this was repressed from the dread of JESWUNT ROW, whose increased violence at this period gave symptoms of that insanity which soon went beyond all bounds, and the commencement of which his family and adherents (perhaps in kindness to his memory) date from the murder of his Nephew KUNDEE ROW.

65. When

* CHIMNA BHOW went to Khergond in Nimar, of which country he had the management, and where KHASSEE ROW and his wife were under his charge. It has been said that he did not mean to put them to death, but that he was compelled to do so by an attempt to release them, made by a party of BUNGUSH KHAN's Patans under DADAHN KHAN. BUNGUSH KHAN had given a detailed account of the transaction on the report of the persons he employed. Their object was to release KASSEE ROW, whose fate their attempts may perhaps have accelerated. According to this Chief's statement, made on the report of his Officer, the murder was committed in the Jungle, at some distance from Khergond; but a more particular detuil of the affair given by a Sepoy then in the service of CHIMNA BHOW, and evidently an actor in the scene, states that KASSEE ROW and his wife had been removed to Beejahghur, and that they were Prisoners in a house near the lower Fort of that place, when its being surrounded by BUNGUSH KHAN's Patans, led to an order for their being immediately put to death. The Sepoys of which he was one, are represented by this man as having refused to obey this order, on which agreeably to his evidence (which is very particular) a relation of CHIMNA BHOW's entered the room and first struck off the head of KASSEE ROW, and afterwards of his wife ANUNDA BAE; the latter was pregnant, and a report was circulated and believed by numbers, that the child was born and saved. This has since been proved to be without the least foundation, and CHIMNA BHOW is known to have reported at the time to his master, that there existed no human being to dispute with him or his Children, the power he had usurped as Chief of the HOLKAR State.

65. When JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR was on his return from the Punjab (while encamped at Rhotuck) the mutiny of his troops commenced, and he had employed AMEER KHAN to pacify the Mahomedans, who were the most clamorous and violent. That chief appears to have taken advantage of the difficulties in which JESWUNT ROW was involved, to urge the fulfilment of their original engagement to divide equally the possessions they might attain. Though JESWUNT ROW evaded the full performance of this agreement, he granted in addition to his former Jaghire of Seronge, the Pergunnahs of Perawa * and Tonk. He also made over to the Patan Chief the collection of the tribute of Kotah, and he now ostensibly separated from AMEER KHAN, and sent the latter to serve JUGGUT SING, Rajah of Jyepore, who agreed to pay the whole of his followers, in the hope of attaining through his aid, the hand of the Princess of Oudipore, who has been noticed as the cause of his war with MAUN SING, Rajah of Joudpore.

66. By making over this part of his army to the Rajah of Jyepore, JESWUNT ROW gave the promised support to that Chief, without personally breaking his faith to the Prince of Joudpore ; for he pretended that AMEER KHAN was no longer in his service, and the fact is the latter assumed at this period independance of action, and continued thenceforward to subsist himself and army upon the rulers of Rajpootanna.

67. After HOLKAR returned to Bampoorah, he commenced casting cannon, and making changes and improvements in his Army, with an ardor and violence that denoted that insanity of which it was the prelude, and which it no doubt accelerated. It was first observed that his memory failed, and that he became every day more impatient and outrageous in his temper. The effects of excessive drinking, to which he had been always addicted,† were now encreased by hard labor at the furnaces and

* This Pergunnah which lies between Auggur and Kotah, is estimated at a Revenue of fifty thousand Rupees per annum.

† JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR was from his youth dissipated. When he took Poonah (A. D. 1801) he gave way to every excess. His favorite drink was Cherry and Raspberry Brandy, and the shops of Bombay were drained of these and other strong liquors for his supply.

and founderies, in which he remained night and day occupied, sometimes pouring the metal into the mould of his new cannon. By great efforts he cast * upwards of two hundred pieces of brass ordnance in three or four months, many of which were mounted as gallopers. He had received the strongest impressions of the superiority of this branch of Artillery, from having experienced in his campaign in Hindostan their utility against his light Troops. His Cavalry, with the exception of two thousand Sillahdars who were old adherents, he determined should consist of men on monthly pay, riding the horses of the Government, and nearly ten thousand of this class were formed into Regiments, and Horses were ordered to be purchased in every direction to double this number. He broke up the remains of his old Infantry, and formed twelve new Battalions. Both men and Horses in his new levies were measured with a standard; the latter were only bought when of a good size, but the Battalions were divided into three classes † the large the middle, and the small. Every recruit was measured and sent to the Corps to which his stature was appropriate. Jeswunt Row carried on these improvements in a manner that shewed the condition of his mind. Every thing must be done in a moment, or his violence was excessive; he personally superintended every thing, he was out at day light drilling his troops, making the Cavalry charge the Infantry, the latter upon the guns, which in their turn galloped to the flank and rear of the lines, and were made to fire close to the men and horses to accustom both, as he used laughingly to observe, to stand the hottest fire. These sham fights took place twice a day, and he appeared directing every individual as well as the whole, with a species of personal activity and energy, that accelerated

* A Hindu artificer called Sabhoram, was the chief director of his foundery. He was a slave and scholar of the famous Maun Singh Chowdry, who long directed the foundery at Oojein and is reported to have been a man of much Science. The metal of the new cannon was purchased in every quarter and at any price, for Jeswunt Row became furious at any delay.

† The Mahratta name for these different sized Battalions were Ootim the great, Mudhim the middle, and Kumeesht the small. The corps were known by these names.

accelerated improvement in a degree almost incredible; but the career of this extraordinary man was drawing to a close; he passed, however, seven or eight months in scenes such as have been described before his madness reached that crisis which led to his confinement. It had long been perceived by those around him, but the awe his character inspired, made all dread proceeding to extremities. JESWUNT ROW was himself not insensible to the progress of his malady. His violent proceedings, and the severe account to which he called his principal officers after he returned from the Punjab, had led many of them to fly, and BALARAM SEIT who had been the chief person employed in the negotiation with the English* Government, had become his Dewan or Minister. To him JESWUNT ROW used to communicate his alarms about the state of his own reason. He was wont to exclaim, "What I say one moment, I forget the next, give me physic." BALARAM used at the moment to promise to yield to this request, and to every other, however unreasonable that JESWUNT ROW made, and the latter soothed by his compliance, thought no more of what had passed. Innumerable orders for putting different persons to death were given in his paroxysms of rage, but one or two only suffered, which is entirely to be ascribed to the management and goodness of disposition of the Minister, who while his natural timidity made him tremble† every moment for his own life, was always most anxious to save others. But these scenes could not last long; one night, when GUNGARAM KOTTAREE had the charge of the guard over the Palace, all the females ran out exclaiming that they were in danger from the fury of the Maharajah. GUNGARAM after directing them to a place of safety, entered the inner apartments. He

* This person with an inferior Agent called SHAICK HUBEEBULLAH, negotiated with me the Treaty concluded in the Punjab in January 1806.

† The description of his interviews with JESWUNT ROW at this period is ludicrous. He generally wrapped himself up in a thin cloth and sat trembling. "JESWUNT ROW used to say at times, "what is the matter with you BALARAM. A slight fever was the usual reply.—Notwithstanding this alarm, he kept his post, when many who had the character of more courage deserted.

He at the same time sent for the Minister BALARAM; they could not at first discover JESWUNT ROW, but having brought lights, he was at last found trying to hide himself in a large bundle of loose clothes. It was resolved by those present, that his insanity had arrived at that crisis, when he could no longer be suffered to go at large. Men were directed to seize him, who took or rather dragged him to an outer room, that the females of the family might go to their apartments. Though JESWUNT ROW appeared when force was used, mentally insensible to what passed, his bodily exertions to emancipate himself were very great, and being increased by that force which insanity gives, it required twenty or thirty men to master him; but that was effected, and he who a few hours before had received a real or feigned obedience to the slightest order, was bound fast with ropes like a wild beast. The night passed in anxiety, but a sensible resolution was taken to attempt no concealment, and next morning the whole of the civil officers of the state and the army were informed, either by verbal or written communication, of his actual condition. No trouble ensued, all appeared contented to await the result. On the third day JESWUNT ROW had an interval of reason: he asked why he had been bound, and when informed of what had passed, he merely said "You acted right, I must have been very mad; "but release me from cords; send for my brother AMEER KHAN, and "make me well." A superstitious belief was spread that some evil spirit, who haunted the palace of Bampoorah, had bereft the Maharajah of reason, and he was in consequence removed to Gurrote, a place fifteen miles and one furlong to the South South West of that city. His malady was now more fixed, but it was not so outrageous as it had been at first, and there was no longer a necessity of securing him. He was however kept in a tent by himself, surrounded by guards, and some of his most confidential servants were made the immediate keepers of his person. They became early familiar with his fits of insanity, which were frequent and various in their character. Sometimes they were violent,

but

but oftener marked with a strange mixture of entertaining folly and mischief. AMEER KHAN, who had hastened to obey his summons to attend him, appears to have made every effort to effect his recovery. He brought a Mahommedan physician, who was at one time sanguine of success, and we receive a good impression of his sense and skill, from his having at first ridiculed the idea of JESWUNT ROW's malady having its origin in any supernatural cause, and his latterly refusing to give him medicine, because he could not control those who had the charge of his diet, and who gave him what his physician thought would counteract his remedies. A Bramin* was sent by DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH to effect the cure, but either from a contempt for this doctor who practised much superstitious mummery in the administration of his remedies, or want of respect to the ruler who sent him, JESWUNT ROW appeared to delight in making this person the object of his most malicious and indecent jests.† But, to conclude, all attempts for his recovery failed. After remaining about a year in a state of madness, he sunk into one of complete fatuity. While in this last stage, he never spoke, and seemed quite insensible to every thing around him. He was carefully attended‡ and fed like an infant with milk, and his existence was protracted for nearly three years, when he died§ at the city of Bampoorah, near which a handsome and solid chetteree or mausoleum has been erected over his ashes.

68. JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR was of middling stature, and of very strong and active make; his complexion was dark, and his countenance had

* The name of this man was KUNDEE ROW JOSHEE.

† These jests were at times not confined to words, and it was with satisfaction that those around saw CHIMNA BHOW who was less distinguished as his tutor than as his instigator to crime, suddenly assailed by his master, who had called him on pretext of consulting him, but gave him before he could escape, a severe beating.

‡ The female who attended him throughout his madness, and fed him while in this state, was LUKSHMEE BAE, a most respectable woman, who gained such extraordinary influence over him, that he did like a child every thing she wished.

§ JESWUNT ROW died on the 11th of the Hindoo Month Kautick, in the year of the Sumbhut 1868, corresponding with the 20th October; A. D. 1811.

had suffered much in appearance from the loss of his eye,* but its expression was nevertheless agreeable, from the animation given by very high spirits, which he had from constitution, and which not only attended him through danger and misfortune, but struggled for a period with the dreadful malady that terminated his life. This chief had been well educated; he understood Persian, though he could neither read nor write it, but in his own language. The Mahratta he wrote with great correctness. and he was a quick and able accountant. In horsemanship, and in all manly exercises, particularly the management of the spear, few excelled Jeswunt Row, and his courage was to the full equal to his skill. Of this he gave proofs on every occasion. At Poonah he led the charge on Scindiah's guns, and being wounded and pulled from his horse by an Artillery soldier of great strength, he wrestled with his enemy on foot, till one of his attendants came to his aid, and after slaying his antagonist, remounted. He gloried in such exploits, and indeed in all feats which displayed personal prowess. What has been said is a sum of all the qualities he possessed that are entitled to praise; they were such as were to be expected from his frame of body and early habits of life. The natural son of a Mahratta Chief, born to no expectations beyond that of commanding a body of plundering horse, initiated in infancy to all that belonged to that station of life, Jeswunt Row would have been, had his father lived, remarkable as one of the boldest and most active freebooters in a Mahratta army. This was from the first the fame he sought, and it would have been happy for himself and others, had his sphere continued limited to subordinate action; but, compelled to flight by the murder of one brother by Dowlut Row Scindiah, and warned of the danger in which his own life stood by the execution of another by Bajeerow, when fortune placed him at the head of the affairs of the

Holkar

* The loss of his eye by the bursting of a matchlock at Burgonda has been noticed. It is a common place observation in India " that one-eyed men are wicked. Jeswunt Row when told the sight was gone from his eye, jestingly observed, smiling, " I was before bad enough, but I shall now be the Gooroo or high priest of rogues.'"

HOLKAR family, he was soon compelled, whatever resolutions he might have formed, to pursue a desperate course, and his mind, if ever it had been alive to better sentiments, became callous to every feeling of virtue or morality; but had it been otherwise, he early arrived at a stage, from which it was difficult, if not impossible, to retreat,—for though his natural energy supported him in authority, JESWUNT ROW was never more than the Chief of an army of plunderers, to whom he had given the aid of his talents, his name and his cause, and who in return supported him throughout the vicissitudes of his turbulent life. He directed without controlling their licentiousness, and they, awed by his vigor, and soothed by his ample indulgence to their worst excesses, gave him an obedience that raised him to a height, which made him terrible as a destroyer. It may be questioned by those who seek to palliate his crimes, whether he could have enjoyed power on any other condition? But it must be admitted that the part which he acted was quite congenial to his character. He was indeed formed for the leader of a horde of plunderers, master of the art of cajoling those who approached him. Flattery, mirth, and wit, were alternately used to put his chiefs and Troops into good humour, when want of pay or other causes led to their being discontented or mutinous. But attempts at intimidation on their part never failed of rousing a spirit which made the boldest of them tremble. "Do not mistake me," he exclaimed to a Patan officer,* who endeavoured to stop him (when the army was at Poonah) to listen to a complaint about pay, "do not mistake me for AMEER KHAN. I will have you plundered for your insolence, of what you have, instead of giving you more." The man fled, and thought himself fortunate to escape punishment.—The anger of JESWUNT ROW was however soon over, and his disposition is represented by all who served him, to have been naturally forgiving and generous. But his ruling passion was power on any terms, and to attain and preserve that, all means were welcomed; nor could the most unworthy

* JUMSHEER KHAN, lately the Manager of Numbharra, where he died a few months ago.

thy favorite, of whom he had several,* suggest a breach of faith or deed of atrocity, that he would not commit to relieve the distress, or forward the object of the moment. Acting from such motives he came like a demon of destruction to undue the fair fabric of the virtuous Aliah Bae, and from the hour he commenced his career in Malwa, the work of desolation began. His apologists (and there are many who advocate his cause) say, that he had at the commencement of his career no country to protect; that the injustice of Scindiah had despoiled the family of its possessions, and plunged Jeswunt Row, its only defender, so deep in guilt, that he had no power of retreating,—never having obtained regular resources sufficient to pay an Army which he could not disband without danger, not merely to his power but to his life. All this is true to a certain extent, but the fact is that Jeswunt Row had no value for the principles of good and regular Government, and never evinced the least desire to establish it. His object, often declared, was to restore the Mahratta Supremacy over India by a revival of the ancient predatory system; but the times were different,—instead of the fallen Emperor of the Moghuls, he had to contend against the rising fortunes of the English,—and in place of the national force employed by Sevajee, he had a motley band of desperate freebooters, who recognized no one common principle but a love of rapine. The failure of his Campaign in Hindostan awakened this Chief from his dreams of plunder and conquest. He tried to reform his army, and raved about changes in his internal system of rule, but the end of his career approached. A life which had commenced in trouble, and which had been marked by all the extremes of poverty, of violence, of dissipation, of ambition, and of crime, was to terminate in insanity, and leave a lesson how inadequate courage and talent when unaccompanied by moderation and virtue, were to the successful conduct of public affairs, or the happiness of those governed.

69. The

* Chimna Bhow his tutor and Hurnaut Dada (a Barber by cast) whom he brought up and raised to great power, were his two principal favorites, and it is difficult to say which of the two was the worst man.

69. The actions and character of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR have been particularly dwelt upon, from a consideration of the influence that his short rule (which did not exceed ten years) had upon Malwa. From the day that TUCKAJEE died, the time * of trouble, as it is emphatically called by its inhabitants, must be dated; from that hour the natives of that fine province ceased to have even the consolation that belongs to those who are governed by a despot whose power, though it oppresses them, keeps other tyrants aloof. JESWUNT ROW not only left them at times exposed to his enemies, but often was either unwilling or unable to save them, from the excesses of his own army. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, as long as he exercised the functions of Government, there was always some mixture of pride to his family and subjects, in the contemplation of an active and daring soldier, struggling with fortune, and hopes of change and reform appear to have been cherished to the last; but when his power ceased, and his troops broke loose from the restraint which weak Ministers and Commanders attempted to impose upon them, men's sufferings became more intolerable from the baseness of those by whom they were oppressed. The fact is, the Government of HOLKAR may be almost said to have been suspended from the days of JESWUNT ROW's insanity, till it was restored to his son MULHAR ROW by the treaty of Mundissore. The account of the different Ministers and leaders who exercised anthority in the name of the HOLKAR family during the eleven years of unparalleled anarchy which intervened, merits, and must receive particular notice; for independent of its importance as local history, it is singularly calculated to illustrate the habits, prejudices, and character of the natives of India.

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* Gurdeckawakht, or the period of trouble and anarchy.

PART

PART SIXTH.

EVENTS at the COURT of HOLKAR, from the INSANITY of JESWUNT ROW, A.D. 1808, *till the Peace of MUNDISSORE.*

A.D. 1817. 1. AFTER JESWUNT ROW became insane, BALARAM SEIT came ostensibly into the principal management of the affairs of the HOLKAR State; but he acted on all points with the advice and concurrence of AMEER KHAN, and under the immediate direction of TOOLSAH BAE, the favorite mistress of the MAHARAJAH, who had some time before raised herself by her beauty and talent to very commanding influence in the affairs of the Government, and was now considered as its head. The future actions and death of this lady have an interest that will excuse a few words regarding her origin. A person of the Dungur tribe, called ADJEEBAH, had devoted himself to the sect of MAUN BHOW,* and became connected with the HOLKAR family from HURAKAH BAE, who was the favorite mistress of the first MULHAR ROW, becoming his disciple. MEENAH BAE, who was the favorite female servant of HURAKAH BAE, and partook of the fortune of her mistress, also elected him as her Gooroo or Priest; and, from visiting at his house, became acquainted with TOOLSAH BAE, who was then in the family, and indeed the supposed daughter of the MAUN BHOW Priest.† She was married prior to her acquaintance with JESWUNT ROW, whose meeting with her before he went to Poonah was merely accidental.‡ That chief, however, from the

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* This sect of MAUN BHOW owes its origin to an impostor called KISHUN BHUT, well known in the southern parts of India. The doctrines of this sect teach the Sacredness of the Vedas, but deny Puranahs and Gaets.

† Like Popes and Cardinals, this order of holy men (who are prohibited all intercourse with the female sex) can only acknowledge cousins and nieces.

‡ She was brought from Mandoo (where she had gone with ADJEEBAH) to Moheysir by SHAM ROW MAHARICK, who had seen and admired her beauty and encouraged JESWUNT ROW to form the connection, expecting probably his own interest would be improved by the influence of one whose advancement he had promoted. These particulars were related to me by the nephew and heir of SHAMROW, present manager of Hurnorah.

the moment he saw her, became enamoured of her beauty, and in a few days TOOLSAH BAE was in his house, and her husband in a prison. The latter was afterwards, at the lady's intercession, released and sent to his home in the Deckan, having received, in compensation for the loss of his handsome wife, a horse, a dress, and a small sum of money. TOOLSAH BAE, from the day she became the mistress of JESWUNT ROW, maintained her hold upon his affections; her authority was soon completely established over his household, and this gave her an influence and direction in all public affairs, that made her, as a matter of course, succeed to the Regency during his insanity. The claims of females to such power are never rejected by the Mahrattas, and the pretensions of TOOLSAH BAE would not appear to have ever been openly disputed. She used to hold daily Durbar or Court, but in a manner quite different from ALIAH BAE. She was always seated behind a curtain, and communicated with her Ministers and Officers through her confidant, MEENAH BAE, who remained unveiled on the outside.

2. TOOLSAH BAE at first gave her entire confidence to BALARAM SEIT, and, as he had managed by promised compliance with his wishes to secure the support of AMEER KHAN, his authority seemed well established. The army, however, soon became altogether insubordinate. The Infantry Corps seized upon the person of JESWUNT ROW, and carried him to a tent in their own lines, declared he had been rendered insane by witchcraft, and that they would effect his recovery. AMEER KHAN, who succeeded in quelling* this mutiny, was soon obliged to quit Malwa to attend to his interests in Rajpootanna, but he left GHUFFOOR KHAN, a Mahomedan who had married a sister of his wife, at the Court of HOLKAR as his representative. He gave him in the name of the MAHARAJAH the title of NABOB, and a Jaghire of twenty thousand rupees per mensem was fixed by BALARAM SEIT for his support, and that of one thousand

* He possessed ample means to effect this object. JESWUNT ROW left his finances in a good state, and ten lacks of rupees which were in the treasury were seized by AMEER KHAN.

thousand Horse which he agreed to maintain. These events occurred about seven or eight months after Jeswunt Row was confined.

3. The army, which had been during the last season on the Kali-Scind, moved southward when the rains approached, and established its cantonments at Mhow, where one of the first acts of Balaram nearly led to the overthrow of his own authority. The twelve new Battalions of Infantry with their guns were each under a separate Officer. He formed them into one large Campoo or Legion, and gave the command to Dherma Kower, (a favorite personal servant of Jeswunt Row) on whom he bestowed the title of Colonel. This man, who was of a bold and restless mind, early listened to the suggestions of those who advised him to seize the reins of Government. His first step was to plant guards over the tent of Jeswunt Row, that of Toolsah Bae, and the other ladies of the family; and his second, was the issue of a positive order to allow none to visit the Maharajah or Toolsah Bae, without his permission. He at the same time directed the Ministers and other Officers of Government to carry on business as usual, but warned them to take no measures that had not the sanction of his approbation and concurrence. Dherma was well known as a man of courage and resolution, but though he succeeded in intimidating all for the moment, so violent a proceeding could not but excite opposition. The ladies of Holkar's family (particularly Toolsah Bae) made secret representations to Ghuffoor Khan, intreating him to exert that influence and power which he exercised in the name of Ameer Khan to relieve them from the restraint in which they were placed. That chief united with Balaram Sett and some officers in a combination to destroy Dherma. They were joined by Rajah Mohyput Ram,* who had the year before fled from the Hyderabad territories

* This remarkable Hindu owed his first rise to the influence he acquired as Paishkush with Monsieur Raymond, when that Officer commanded the French Corps in the Nizam's service. In 1799, when that body was disarmed and reformed, he made himself very useful and rose to high favor and employ. On the death of Meer Alum, the Minister at Hyderabad, he attempted to cause disturbances in the country, which led to his being compelled to save himself by flying the Nizam's territories.

tories and joined JESWUNT Row at Rampoorah, by whom he was welcomed,* and taken into service with a thousand followers : considerable arrears were due to this party, and the demand of payment was to be the pretext for putting JESWUNT Row into Dherna or restraint. This was done in the usual manner, and the customs of the. Mahratta armies on such points forbad DHERMA KOWER's immediately taking any violent measures to repel an insult, which he saw from the first was directed against himself. BALARAM SEIT and GUNGARAM KOTTAREE pretended to interpose and persuade MOHYPUT RAM to take thirty thousand rupees and move away, to which he seemingly consented, and actually received twenty thousand of the sum. DHERMA, however, at this stage of the transaction, discovered there was a combination against his power, if not his life. His measures were prompt and decided. He sent an order to MOHYPUT RAM to march forthwith from camp, and at the same time went himself to the tent of GHUFFOOR KHAN, whom he addressed as the representative of AMEER KHAN in a short but resolute manner. " AMEER KHAN," said he, " stands to me in the same relation as JESWUNT Row, and I am but a " slave of the latter. It is only a few days since I shewed my respect " for him, and my friendship for you, by getting you grants of Jowrah " and other districts for the payment of your adherents, signed by the " Maharajah. Why have you plotted with a stranger, like MOHYPUT RAM, " to seize and destroy me?"

4. GHUFFOOR KHAN, not a little alarmed at his manner, denied the fact, and declared he had no connection with the Rajah. This conversation took place at night, and shortly after sun-rise next day a Battalion with two

* He is said to have proposed a plan, which JESWUNT Row entertained favorably, of proceeding to the Deckan to aid the NIZAM in an effort to emancipate himself from the British Government, with whose interference in his affairs MOHYPUT RAM represented his late Sovereign as very dissatisfied. Such reports filled the Akbars, or native papers of the day; but the NIZAM, acting no doubt at the suggestion of the British Resident, expressed his wish in a letter to JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, under date the 3d February, 1809, that he should meet with no encouragement. JESWUNT Row in reply observed, that his honor forbad the surrender of a man who had sought his protection, but he stated that it was his intention to send MOHYPUT RAM to Calcutta to have his fate decided by " the Council."

two guns moved down upon the tents* of MOHYPUT RAM, who had been warned again to march. He professed his willingness to obey this last order, but his people were all dispersed at the time, cooking their victuals or otherwise employed. The delay was construed into a proof of disobedience, and an attack made upon his person while he was remonstrating against these violent proceedings. He had only one attendant with him at the moment, and could offer no resistance. He was shot dead on the spot by one of DHERMA'S Sepoys, his head cut off, and thrown like that of a common malefactor before JESWUNT ROW'S tent, to which GHUFFOOR KHAN had hastened in the beginning of the affray, in the hope of saving his friend; but, finding that too late, he contented himself with entreating DHERMA to allow the head to be restored to the corpse, that it might be burnt. In this he succeeded, as well as in obtaining the restoration of some of the horses belonging to the followers of MOHYPUT RAM, all of which with his property, said to be very great,† had been in the first instance seized on account of the state. AMEER KHAN was engaged in operations against the Rajah of Nagpore. When he received GHUFFOOR KHAN'S account of what had passed he wrote to remain where he was, and that he would soon come and put affairs on a better footing. The contents of his letter were communicated by a secret agent to DHERMA, and he sent instant orders to GHUFFOOR KHAN to leave camp, threatening him with extinction if he did not. The mandate was promptly obeyed; the Mahomedan chief marched to Jowrah, where he was joined by ZEEPUT ROW, the nephew of MOHYPUT RAM, and DHONDA PUNT TANTIAH, one of SCINDIAH'S predatory leaders, who brought with him five hundred men and two guns. GHUFFOOR KHAN with this force began not only to exact what he could from his own Jaidad or assigned lands, but to plunder neighbouring

* The cantonments of JESWUNT ROW near Mhow extended over nearly the same ground which the British Lines now occupy, and MOHYPUT RAM'S tents were a little in the rear of the present Head Quarters.

† He is said to have had very rich jewels, most of which were put into JESWUNT ROW'S Treasury. It is however stated in the papers of the period, that he had been obliged, before his death, to part with the greatest part of his valuables to support himself and adherents.

neighbouring districts. He was, however, soon obliged to retreat to Kotah by the advance of DHERMA KOWER, who, detaching GUNGARAM KOTTAREE to take possession of Jowrah, moved himself with the court and army towards Mewar, on the professed ground of carrying JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR to the shrine of MAHADEO, near Oudipore, by a pilgrimage, to which some Brahmins had foretold he would recover his reason. It is to the honor of this low-born usurper of authority, that he preserved an order rare in an Indian army; for, though exactions were made, hardly a field was destroyed or a village plundered on the route, as the march of DHERMA was delayed by many events, and he had only reached Burrah Sadree on the frontiers of Mewar, where AMEER KHAN (who had been alike compelled to abandon the Nagpore territories by the advance of the British Army, and the necessity of maintaining his influence at HOLKAR's Court) arrived with an army augmented by almost the whole of the Pindarries, who had at this period become followers of his standard. His superiority in horse enabled him to surround the troops of HOLKAR and he demanded from their leader, that JESWUNT ROW and his family should instantly be delivered over to his charge. This DHERMA refused, but his battalions alone were attached to him; all others desired his downfall. Hostilities commenced, and lasted for about fifteen days. The Cavalry of AMEER KHAN could make no impression on the Infantry and guns of his opponent, but the latter who were cut off from their supplies, could not hope to be long able to protract their resistance. The Horse became bolder every day, and AMEER KHAN shewed unusual courage on this occasion. He in person stimulated his men to make their best efforts to save the family of HOLKAR, from the disgrace and danger to which they were exposed. The latter was not slight, for DHERMA finding he was hard pressed, and that it was difficult, if not impossible to extricate himself, formed a desperate plan. The insane JESWUNT ROW, TOOLSAH BAE, and the Young Prince MULHAR ROW, (then only four years of age) were taken, (under guard of a small party) the

the day the army left Barah Sadree, into a thick part of the Jungle, and there can be little doubt his intention was to murder them in the hope of escaping himself by destroying the causes of contention, but his design was defeated.* A Mewattee attendant of Jeswunt Row conveyed information of his proceedings to Ruttoo Patell,† one of the Mahratta Chiefs of the Pagah or Household Horse. He galloped to the spot and sent orders for all the Horse that could be collected to join him. Ruttoo Patell asked Dherma why he had brought the Maharajah to such a place. Toolsah Bae, who was crying aloud, exclaimed, he has brought us here to be murdered. The excuses offered by Dherma were of a character to confirm every impression of his guilt, and as the Pagah Horse were now in sufficient numbers to enable Ruttoo Patell to assume the tone of command, a halt of the whole Army was ordered at the spot‡ they had reached, and Dherma and Soobharam were seized soon afterwards by the officers of his own Corps, who were gained by a promise of their arrears, made by Toolsah Bae, to turn against their late Commanders, who were brought next morning prisoners to the Bae's Tent. She immediately directed their execution; they were put upon a cart and carried a mile from the lines, where they were put to death.

5. Periods of trouble form remarkable men. Dherma Kower, who was of the Aheer or Cow-herd tribe, had probably become a favorite domestic of Jeswunt Row from his activity§ and courage. He appears to have caught many of the qualities of his master. He returned the confidence of Balaram Seit with ingratitude, using the military power that Minister gave him, almost the day after it was conferred, for the purposes

* Some persons, acquainted with this proposed crime, gave evidence against Dherma, after he was seized.

† I know this plain unassuming Soldier well. He has still a principal command in the Pagah, and stands deservedly high in the Court of the young Prince, whose life he saved.

‡ Near Sangurah, about four miles from Sadree.

§ In 1805, when I negotiated the Treaty with Jeswunt Row in the Punjab, Dherma Kower came several times with secret instructions to that chief's Vakeels, and must at that period have enjoyed his full confidence. He was strong and active, and appeared to me a man of both intelligence and energy.

poses of his own ambition. Yet the manner in which he controlled the rabble, at whose head he was placed, shewed he was no common character; no one dared to commit the slightest excess without his order. If the family of JESWUNT ROW, and the chief Officers of the State acted under restraint, they had at least the consolation of seeing the army kept in subordination, and the country protected. This was the more extraordinary, as the habits of DHERMA were very dissipated; he indulged to excess in the use of liquor, and on the last night of his life, when the preparations taken to prevent his escape must have led him to anticipate his fate, he sat till he was seized, looking at a dance and drinking with his favorite, the Chowdry SOOBHARAM. The latter, an artful wicked man, is blamed by all as the deluder of DHERMA, whose crimes have not deprived him of that sympathy, which remarkable courage and manly resolution always excite. These feelings have been strengthened by his conduct in his last moments. TOOLSAH BAE, in giving the order for execution, said "Send them to Hinglaiz." This is the name of a fort, where state prisoners are confined, and the weakness of SOOBHARAM led him to indulge hopes of life." We are going to be "kept in confinement," said he to his companion. But Hinglaiz is one of the names of BHOWANNEE, the Goddess of destruction, and DHERMA, who better understood the BAE's meaning, quickly replied, "You are "mistaken, brother. It is the celestial HINGLAIZ to whom we are directed to be sent." The executioner made an ineffectual blow at his neck with one hand. He turned towards him with a stern look, and said, "Take both hands, you rascal; after all, it is the head of DHERMA that "is to be cut off"*

6. The Battalions of Infantry demanded the prompt payment of those arrears for which they had given up their leaders, and AMEER KHAN succeeded, by laying a fine upon every Sirdar in his camp, not excepting

* I received the particulars of DHERMA's end from a person who was a witness of the scene, and the last expressions of this remarkable man are confirmed by the executioner, who is now at Indore.

excepting the Pindary chiefs, in raising two lacks of rupees, which satisfied their wants for the moment.

7. The name of the Minister TANTIAH JOGH appears now for the first time in the History of the HOLKAR family. This person, a Brahmin of the Kuroddee* sect, was born in Kandeish, but came young to Moheysir, where his elder brother, BALAJEE NAICK, was Gomasta or Agent in the house of HURRY PUNT JOGH, then one of the principal Soukars in Malwa. The affairs of this Soukar, whose name the young Bramin had taken as a distinguishing appellation, went to ruin after the death of ALIAH BAE; but TANTIAH had been attached to an European Commander of one of the Campoos or Legions, and became his confidential man of business, soon joining to the management of the countries assigned for the support of this body of troops the sole charge of providing funds for their payment. He continued attached to the Infantry of HOLKAR's army till the murder of the English Officers, before JESWUNT ROW invaded Hindostan. On the occurrence of this event he left the army, and retired to Ougein. He rejoined the army when it returned to Malwa, and remained in the exercise of his business as a Soukar (which he has always continued) under the protection and friendship of BALARAM SEIT. The violence of DHERMA prevented TANTIAH JOGH having any concern with the Campoos, while that person commanded them; but on his death he was appointed to the general charge of the battalions, whose organization was changed. TANTIAH was their paymaster; he kept all the accounts, and no Colonel (such was the title of DHERMA) was appointed,
A. D. 1808. each corps being left under its separate Captain or Commandant.

8. AMEER KHAN, after remaining about two months with the army, moved to Rajpootanna, furnished with orders to collect the tribute due

* This sect are chiefly remarkable for that horrid practice of making human sacrifices (often near connections) to the GODDESS KALI. This usage is held in great abhorrence by other Brahmins, and some years ago edicts were published at Poonah, banishing this tribe, and forbidding all intercourse with them. Since this severe proceeding I have not heard that they have ever attempted to revive human sacrifices in the southern parts of India.

due to the HOLKAR State by the Rajah of Jyepore and other Rulers. Before he quitted camp a serious intrigue was raised against BALARAM. TANTIAH ALIKUR, an artful Brahmin who had established great influence with the ladies of the HOLKAR family, of whom he had been put in charge when they were sent to Joudpore, desired to displace the Minister. AMEER KHAN, who anticipated this attempt, had requested TOOLSAH BAE, if she wished at any time to get rid of BALARAM, to send him to his camp, and he would, if necessary, put him to death. He at the same time desired the latter, if directed to join him, to do so with perfect confidence. A few days after he marched, the Regent BAE sent for the Minister and gave him orders to proceed and join AMEER KHAN, upon whom she called to fulfil his promise, and rid her of her enemy and that of the state. The result was quite different from what she expected. BALARAM was received with honor, and the Patan leader not only told him of the artifice he had used to save his life, but shewed him TOOLSAH BAE's letter, desiring his death. These communications were followed with a proposition that BALARAM should relieve AMEER KHAN, who was in great distress from the heavy arrears due to his army, by accepting bills to a large amount in favor of the Troops, and in return for this accommodation he was promised to be supported in his station. The Minister was not deterred from agreeing to this arrangement, by a knowledge that he had no power of fulfilling it. He allowed AMEER KHAN to give his Chiefs and Officers bills upon him at different dates to no less an amount than a crore and sixty-four lacks of rupees. These orders were known by those who accepted them to be little better than waste paper, but still there was a hope of recovering a part from a Soucar Minister, and they were taken by men who despaired of any other payment. AMEER KHAN went in person to HOLKAR's Court to reconcile TOOLSAH BAE to the Minister, which, after much trouble with her, he effected. The Regent BAE gave BALARAM a dress of honor, and proclaimed him sole manager of the affairs of the State. His first care, after his re-establishment, was to discount the bills he had accepted, and we may judge the character

racter of this transaction from the fact, that he paid the whole by a disbursement of two lacks and a half of ready money, and the distribution of cloth to the amount of two lacks more; the whole being a settlement below half an anna* in the rupee.

9. The Government and Army of HOLKAR could not be supported by the territories of the family, and the most destructive expedients were resorted to. Several of the principal Officers were appointed Soubahs, and sent with bodies of Troops, which they were directed to subsist, and to remit what they could collect extra to their expenditure to the Government. These commands were given generally to persons who made themselves answerable for the arrears of the soldiers, and paid a certain sum in advance to the Treasury, besides bribes to the Court. They received in return a latitude to plunder, nor do they appear to have been limited as to the territories on which they were to levy contributions. The districts of SCINDIAH and the PUAR suffered equally with those of HOLKAR. To be defenceless was a sufficient ground for the attack of these predatory Soubahs, who, with the name of Officers of a Mahratta State, were guilty of more cruel excesses than even the Pindaries. It would be a waste of time to follow minutely the progress of these delegated robbers, whose measures and operations had all the same character of violence and atrocity. The names of a few of the principal and a general notice of their proceedings will suffice.

10. The first of these high Officers was JUGGAH BAPOO; † four Battalions were sent with this person, of which two were commanded by ROSHUN BEG, a man who had risen to his present station from the rank of a common soldier by his activity and courage, and who afterwards acquired

* The rate of payment differed; some did not receive so much. A respectable man, DELSOOK RAI, informed me that he had an order for twelve thousand rupees, for which he was glad to take one hundred and nine rupees value in cloth.

† His real name was JUGGERNAUTH RAJAH RAM. He is now holding an insignificant situation in the Government.

acquired reputation among the Leaders of HOLKAR's Army. BAPOO VISHUN, the present Buckshee, was the next Soubah that BALARAM made. His corps were chiefly Infantry, but another party, detached to subsist upon the country, were all Horse. These, after plundering some villages of SCINDIAH's, fell upon Mulharghur, then held by GHUFFOOR KHAN, and the whole of the influence of that Chief, combined with the awe still inspired by the name of AMEER KHAN, could hardly obtain the recal of this body of plunderers, who were living upon lands that had been assigned for his support. A. D. 1810.

11. In the same year a man, who afterwards acted a very prominent part, was first brought forward. His rise and conduct when in command is the best comment upon the State of HOLKAR's Court and the unhappy condition of Malwa.

12. RAM DEEN, a low-born Brahmin, inhabitant of the Company's territories in Hindostan, had entered into the service of CHIMNA BHOW * as an orderly. He was afterwards employed in the same capacity by JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, became a favorite with his countryman DIAH RAM JEMADAR, a man of character and influence, who first brought him into notice by placing him in charge of Moheysir. RAMDEEN plundered the inhabitants of this place to supply himself with the means of advancement, but his proceedings on this first occasion were so shameless and wicked, and the complaints against him so numerous, that TOOLSAH BAE was obliged to order him to be seized and put in irons. This occurred about the period that BALARAM was restored to power, and he was released through the interference of AMEER KHAN, whom he no doubt propitiated by a part of his plunder. On the departure of this Chief to Rajpootana, the artful Brahmin addressed himself to the venality of MEENAH BAE, who at this time exercised an almost exclusive influence in the Councils of TOOLSAH BAE, and

*This man, who was Gooroo Priest of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, has been frequently mentioned.

and through the effect of large bribes to this lady and others, and abundance of promises, this mean and wicked man was vested with a dress of honor, and had a seal of the MAHARAJAH, a standard, and all the insignia, which constitute a Soubah or Vicegerent, delivered to him. He took the Bara Bhaee, or Mahratta Horse,* with him, on a promise of providing for their subsistence. He had at first only about a hundred Infantry, with two guns, but with his success his views expanded, and he encreased his Corps by new levies. Four Battalions were raised, and through the influence of MEENAH BAE a supply of cannon was furnished for the petty army of this leader, which soon became the terror of the western parts of Malwa.

13. The commission of RAM DEEN was general, and was given and received as conferring a right to plunder all, without discrimination, whom he had the power to plunder. Never was a better instrument of desolation selected. His character is a compound of servility, falsehood, and baseness, an artful flatterer, and an arrogant boaster, unrestrained by either principles or feeling; abject when in distress, and proud in prosperity: with no ties of family or of country he went forth to take from all men and from all communities what he could obtain without immediate danger. He was, however, a cautious calculator on this point, and it formed the only check† upon his proceedings.

14. This man's character has been more dwelt upon than it merits, but his employment furnishes a good example of those measures which brought such unparalleled miseries upon the province of Malwa.

15. Though

* This party consisted of about four thousand. It was commanded throughout these troubles by RAMJEE SEITJEE and BABA TOONDA. Bara Bhaee means literally Twelve Brothers. It was the name given to the Mahratta chiefs associated against the British Government in A. D. 1780, and has from that time become a popular and general term to designate a body of Mahrattas under any indefinite number of chiefs.

† From the scenes in which his name appears, it has been so generally concluded that he has the quality of courage, which is so common to those of his tribe who follow arms as a profession, that nothing but the statement of many who knew him well, and my own personal observations of his conduct in his last struggle for influence and consideration, could have led me to doubt his possessing even this good quality.

15. Though Jeswunt Row had commenced the work of desolation, while he retained his reason, there was still a master;—one who, though prompt and powerful to inflict wrong, had the power of punishing others. In the short usurpation of Dherma there was terror, and it produced order among the most lawless, but on his death it suited the policy of Ameer Khan, while he ravaged from the vicinity of Nagpore to the north-west district of Marwar, to preserve his paramount influence at the Court of the insane Jeswunt Row, (whose name he still used as his pretext for plunder) to leave the family, ministers, and commanders of the government of Holkar, in a state of weakness and division that forbad all possible combination to overthrow his supremacy.

16. Toolsah Bae, *the* pupil if not the daughter of an artful priest, who with pretended sanctity was the slave of wordly ambition,* had been tutored in more than the common arts of her sex, and she added enough of education to be considered as an extraordinary person in a country, where women are seldom at all instructed. She was very handsome, of winning manners, but violent in her disposition, and most dissolute in her morals. She appears to have had considerable talent, and sometimes displayed great resolution; but the leading feature of her character was a cruelty of disposition, which seems almost irreconcileable with that seclusion in which she had been brought up, and in which, contrary to the example of Aliah Bae, (whose exact opposite she appears to be in every particular) she continued till her death.

17. The reason commonly assigned for Toolsah Bae keeping behind the curtain or purdah was her youth and beauty, but it is perhaps much to be referred to her immoral character. She was at first not so shameless as to brave the world, and she knew that if it was publicly known that

* Adjeebah, the Maun Bhow Priest, is generally supposed to be the real Father of Toolsah Bae. This professed mendicant, who was made rich by the favor of his disciple Hurakah Bae, resided at Mobeysir. He had a palankeen, Horses and numerous attendants.

that she was of an abandoned character as a woman, it would have injured if not destroyed her influence as a Ruler. The example of ALIAH BAE had created a prejudice in favor of power being vested in a female, and was at first an advantage to TOOLSAH BAE, but the delusion soon past. Every act of the latter shewed that she had all the frailties and vices of her sex, without any redeeming virtues; above all, she wanted that noble confidence which purity of mind had bestowed upon her predecessor.

18. MEENAH BAE has been before noticed. She had been the servant of MULHAR ROW's mistress, HURAKAH BAE, and like her the disciple of the MAUN BHOW Priest ADJEEBAH. She was now the confidant of TOOLSAH BAE, and maintained a complete influence over her young mistress, chiefly by flattery, and by ministering to her pleasures. The chief passion of this woman, who was above sixty years of age, was avarice, and she amassed very large sums, for all were obliged to bribe her who desired her aid. She was also a devotee, but her devotions were rigidly limited to the practices of her sect, and this made her more an object of aversion with orthodox Hindus, with whom that sect are considered impious; but these were compelled to conceal their feelings, as MEENAH BAE early shewed she was prompt to revenge either insult or injury.

19. BALARAM SEIT, the minister of this court, was by tribe a banniah or merchant*; he had obtained service in the office of superintending the weighing and supplying of grain for JESWUNT ROW's cattle, when that chief was last in the Deckan; and on his proceeding to the Punjab BALARAM was raised to higher employ, and the confidence in him was such that he was employed as a negociator of the peace with the British Government. His success on this occasion recommended him to his Master, and he became, from causes that have been

* The tribe to which he belonged is denominated Aggerwalah. His family came from Jsgour in Hurrianah, but he was born, or at least brought up, at Malligaum in Candeish.

been stated, chief Minister. There was a mixture of pliancy, of falsehood, of good nature and ambition in this man's character, that singularly suited him to the times, and to the part he had to act. He never possessed property, and had from the first nothing to lose. He promised every thing that was asked, and, though he hardly ever performed what he promised, there was a kindness of manner and goodness of heart about him, that prevented men being outraged when they were duped. He always appeared better, and really was so, than any other in the scene, and while his good nature made him obedient and attentive to Toolsah Bae, and her favorite Meenah Bae, he was considered by others as the only check on their profligacy. Though living in the midst of mutinies, and his person generally in restraint, he was still regarded kindly by the Troops, to whom he gave what money he could raise, always adding a promise that all he could obtain for the future should be theirs. He consented in fact to be their Agent, and probably was often satisfied to have the plea of their turbulent violence as a pretext of exacting from others to supply their demands. With such a Regency and such a Minister, Commanders like Ram Deen, and an Army so divided and so disorganized, the condition of the country may be imagined. Neither the rights of the Sovereign nor the Ryut were respected; every where the same scene of oppression presented itself; open villages and towns were sacked, walled towns battered, till they paid contributions. Leaders who had been successful were in their turn attacked and plundered by those that were more powerful; constant actions took place between the Troops of Scindiah, Holkar, Puar and the Pindaries, while the Rajpoot Princes and the Grassiah Chiefs joined, or deserted, the different parties, as it suited their interest at the moment. The Bheels, encouraged by the absence of all regular rule, left their usual mountain fastnesses to seek booty in the open plains; and many of the villagers, driven to despair, became freebooters, that they might indemnify themselves for their losses by the plunder of

others.

others. This state of affairs could not last long: hordes were seen forced from this scene of desolation to seek subsistence in distant lands. None of HOLKAR's territories in Malwa escaped the ruin of this period, which also involved those of the PUARS of Dhar and Dewass, of the Nabob of Bhopal, and partially those of SCINDIAH, and of all the Rajpoot States, except Kotah, which, from causes that will be hereafter noticed, rose amid the general wreck to increased wealth and prosperity.

20. During the very height of this scene JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR A. D. 1811. died at Bampoorah. Before his death TOOLSAH BAE, who had no child, adopted and brought up as her own offspring MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, the son of JESWUNT ROW by KESSAIRAH BAE, * a woman of low tribe, who had been introduced into his family. This boy was placed upon the Musnud immediately after his father's death, and his title was universally acknowledged. ZALIM SINGH, the able Ruler of Kotah, came to Bampoorah to present in person his offering to the young Prince.

21. The elevation of a minor could have little influence upon the persons that have been described as preying upon the remains of the Government, whose intrigues, quarrels and crimes daily increased. The minute detail of them would be at once disgusting and useless. It will be enough to notice the leading events by which the revolution, which has so completely changed the condition of this State, has been produced.

22. Two months after the death of JESWUNT ROW, an attempt was made against the authority of TOOLSAH BAE, of which DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH was supposed the author. A relation of this Ruler, named JATEEBAH MANIA, entered the service of young MULHAR ROW, and through him three Battalions of JUGGOO BAPPOO's were detached from their allegiance, and, on the pretext of demanding arrears, marched to Bampoorah

* KESSAIRAH BAE, the mother of the reigning Prince, is of the Koomar or Pot-maker tribe of Hindoos.

Bampoorah to support a plot, of which EUMNAH BAE and LARA BAE, two Ladies of the HOLKAR family, were proclaimed the ostensible leaders. It had been settled that LARA BAE * was to adopt MOHYPUT ROW † the son of ANUND ROW HOLKAR, the Jaghiredar of Talien, whose claims from descent it was argued were preferable to the illegitimate son of an illegitimate father, who had been placed upon the musnud by a combination of wicked persons anxious only about their own interests. Whatever were the rights of this question the plot was defeated as soon as discovered. On this occasion GHUFFOOR KHAN acted a very conspicuous part, he proclaimed himself, in the name of AMEER KHAN, the defender of the young MULHAR ROW, and was not only joined by all the Ministers, but by ZALIM SINGH, who was still at Bampoorah. The Battalions of JUGGOO BAPPOO were first compelled to retreat and afterwards disarmed and plundered. The unfortunate EUMNAH BAE and LARA BAE, who had little concern in this plot, beyond that given by their names, were put to death. JOTEEBAH MANIA fled, but his property was seized and plundered. Several lesser criminals were executed, but JUGGOO BAPPOO escaped (probably from being a Brahmin) from further punishment than a long and rigorous confinement.

23. The repeated mutinies of the Troops, and the danger that ensued, led at this period to the Dewan GUNPUT ROW being sent with propositions to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, which included the offer of a mortgage of part of the territory of HOLKAR, for a pecuniary aid. DOWLUT ROW is stated to have listened with pleasure to this, as he did to every proposal, that gave him a prospect of attaining the Supremacy in the HOLKAR Government. An engagement was entered into, and the Dewan returned

* EUMNAH BAE was the Widow of MULHAR ROW, who was killed at Poonah, and LARA BAE, the Wife of JESWUNT ROW.

† MOHYPUT ROW was a youth of about 17 years of age. He fled, on the failure of the plot, to Candeish, where he afterwards attempted to make a party, but the small body of followers whom he had collected were attacked and defeated by RAMDOSS, the Brother of BALARAM SEIT. No subsequent account is given of this pretender to the Musnud of the HOLKAR family; he is believed however to be living somewhere in the Deckan, in an obscure condition.

returned accompanied by Agents from the principal Soukars in SCINDIAH's camp, who had instructions to make arrangements for satisfying the claims of the Troops, whenever the Sunnuds for the Countries proposed to be ceded, were made over to SCINDIAH. But GHUFFOOR KHAN who saw in the completion of this plan the destruction of his own and his Master's influence, after consulting with several others, (particularly with TANTIAH JOGH,) summoned AMEER KHAN from Marwar to defend his interests and that of the family of HOLKAR. The Patan Chief hastened to Court, and succeeded in defeating the negotiation.

24. TOOLSAH BAE was greatly irritated at hearing from AMEER KHAN that she had been represented to him as an abandoned woman, and the enemies* of TANTIAH JOGH persuaded her that he was the author of the calumny. Her immediate resolution was to put him to death, and nothing but the vigilance and decision of his friends† enabled him to escape her vengeance. He went to Kotah, where he remained for some months. After AMEER KHAN left camp, the plan of obtaining SCINDIAH's aid was revived, and by the council of BALARAM SEIT and MEENAH BAE, TANTIAH ALIKUR was deputed to Gwalior. He concluded an engagement by which it was agreed, that an annual sum of twenty-four lacks was to be paid by SCINDIAH, and countries equal in revenue to that amount were to be made over to that Prince. This second negotiation was defeated by a variety of events, but particularly by a general mutiny of the whole Army, which first compelled TOOLSAH BAE to fly with the young MULHAR ROW to the Tent of GHUFFOOR KHAN, and afterwards to seek shelter from the excesses of the Troops in the Fort of Gungraur, a possession of the HOLKAR family which had been temporarily assigned to ZALIM SINGH, Regent of Kotah.

25. TANTIAH

* TANTIAH ALIKUR was the person who chiefly excited the BAE against TANTIAH JOGH upon this occasion, and it naturally caused an irreconcileable hatred between them.

† GHUFFOOR KHAN gave TANTIAH JOGH the first intimation of his danger and aided his escape.

25. Tantiah Jogh who had returned from Kotah supported by all the influence of Zalim Singh, began at this period to take a very considerable lead in the affairs of the Government. He was however with Balaram Seit and the Dewan Gunput Row, nearly being ruined by a plan that Meenah Bae had concerted to seize them to pay the Troops with the plunder of their property, and place the administration in the hands of Ram Deen. The latter had just arrived at Gungraur with his corps, and was acccompanied by his brother Mukhum Lal* who had for some time rented the Pergunnahs of Indore, Sawere, Debalpore, and other countries, and was not only possessed of property, but connected himself with some of the richest Soukars at Ougein, one† of whom had accompanied him to Gungraur for the purpose of giving the Troops, who supported this change, an adequate security for their arrears and future pay.

26. Every Court has its secret History, and that of several in India, if disclosed, would exhibit strange scenes of intrigue and licentiousness. Nothing could be more wicked and shameless than the daily occurrences of Holkar's at this period. The profligacy of the Regent Bae was notorious, and she was not the only female of rank whose intrigues had effect upon public affairs. The handsome wife of the Dewan Gunput Row had been before considered a link between her husband and Jeswunt Row Holkar‡ She now so openly intrigued with Tantiah Jogh, that it became a matter of general observation to all,

* This man who is commonly called Joshee is well educated, and a man of business. He has long been in scenes of rapine a prominent actor, and by that and other means acquired a good deal of property. He is at Ougein and has been offered by Dowlut Row Scindiah the management of several Countries, if he can obtain my assent to the measure. This he has tried every effort to effect; but it has been and will continue to be refused on account of his bad character.

† Bugwunt Doss, a man of wealth and respectability.

‡ The licentious passions of Jeswunt Row Holkar brooked no control, and the sacrifice of the honor of the females of their family was no unusual road to favor with others of his Court, beside Gunput Row.

all, and particularly as the connection between GUNPUT ROW and TANTIAH* seemed to increase with the intimacy between the latter and the wife of his friend; but a criminal intercourse of more importance was now established, when the Army of HOLKAR was encamped near Gungraur, TOOLSAH BAE evinced openly her partiality for the Dewan GUNPUT ROW. TANTIAH JOGH has been accused of having secretly advised the Dewan to consult his own safety, and that of the party to which he was attached, by encouraging her passion, but on the other hand, it is admitted that he strongly recommended that public decency should not be outraged by the connection; and, though he took advantage of every occurrence to impress the necessity of circumspection, it is obvious that he could not have desired the decrease of an influence through which he and his friends enjoyed power. Their first object was the ruin of MEENAH BAE and her friend RAM DEEN, which TOOLSAH BAE who was the slave of her passions, and who had now become extravagantly fond of her lover, appears to have agreed to without any scruple. In compliance with the suggestions of GUNPUT ROW, she sent† her female favourite to settle with the commander‡ of some corps of Infantry, which latter believed completely in her interest, but who on TOOLSAH BAE's sending an order to seize her, and make her answerable for their arrears, did so and placed her in strict confinement, and two days afterwards her associate RAM DEEN was made prisoner.

27. TANTIAH

* "I asked an intimate friend of this Minister's, respecting a connexion which was more than a mere love intrigue as connected with the politics of the period. He laughed very heartily and said, "all the World were seldom wrong, but that he could not answer such interrogation."

† THAKOOR DOSS (the news writer at HOLKAR's court from Delhi) says that MEENAH BAE left the Fort of Gungraur of herself, smothering her rage against TOOLSAH BAE, who had outraged her intentionally. She went to the Camp where she looked upon both infantry and artillery to be in her interest, but was seized as related.

‡ HURRY SINGH, he was the Commander of four Battalions, and had been greatly favored by the woman he now consented to seize. According to THAKOOR DOSS, MEENAH BAE paid sixteen thousand Rupees after being beaten and otherwise harshly treated by the Sepoys.

27. TANTIAH ALIKUR was at this period on his return with Agents of SCINDIAH's Government, and of the Soukars who were to make the necessary advances, and give security for the annual payment of the pecuniary aid that SCINDIAH had agreed to grant; his progress, however, was arrested at Kotah, by the intelligence that not only his principal friend and supporter MEENAH BAE was in strict confinement, but that RAM DEEN, the Military Commander, on whom they reposed most confidence, was also a prisoner, and had not only been compelled to give that money he had brought to place himself at the head of Government to his enemies, but was made over to the most clamorous of the Horse in the service of HOLKAR, as security for their arrears.

28. TOOLSAH BAE after these occurrences moved from Gungraur to Camp, some money was given to the Troops, and in a few days the whole proceeded to canton for the rains near Mucksee,* a town on the river Kalee Scind. RAM DEEN and MEENAH BAE were carried prisoners with the Army; a discussion about the release of the former, caused a dispute between TANTIAH JOGH and GUFFOOR KHAN, which was increased by the latter having given his protection to TANTIAH ALIKUR, who now came from Kotah, and endeavoured to form a party, whose object was to displace TOOLSAH BAE, and place her prisoner MEENAH BAE at the head of the Government. BALARAM entered into this intrigue, influenced as his friends pretend, by the disgrace brought on the family of HOLKAR, from the open and shameless intimacy between GUNPUT ROW and TOOLSAH BAE; but the latter and her favorite GUNPUT ROW (a man of no talent †), now acted under the

* She encamped at Dholcote, a village about four coss North of Gungraur.

† In a conversation regarding the Dewan that Major AGNEW had with TANTIAH JOGH, the latter observed, "GUNPUT ROW personally is and always was a weak despicable man." Vide Major AGNEW's Letter. This speech of TANTIAH JOGH would appear tolerable evidence, that while he shared the Councils of this man and TOOLSAH BAE, he ruled them; but the friends of the Minister do not admit this to be the

the able direction of TANTIAH JOGH, who advised the immediate removal of MEENAH BAE, as the root of all danger. The former favorite had been hitherto, though confined, treated with indulgence and respect, but she was the victim that the importunity of GUNPUT ROW demanded, and his Mistress could not refuse. The female she had so long cherished was dragged away at night, in the midst of a violent storm of rain, to be taken to Gungraur. She entreated to see her Mistress for the last time; and her importunities were so violent, that they carried her to the door of the latter's tent, where she implored admittance if it was only for a few moments; but the unfeeling TOOLSAH BAE, instigated by GUNPUT ROW, who was standing near her, exclaimed aloud so as to be heard by all, "Do not let her come in, take her away." She was carried first to Gungraur, and from that to Beejulpore, to which she was accompanied by HURABAH, who had succeeded ADJEEBAH as the MAUN BHOW Priest, and possessed that place in Jaghire.* MEENAH BAE enjoyed but a few days repose, when a bill upon her for a considerable sum was given to some Officers of the Pagah, with orders to exact it by any means. Torture of every species was inflicted, and though she refused from the first to give one Rupee, she did not deny having amassed wealth, saying "Take me to TOOLSAH BAE, and if she personally desires ten lacks I will give it." This meeting however was exactly what her enemies desired to avoid, and their tortures were continued till the object they sought was accomplished. MEENAH BAE distracted with hunger and pain, finish-

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the case. I asked ROWJEE TRIMBUCK, TANTIAH's most confidential man of business, if GUNPUT ROW was not a weak man, and consequently a mere tool, in the hands of such a person as TANTIAH JOGH. He answered quickly, "GUNPUT ROW is one of those half fools that are most difficult to be managed; "they do what they are told in most things, but every now and then put in a piece of work of their "own, which spoils all; besides (he continued) the Dewan often acted to please TOOLSAH BAE, who "though full of sweet and persuasive language, and at times witty, had no sense in affairs of State, "and no control over her temper, which was very violent, and led her often to very cruel acts."

* Beejulpore, which is within three miles of Indore, had been granted to MEENAH BAE who made it over to HURRABAH, her spiritual Father, who is still in possession of this Village, and lives in some state, though his receipts from its revenue have been diminished.

ed the scene by taking poison; but her resolution of not benefiting those that wished to destroy her, was persevered in to the last. None of her Treasures were ever found, a considerable part of them is supposed to be in the possession of the Soukar RAM RICK,* now at Kishengur near Ajmere. Soon after this occurrence the general mutiny of the Troops and their threatened violence, compelled TOOLSAH BAE to make her escape from Camp, which she did with difficulty, and again took shelter in Gungraur, † which ZALIM SINGH had a short time before made over to her possession. ‡

29. TOOLSAH BAE took the instant she reached Gungraur, very decided steps. The Artillery and some Corps of Infantry were still attached to her. By the terror of the former, she compelled the Mahomedans of the Army, with the exception of a small party, and that of GHUFFOOR KHAN (who remained as the Agent of AMEER KHAN) to move to a distance, and she proclaimed that Hindus alone should be admitted into the service of HOLKAR. This was done on the pretext that the Mahomedans had been the most turbulent, but she must have known this last was no ordinary mutiny, but one excited and directed by her enemies; among whom AMEER KHAN, to whom this class of Troops were attached, was the principal: these proceedings gave rise to a violent attack upon her authority. A plot was formed to take from her the young Maharajah, in the possession of whose person all her strength consisted. The Infantry Corps as well as the Artillery, gave their support, and parties from these surrounded both TANTIAH JOGH and GUNPUT

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* The firm to which he belongs is generally styled RAM RICK, GANEE RAM. TANTIAH JOGH is quite satisfied this man possesses MEENA BAE's property, and has made many efforts to recover it, though hitherto in vain.

† The intended seizure of BALARAM and ALIKUR without which (according to THAKOOR DOSS) no arrangement could be made with the Troops, was a powerful reason for the Court moving into Gungraur.

‡ ZALIM SINGH had rented the District, but on a larger Rent being demanded than he chose to pay, had given it up.

Gunput Row's houses in the Town of Gungraur, before they were aware of any danger. The Dewan was made prisoner; but Tantiah managed with about forty followers,* to escape into the Citadel, where Toolsah Bae resided. He immediately made arrangements for its defence; and Jotteebah Naick, a Mahratta Commander of the Pagah Horse, who was a great favorite of the Bae, made an effort on this critical occasion to aid her that reflects honor on his character. This leader hastened, the moment he learnt her situation, from the Camp to the Town with two hundred Men † which were all he could collect, almost all this party were on foot, and had no arms but Swords. Knowing the entrances of the Town were strongly defended, Joteebah scaled the wall at a place, where it was low, and succeeded in reaching without opposition the outer gates of the Citadel. This was guarded by a Company of the Mutineers, who were surprized and attacked with such fury, that they were all either killed or wounded. He was warmly welcomed by Tantiah and Toolsah Bae: the latter was, when he entered sitting with a dagger in her hand, holding the Child Mulhar Row, whom she said she was resolved to stab to the heart rather than allow him, in whose name she ruled, to be taken from her. But the danger was passed, the rapid success of Jotteebah struck such a panic into the Infantry that they instantly moved off to their Lines, leaving the Town to be occupied by the Mahratta Horse; who, hearing of the affray, came galloping from their encampment to the aid of Toolsah Bae. Ghuffoor Khan also repaired to one of the Gates, but he was suspected, and with justice of being one of those who had excited this mutiny, and was in consequence warned to keep at a distance, as he regarded his own safety; he attended to the council given him and retired to his tents.

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* Forty Carnatic men, to whose bravery and conduct on this occasion is ascribed the escape of Tantiah.

† Jotteebah had two or three hundred Bundelahs, according to Thakoor Doss, and some of the Pagah.

30. Though this intrigue was for the moment defeated, the motives which induced the Artillery and Infantry to become the instruments of its execution, still remained. They continued clamorous for their arrears, and as one mode of hastening the payment they increased the rigor of GUNPUT ROW's confinement; nor were they mistaken in the effect which they expected this would produce. TOOLSAH BAI, when she heard of his situation, became inconsolable, and implored TANTIAH JOGH to make his utmost efforts to release the Dewan; she did more, she gave personal jewels to a considerable amount to effect this object. TANTIAH managed, by pledging the province of Narraingkhur and the tribute of Purtaubghur to GUNGADHUR APPAH, the Manager of Mundissore, to raise some more funds, and a compromise was effected. The men engaged in this mutiny, who amounted to about three thousand, after releasing their prisoner and giving over their guns and arms, and taking hostages for the security of their lives and property, took their discharge, and went from this scene of never-ending trouble to their homes in Hindostan.

31. The success of the above-mentioned Corps, in extorting their pay by the violent measures they pursued, brought almost all the Infantry * Corps of HOLKAR's Army to Gungraur. Intrigues and mutinies were revived, and BALARAM SEIT, who had been for some time thrown into the back ground by TANTIAH JOGH, and his friend GUNPUT ROW, was suspected not only of having instigated past proceedings, but of giving encouragement to the Commanders (particularly to ROSHUN BEG) to persist in their clamorous demands for arrears. Whether this was the case, or that it was determined at all events to destroy him, cannot be well ascertained; the latter is probable. The support he received from AMEER KHAN, his connection with TANTIAH ALIKUR, (who, though he had again fled, was still

* THAKOOR DOSS says, that in the space of ten days after these mutinous Sepoys returned to their homes, three Pultens, commanded by ROSHUN BEG, ROSHUN KHAN, and HUSSEIN ALLEE, arrived at Gungraur.

still dreaded) and his intrigues with GHUFFOOR KHAN, gave reason to believe his holding any employ was deemed incompatible with the firm establishment of the party now in power; but his life might have been spared, had he not excited the resentment * of TOOLSAH BAE by some serious and repeated representations and remonstrances against the continuance of an open and criminal intercourse with the Dewan, which had become, as he stated, the scandal of all India, and brought shame and disgrace upon the family of HOLKAR. How much the BAE had been inflamed by his conduct may be judged from the circumstances which attended his murder; for it can hardly be called an executi on. He had been watched and not allowed to leave the town of Gungraur from the moment the mutiny commenced; but he had only been in strict confinement three days, when he was sent for at midnight by the BAE, who received him, attended by GUNPUT ROW and some servants. TANTIAH JOGH had just returned to his house. BALARAM was asleep when the order was brought for him to attend the BAE. What had passed before the hour of the night, and the language of the messengers, combined to make him suspect what was intended. His family took the alarm, and his wife endeavoured with her tears and by force to prevent his obeying the mandate. He put her aside, telling her to cease her lamentations, nor endeavour to make him guilty of disobedience. He, nevertheless, when he came before TOOLSAH BAE, pleaded hard for his life; representing the inutility of killing a man who had no property to be plundered, and who had yet the power, from the credit he had acquired, of satisfying a mutinous Soldiery. He entreated to be spared, if but for a few days, till it was seen whether he could not allay the violent ferment that then existed among the Troops. This representation was answered by accusations and reproaches from the BAE, who abused him as the chief author of the dangers to which she had been recently exposed. It was

* THAKOOR DOSS, when questioned on this subject, ascribes the BAE's inveterate hatred to BALARAM, first, to the danger her favorite had incurred through his seditious practices; secondly, to his intrigues with the late Hindostanee Horse, by which he gained and kept them in his interest: and, lastly, to his advice and animadversions on her most scandalous conduct.

was in vain he denied the facts alledged.* She exclaimed, "Strike off his head." Two Sepoy orderlies † who were present, when asked by GUNPUT ROW, "If they did not hear the orders of their Mistress," had the resolution and virtue to answer, "They were Soldiers and not executioners." On receiving this answer, GUNPUT ROW drew his sword, and made the first blow at BALARAM: two ‡ attendants then aided him to complete this act of atrocity; the body was dragged into a dark room, and a report spread next morning that the Minister had absconded, but no one was deceived.

32. The chief actors in this scene were TOOLSAH BAE and GUNPUT ROW. General report ascribed a share of their guilt to TANTIAH JOGH, and the leading influence he had at this period, and continued to exercise, gave currency to this belief.§ He was not, however, present at the murder, and from the first denied having any participation in it. The act produced a sensation of great horror. BALARAM's character has been given. There was in him such a cheerfulness of mind, so great a desire to do

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* Among other crimes she accused him of having sent a dress to ROSHUN BEG, as a mark of approbation of his proceedings.

† The names of these men are DEEN SINGH and LOL SINGH; they are still in the service.

‡ HUSSOOBAH HUZOORIAH struck the second blow, and the body, after being hacked, was dragged away by BHEEM SINGH BONDELAH.—The murderers stripped it of some ornaments, and the Dewan is said to have been base enough to take a jewel necklace as his share of the spoil.

§ ROWJEE TRIMBUCK, TANTIAH's most confidential adherent, asserts, that TANTIAH was throughout averse to the murder of BALARAM SEIT, and though he admits that a serious breach between that minister and the two guilty individuals, GUNPUT ROW and TOOLSAH BAE, did not take place till a year afterwards, when it was effected by the intrigues of SREEPAT ROW, during TANTIAH's absence in ZALIM SINGH's cantonment, he says that a great coolness occurred while the court was at Gungraur, owing to TANTIAH JOGH having exacted an oath from TOOLSAH BAE, before he aided her in effecting GUNPUT ROW's release, by which she solemnly pledged herself to abstain from an intercourse that brought scandal on the family and disgrace on all who supported her. ROWJEE TRIMBUCK adds, that ZANE MUL SOUKAR first informed TANTIAH of BALARAM's danger, owing to TOOLSAH BAE's resentment at his communications with ROSHUN BEG, and from believing him the real author of GUNPUT ROW's imprisonment, that TANTIAH spoke to the Dewan—and while he recommended BALARAM being kept in confinement, he entreated his life should not be touched. He says, that no person could be more surprized than TANTIAH was at BALARAM's being put to death in so sudden a manner, but that he could not express his feelings, having no place of safety but the post he occupied. ROWJEE TRIMBUCK says he was at Mundissore, raising money when these events occurred, but is positive of the facts being as he states.

do good, and so forgiving a spirit, that, in spite of his faithless * promises and erring ambition, he was a favorite with all ranks; he is this day regretted, and his assassination spoken of as a deed of barbarous atrocity.

33. GHUFFOOR KHAN, on hearing what had passed in Gungraur, sent a confidential person† to TANTIAH JOGH, to ask him how he could, after their promises to each other, be concerned in such a proceeding, and desiring to know what he was to say to AMEER KHAN. TANTIAH denied all knowledge of the event he alluded to, and expressed his belief that BALARAM was still alive, though in confinement. On the messenger expressing his opinion of this attempt at deceit, and requiring a more satisfactory

* I enquired the character of BALARAM SEIT from ROWJEE TRIMBUCK. He answered, "BALARAM "*Burah admie tha, bukoot neck nihad, Lakin Jhoota, Burah Jhoota.*" BALARAM was a great man, of an "excellent disposition, but a liar, a very great liar." This Mahratta under minister, who is a clever man, did not seem to think, that the notorious addition of falsehood which marked BALARAM's character prevented his being a great man.

† This statement was taken from an actor in the scene, but I afterwards obtained the relation from MOOTEE RAM, the person employed by GHUFFOOR KHAN on this occasion. The following is his evidence: GHUFFOOR KHAN, three days after BALARAM was confined, sent me to TOOLSAH BAE to enquire after him. She said, "I have no idea of injuring BALARAM, but wished to get his accounts settled "and then release him." On that night BALARAM was slain.—Next day AMEER SINGH came and told GHUFFOOR KHAN of the event. I was sent to TANTIAH to know what had occurred. TANTIAH said that the BAE had told him that BALARAM had fled. On my urging the question and professing incredulity, the Minister went to the BAE, and soon after sent for me; but before I arrived a Huzooriah had been called and asked by the BAE, how he came to allow BALARAM to escape. He made an excuse of having fallen asleep. Orders were given to flog the man, and he had received several stripes, when I asked TANTIAH JOGH "what was the use of such a proceeding, when he well knew "BALARAM was murdered." We were now close to the BAE, to whom the Minister repeated my observations and my obstinate disbelief of their assertions. On this the BAE lost all patience. "Is GHUFFOOR KHAN," she said, addressing us, "my master or my servant. If he is so desirous of seeing BALARAM, let him come and I will engage it shall take place at the battery where BALARAM is now sitting." His body had been just conveyed to a casement in the battery to which she alluded. "I instantly (MOOTEE RAM said) took leave, with no slight fear for myself, for she was in a very great "rage."

When a reconciliation took place between GHUFFOOR KHAN and TANTIAH JOGH, the former, to conciliate the latter, denied having given MOOTEE RAM (the above evidence) any authority to be so importunate, and he was dismissed as a man who had disobeyed his orders. He went into other service, and for some time lived with Captain BRIGGS; but the moment the guarantee of his Jaghire made GHUFFOOR KHAN independent of the Minister, he recalled MOOTEE RAM, who is now his principal Moonshee or writer. Such facts are conclusive.

satisfactory explanation, TANTIAH informed GUNPUT ROW and TOOLSAH BAE of what had passed, and a further attempt was made to convince him the Minister was still alive, but not succeeding, TOOLSAH BAE, who appeared now to have cast off all fear as well as shame, said aloud to the Messenger, "Is GHUFFOOR KHAN my servant or my master," and without waiting for a reply, added, Go, tell him from me, if he continues so very anxious about BALARAM, to come here, and they shall meet." GHUFFOOR KHAN was not a little alarmed at this message; and two days afterwards, hearing a report that it was meant to attack him, he marched some distance. TOOLSAH BAE immediately sent KHOOSALAH BUKSHEE after him, to know the reason of his movement, and to give him every assurance of her cherishing no unfriendly intentions. He agreed to return, but instead of taking up his old ground, he encamped near ROSHUN BEG's Battalions. Three days after this, TOOLSAH BAE observing some movements in the Infantry Corps, which indicated an intention to surround Gungraur, moved out of that town with all the Mahratta horse. The impatience of JOOTEBAH* Naick brought on an affair with the Infantry, in which ROSHUN BEG, supported by GHUFFOOR KHAN, took a leading part. A cannonade was opened on the Mahrattahs, and TOOLSAH BAE is said to have displayed courage, till a shot struck the howdah of the elephant on which the child MULHAR ROW rode. This spread a general alarm, and the BAE instantly mounted a horse, and placing the Maharajah on another with GUNPUT ROW, commenced (accompanied by the Pagah and Mahratta horse) a flight which was continued to Allote;† the Battalions under ROSHUN BEG moved on Gungraur, of which they took possession. Their first object was to find the corpse of BALARAM, which, though in a putrid state, was burnt by persons of his cast, according to the ceremonies prescribed by his religion. Gungraur was on this occasion completely plundered, and the troops

* The Mahratta Chief who had behaved so gallantly in her defence at Gungraur.

‡ A town in Soandwarrah belonging to the Puars of Dewass. It is sixteen miles south west of Gungraur.

troops paid part of their arrears,* and their commanders (particularly ROSHUN BEG) enriched.

34. There can be little doubt that throughout the whole of the events which took place at Gungraur, the mutinies of the troops were made subordinate to the intrigues of AMEER KHAN and his agents, who desired to deprive TOOSLAH BAE of power; the consequence was a complete separation from that date of her interests from those of the Patan Chief and his adherents. TANTIAH JOGH became at this period the head† of one party, and GHUFFOOR KHAN of another. The former had only the Mahratta horse and the Pagah, but the possession of the person of the young MULHAR ROW gave it the greatest advantage; for so strong was the feeling upon this point, that those who had charge of him were deemed (even by their opponents) to be the Government. The party of GHUFFOOR KHAN consisted of the adherents of that chief, the discharged Mahomedan horse, whom he recalled, and nine Battalions with their guns.

35. One of the first measures of TANTIAH JOGH was to contract an engagement with SCINDIAH's manager of Mundissore, by which he obtained the aid of AMBAJEE's Campoo or Legion, (one of SCINDIAH's Corps employed in Malwa), which consisted of five Battalions, and thirty pieces of cannon. A monthly sum was agreed to be paid for the support of this force, but AMBAJEE's operations were too cautious, and his object was so obviously directed to avoid hostility, that HOLKAR's Court were soon disgusted with their new allies.

36. The Jaghire of GHUFFOOR KHAN had been some time before seized, and three Battalions were stationed at Jowrah to prevent the re-es- tablishment

* Twelve annas in the rupee were given to the Infantry, and four to the horse, engaged in this action.

† GUNPUT ROW was too inferior in talent to be his rival; and TOOLSAH BAE, except when acting from the impulse of passion, was always under tutelage.

tablishment of his authority. The Commandant of these Corps now volunteered to join MULHAR Row, and act against GHUFFOOR KHAN, but so many mutinies had recently taken place in the Infantry, that he was not trusted. GHUFFOOR KHAN marched upon Jowrah, and not only retook his own Jaghire, but forced the three Battalions to join and make common cause with the remainder. All these transactions, as they occurred, were regularly communicated to SCINDIAH and AMEER KHAN, both of whom were alike anxious to turn the divisions in the HOLKAR State to their own advantage. The former had ordered APPAH GUNGADHUR to aid TOOLSAH BAE, and to give her a refuge against her enemies in Mundissore, if she required it. He sent at the same time an agent to AMEER KHAN, entreating that he would desist from the encouragement of measures that went to the ruin and disgrace of the HOLKAR family, and requesting him to comply with the desire of TOOLSAH BAE to withdraw GHUFFOOR KHAN. The Patan Chief was too averse to the interference of DOWLUT ROW to comply with his wishes; but he was nevertheless solicitous to bring affairs to an amicable adjustment. He sent orders to GHUFFOOR KHAN to desist from hostilities, and offered the Regent BAE, if she would agree to his repairing to Court, and cease flying about the country, to compel the Infantry to be satisfied with a payment of one half of their arrears, and to recal a representative that was obnoxious to her. In this negotiation AMEER KHAN was supported by ZALIM SINGH of Kotah, who offered to become security for the full performance of this engagement; but the overture was rejected by TOOLSAH BAE, who concluded, and on just grounds, that AMEER KHAN's purpose was to deprive her of power, and to assume the sole management of affairs. The answer to his proposal was a demand that GHUFFOOR KHAN should be recalled, and the Battalions brought to order as preliminaries. But it was quite impossible that AMEER KHAN could consent to withdraw the agent who supported his ambitious views;

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he made every effort to bring the Battalions to reason, and Vakeels * from the Rajah of Kotah accompanied ROWJEE TRIMBUCK,† who was sent by TANTIAH JOGH to GHUFFOOR KHAN's Camp near Purtaubghur, and with his apparent concurrence, tried every expedient to effect the object, but in vain. The troops continued clamorous for their arrears, and marched towards the camp of MULHAR Row, while the unsuccessful agents proceeded to Kotah to report their proceedings to ZALIM SINGH, to whom all parties now turned their attention, as the only person whose mediation could be effectual. He was known to favor AMEER KHAN, but still TANTIAH JOGH reposed upon his justice, and solicited his interference. TOOLSAH BAE had, in fact, at this period little other hope; for the Bara ‡ Bhaee, or Mahratta Horse, who had hitherto remained faithful, now deserted the standard of the Maharajah, and joined GHUFFOOR KHAN. The defection of this body was the work of RAM DEEN; the life and personal liberty of this Commander had been purchased by his brother for two lacks of rupees, but still he was not allowed to leave camp, and had been made over, according to a very common usage, to the Mahratta Horse, by TANTIAH JOGH, as a pledge for their pay. Aided by a secret agent of GHUFFOOR KHAN, he took advantage of his intercourse with this body of Troops to persuade them that their only chance of obtaining their arrears, or even their subsistence, was through the desertion of a fallen party. He gave them, as an earnest of his future intentions,

* The names of the Vakeels were BALLAJEE PUNT and AULIM KHAN, best known by his name of Adjutant.

† This Mahratta Brahmin, who has gained considerable information from acting with all parties in all scenes for the last twenty years, has for some time been in the confidential employ of TANTIAH JOGH, who now uses him as the medium of intercourse with the British Resident, a station for which he is well fitted, as, though he has no doubt all the art and spirit of intrigue and versatility that characterize an accomplished agent or Karkoon, he is of good temper, of active habits of mind and body, and possessed of no small share of talent.

‡ Their Commanders were RAMJEE SUDHIA and BALA TONDIAH.

tions, an advance of sixty* thousand rupees; and forty thousand more were paid them when they joined GHUFFOOR KHAN.

37. ZALIM SINGH was at this period at his cantonment near Gagrown.† The camp of MULHAR ROW marched to its vicinity, and pitched at a place within his own territories twelve miles distant from ZALIM SINGH, under whose protection the family of HOLKAR were now placed.

38. TANTIAH JOGH was immediately deputed to the camp of the ruler of Kotah, who, in pursuit of his measures of conciliation, requested GHUFFOOR KHAN to come also to his cantonments. That MAHOMEDAN Chief, after plundering Mahidpore and several other places, marched with his corps (now swelled to a large army) into the Kotah Country: and, having encamped his followers at a distance of fifteen miles from those of TOOLSAH BAE, he hastened to obey the summons of the ally of AMEER KHAN. The subsequent three months passed in a series of reconciliations and quarrels between the parties, and in making and breaking of promises and oaths. A. D. 1817.

39. These disputes seemed interminable,‡ when the accounts, received at the breaking up of the rains of the advance of the British Armies towards Malwa, brought all to their recollection, and a sense of common danger

* According to THAKOOR DOSS, three lacks of rupees was the sum fixed to be paid by RAM DEEN as the price of his liberty. Two were given, but in the expenditure of the remainder he obtained the object of distressing his enemies.

† This cantonment is half way between Patun and Gungrour, about three miles from each town.

‡ Every attempt to inspire the Chiefs of HOLKAR's Court with confidence in each other seemed only to create further suspicion. During the rains TOOLSAH BAE moved her Camp to Rayepoor, only seven coss from Jalra Patun, not thinking herself safe from the violence of the Soldiery, who remained as discontented as ever. After the distribution of seventy five thousand rupees by TANTIAH JOGH, GHUFFOOR KHAN, the BARA BHAEE, SUDDER U'DEEN and RAM DEEN swore to TANTIAH that, if he could ensure their perfect forgiveness from the BHAE, they would themselves settle every thing with the Troops. TANTIAH took them all over to Rayepoor, where there was an apparent reconciliation equally insincere on both parts; but in two days after it was effected, their Troops joined the camp of the young MAHARAJAH.

danger promised at the moment a reunion of interests, which nothing else could have effected.

40. Zalim Singh had now his own safety to attend to, and was eager to get rid of friends who might embarrass, but could not aid, him. It is to the honor of Tantiah Jogh's character, that the wise and experienced Regent of Kotah fixed upon him, at this crisis, as the man best able to combine and direct the discordant adherents of Holkar. After the army of Ghuffoor Khan joined that of the young Mulhar Row, the Rajpoot Chief exacted a promise from the Patan leader, as well as others, not to plot against that minister, but to aid and support him, and as a proof of his own friendship he attached a party of three hundred Infantry, with two standards, to him, for the avowed purpose of protecting his person.

41. Before the events, which now hastened affairs to a crisis, are detailed, it will be necessary to notice an influence which had long been employed in vain endeavors to unite the courts of Scindiah and Holkar, and to revive, through the means of peace and re-union of its different chiefs, the strength of the Mahratta confederacy.

42. The control, which the notorious Trimbuckjee* established over the councils of Bajeerow, may be fixed as the date on which that prince changed his policy, and commenced his intrigues against the British government. These soon took a more serious shape, when the murder of Gungadhur Shastree had placed the infamous favorite in the situation of a proscribed malefactor, and associated his name with the success of the plans against the British government. The engagements between Scindiah and Holkar, first negotiated by Gunput Row, and afterwards by Tantiah Alikur, have been before noticed. The mutual obligation and determination of the parties to serve and obey the Paishwa, is

* The complete ascendancy of Trimbuckjee in the councils of Bajeerow may be dated from A. D. 1815.

is made, in the first article of the Treaty,* the bond of their faith to each other. There can be no doubt that, though the object from the first was to confederate against the English, it was proposed to proceed slowly and with very great caution; but the situation of BAJEEROW precipitated a crisis; and, as he became more alarmed respecting himself and his favorite, he was urgent in his endeavors to obtain immediate and efficient aid. Agents were sent to SCINDIAH, and a man of some consequence reached HOLKAR's Court† at the same time. He was received with marked honor, being met by all the ministers.

43. The report circulated in camp was, that this agent was come to take the young MAHARAJAH and his army to combat the English in the Deckan, and for twenty days all were in a state of great expectation, for it was rumored that ample funds were provided, that twenty-five lacks were to be given to the troops when they crossed the Nerbuddah, and more as they advanced. GUNPUT ROW was well accredited, and he early produced bills to an amount which shewed that he had the ability to perform the PAISHWAH's part of the engagements he proposed. This negotiation took place immediately before the return of TANTIAH ALIKUR. The events which followed have been narrated.

44. The intrigues and struggles for power that took place after the murder of BALARAM SEIT baffled all the efforts of BAJEEROW's agent, who in vain tried to re-unite the discordant parties for the service of his master.

45. In the beginning of next year another person‡ came from BAJEEROW. He joined HOLKAR's camp a short time before the divisions of the ministers and leaders led them to seek the mediation of the Rajah of Kotah.

* Vide Major AGNEW's Letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, under date 31st August, 1818.

† This person, whose name was GUNPUT ROW, was generally called GUNOBAH PUNT. His arrival and honorable reception at the Camp at Mukra on the 4th of Assar in the year of the Sumbhut 1873, charged with a letter from the PAISHWAH, is noticed in a Letter from Mr. WELLESLEY, acting Resident at Gwalior, to Mr. Secretary ADAM, dated 20th February, 1816.

‡ The name of this man was DHOONDOO PUNT TANTIAH. He took for concealment the assumed name of KRISHEN ROW.

tah. This second envoy, while he professed to have large command of pecuniary resources, expressed complete confidence in his power to bring SCINDIAH and AMEER KHAN to a concurrence in the measures, to the adoption of which he urged the ministers of HOLKAR; and, after remaining some time at the cantonment of ZALIM SINGH, he proceeded to the camp of the Patan chief, who did not reject his proposals, but demanded as a preliminary the advance of four lacks of rupees. The sum was agreed to be given, and a letter was sent to HOLKAR's camp, directing that the necessary bills should be forthwith transmitted. This delay, however, proved fatal to the negotiation. The army of reserve under Sir DAVID OCHTERLONY was advancing, and AMEER KHAN, whose mind from the first wavered, thought, that he would best consult his personal interests, by agreeing to the proposals made to the British Government, which, acting on the principle of his being (whatever name he might assume) an independent chief, offered him a princely provision, by guaranteeing the territories which he held from the HOLKAR Government. The Patan Chief, after his first meeting with Sir DAVID OCHTERLONY, gave BAJEERROW's agent a decided answer, and wrote to GHUFFOOR KHAN, to desire he would urge TOOLSAH BAE not to think of going to the Deckan, but to wait his arrival in camp, when he would settle every thing amicably between her and the British Government.

A. D. 1817.

46. Such was the result of BAJEEROW's negotiation with AMEER KHAN. The intrigues of the former's agents were more successful at HOLKAR's Court. SREEPUT ROW, an artful Brahmin who was a hereditary servant of the family of GUNPUT ROW, had accompanied the PAISHWAH's mission from Poonah, and labored to promote its success. The absence of TANTIAH JOGH with ZALIM SINGH gave this man an opportunity of increasing a coolness, which had for some time subsisted between that Minister and the Dewan, and the moment the mind of the latter was turned against his friend, TOOLSAH BAE adopted similar sentiments.

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This party was strengthened by the accession of several of the Military Leaders, who were secretly excited, soon after TANTIAH's return to camp, to seize his person, as a security for their arrears. He was in the first instance made prisoner by the Sillahdar Horse, who demanded a large sum from him, while GUNPUT ROW at the same moment exacted orders from his agents for giving up the different districts that were under his management. The notorious RAM DEEN took on this occasion a very active part, and promised that his brother MUCKHUN LAL would make large advances of cash, if appointed to succeed to the charge of the countries resumed from TANTIAH JOGH.

47. The party, who now directed the councils of HOLKAR, having pledged themselves to adopt BAJEEROW's cause, an advance of one lack and sixty thousand rupees was made by GUNPUT ROW, a part of which was distributed to the Troops, while the intention of proceeding to the Deckan was proclaimed, and orders sent for all Corps and Detachments to join without delay. This took place in November, and early in the ensuing month the whole assembled at about twenty miles from Mahidpore, to which place they afterwards marched. All were now in high spirits, for the Dewan and his friends were lavish in their promises of high and regular pay, after the Army had crossed the Nerbuddah; but the intelligence of the arrival of a division of the British Army at Auggur,* a distance of about fifty miles from Mahidpore, and another† being on the advance into Malwa, made a serious change in their feelings. A. D. 1817.

48. THAKOOR DOSS, the newswriter employed by MR. METCALFE, the Resident of Delhi, at HOLKAR's Court, had been dispatched with a letter to that Gentleman, containing general professions of friendship, but no definite propositions were made. The state of affairs was, however now

* My corps reached Auggur on the 4th December, 1817.

† The first division under the command of Sir T. HISLOP crossed the Nerbuddah on its march to Oujein on the 1st December, 1817.

now changed, and it was necessary to take some decided measures. A council was called, of which TANTIAH JOGH (though a prisoner) was present. He advised a respectable person being sent to communicate with the English Officer commanding the Troops at Auggur, but his advice was not approved, and it led to his being accused of having intrigued with the English, which caused him not merely to be kept in confinement, but worse used than before. He was particularly obnoxious to the Commandants of the Infantry Corps, who, as well as the principal Sillahdars, went, after this council, to the tent of GHUFFOOR KHAN, and interchanged pledges of fidelity with each other during the dangers that were approaching.

49. A correspondence was entered into with the British* Officer commanding the Division at Auggur, who, while he moved to join the Army of Sir THOMAS HISLOP near Oujein, stated to the Ministers of HOLKAR, that if they were desirous of peace they should send deputies to the Head-Quarters of that General. This step was adopted, and agents came, vested, as they said, with full powers to negotiate a treaty. The most liberal terms† were offered; but the complete reform of a mutinous Infantry was one of the articles, and the Ministers were told, when they urged

* I had on my arrival at Auggur written a letter to MULHAR ROW of a friendly nature, but meant to bring his ministers to a clear explanation of their sentiments, as far as these affected the English Government. Before this reached them, a letter had been sent to me, written in the name of the young MAHARAJAH, which contained nothing but mere general expressions of regard, and a call upon me, as a former friend of the family, to preserve the ties of peace. I had offered in my letter to send an Officer to wait upon the MAHARAJAH, but receiving no answer I moved towards Oujein by Turanah, from whence I addressed a short note to the Dewan GUNPUT ROW, informing him of my intended junction with the Commander in Chief Sir THOMAS HISLOP, and warning him, if he desired to avoid danger, to lose no time in entering into a negotiation.

† These were comprized in ten articles, as detailed in the notes of conference between me an HOLKAR's vakeel on the 15th December, 1817. Their moderate purport was to restore the Government of HOLKAR to a condition in which it could be tolerated by other states, and this necessarily included a complete separation from the Pindaries, a reduction of a great proportion of a mutinous army, and in shor the abandonment of the predatory system, the pursuit of which had been found to effect the tranquillity of other states. The English Government offered a gratuitous aid to effect this desirable change, and, so far from desiring any cession of territory, offered to assist HOLKAR's Government with funds to pay the arrears of the troops it was called upon to discharge.

urged their want of control over this body, as an excuse for non-compliance that, if they desired safety for themselves and Prince, they should bring the young MAHARAJAH to the English Camp, and leave to the Officers of that state the task of reducing to order a licentious and disobedient rabble that had so long distracted the peace of the country, and laid waste the territories of the ruler they nominally served. During this negotiation there was literally no head in HOLKAR's army.* The commandants of Battalions, satisfied that under any amicable arrangements there would be an end to those scenes that gave them power and consequence, were from the first disposed to hostilities, and this made them violent against all who proposed peace. It was through the influence of this party that no satisfactory answer was sent to the friendly overtures which were made, and RAM DEEN and others, who desired a rupture, urged the leaders of the Mahratta Horse to provoke it by daily depredations upon the cattle and followers of the British army. The day before that on which Sir THOMAS HISLOP advanced to Mahidpore, his videttes were attacked, and every action evinced decided hostility. This had been anticipated from the accounts received (on the 20th of December) of what had passed the day before; which fully explained the condition of HOLKAR's camp, where all semblance even of regular authority was extinct, and the question of peace or war was decided, like all others, in a clamorous council of the insolent and ignorant leaders of a mutinous soldiery. A. D. 1817.

50. TANTIAH JOGH, who though a prisoner, had still much influence, was taken by the Infantry on the 18th December to their lines.† GHUFFOOR

* TOOLSAH BAE was alarmed by the surrounding scene, and her favorite GUNPUT ROW was too perplexed with various councils and parties to give her any support in this trying emergency.

† TANTIAH JOGH had been for some time obnoxious to the Commanders of the Infantry. He was forced at this period from the SILLAHDAR Horse, who had treated him with respect, and PAYEN SINGH, the Commander of a Corps, who seized this Minister as a pledge for his pay, not only plundered his effects, but struck him a violent blow as he conveyed him to the lines of the Corps. This Commander was taken at Rampoorah by Major General BROWNE after the peace, and delivered over to HOLKAR's Government as a rebel; he was for some time rigorously confined, money extorted from him, and then released to proceed to Hindostan, of which he is a native.

FOOR KHAN had at this period joined those who were anxious to destroy GUNPUT ROW and TOOLSAH BAE. To effect this, there was no want of instruments, for though RAM DEEN had joined their party, they were hated by all others. The troops still cherished an active resentment on account of the murder of BALARAM. The feelings of TANTIAH JOGH, consequent to his bad usage, are supposed to have made him as active a promoter of this plot as his situation admitted; but the leading executive persons were the principal officers of the Pagah. A person, acting by the direction of the Commander* of that body, wheedled young MULHAR ROW from an outer tent where he was playing, and a guard was at the same instant placed over that of TOOLSAH BAE. GUNPUT ROW, on hearing of these proceedings, came to her relief, but on learning that the MAHARAJAH had been separated from her, he saw at once the extent of the plot, and, turning back, mounted a horse and attempted to escape, but a party of his enemies, with ROSHUN BEG at their head, came up with him in the bed of the river Seeprah. He was slightly wounded with a spear before he was thrown from his horse, when he was plundered, insulted by blows and every species of indignity, and carried amidst hoots and execrations to a placo of strict confinement in the Infantry lines.

51. This happened early on the day of the 20th December. A more tragical scene took place at night. The death of TOOLSAH BAE appears to have been early determined, for the guards placed over her were so strict, that no one was allowed even to speak to her. This hitherto arrogant female now refused all sustenance, and passed the day in tears: and, when she was seized to be carried to the banks of the river, she is stated to have implored those who placed her in the palanquin to save her life, offering her jewels as a bribe, and loading others with the guilt of which she was accused. It was near morning when this occurred, and many, who were asleep in the quarter of the camp where she was, were awakened

* SUDDER-U-DEEN, the Havildar or Commander of the Pagah.

awakened by her cries; but it seems to have been considered by all an hour of just retribution. According to the emphatic expression of a person who witnessed this scene, "not a foot stirred, and not a voice was raised to save a woman who had never shewn mercy to others." She was taken from her palanquin on the banks of the Seeprah, and her head severed from her body, which was thrown into the river, being denied even the common rites of a Hindu funeral.

52. TOOLSAH BAE was not thirty years of age when she was murdered. She was handsome,* and alike remarkable for her manners and her quickness of intellect. Few surpassed her in a fluent eloquence, which persuaded those who approached her to promote her wishes. She rode (an essential quality in a Mahratta lady) with grace, and was always when on horseback attended by a large party of the females of the first families in the State. But there was never an instance more remarkable than in the history of TOOLSAH BAE, how the most prodigal gifts of nature may be perverted by an indulgence of vicious habits. Though not the wife of JESWUNT ROW, from being in charge of his family, and having possession of the child, who was declared his heir, she was obeyed as his widow. As the favorite of the deceased, and the guardian of their actual chief, she had, among the adherents of the HOLKAR family, the strongest impressions in her favor, but casting all away, she lived unrespected, and died unpitied.

53. It is difficult to state the exact author of her death; GHUFFOOR KHAN is implicated, from his being known to have cherished feelings of active resentment against her. TANTIAH JOGH was, and with cause, most hostile to her at the period of this event, and those, in whom he most confided, were busy actors in the scene. KEISSURAH BAE, the mother of MULHAR ROW, was too interested in TOOLSAH BAE's ceasing to live, to have

* Her claims to beauty are not admitted by all. ROWJEE TRIMBUCK, who saw her, often informs me that though she was fair, her features were not regular, and her person was latterly too stout to be graceful.

have escaped suspicion. That others, than the junto of military leaders who at the moment had usurped power, were concerned in this deed of violence, there can be no doubt; for, though it had their full consent and concurrence, the act, which was deliberate, was not executed by sepoys, but by those whose duty it would have been to put to death a state criminal; and that it is not deemed a reproach by those who now enjoy power, is proved by the men who acted as the executioners of TOOLSAH BAE, still holding their places in the service of the HOLKAR* family.

51. On the day that the Regent BAE was seized, the English army had advanced to within ten miles of the position occupied by the HOLKAR's army on the banks of the Seeprah near Mahidpore. A tumultuous council was held, in which it was the opinion of the Military Chiefs, that it was advisable to hazard an action on the favorable ground they then occupied. The attack upon the videtts on the 20th has been noticed at day break on the 21st December, the principal part of the baggage of HOLKAR's army was sent to the rear, while a considerable body of Horse crossed to the right bank of the river to meet the British troops. As they advanced a short letter † was written to the address of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, warning him for the last time, to attend to the overtures of friendship that had been made. The answer to this letter was received on the morning of the 21st December when the army was on its march. It was in the former style of evasion, and after some general expressions, concluded by a short sentence written in a spirit not to be mistaken. "If you will advance," (the young prince was made to observe,

* I asked ROWJEE TRIMBUCK, who were concerned in TOOLSAH BAE's death? He said, he believed, every one in HOLKAR's Camp desired it, except GUNPUT ROW and RAM DEEN. The executioners were the two Jemadars of Mewattee, SADUTT KHAN and MOHDEEN ALLEE. The former died five months ago. The latter commands a party of two hundred Infantry, who form the guard over the Palace of MULHAR Row, at Indore.

† This letter which is dated the 20th December, was dispatched from the ground to which the Army had that morning advanced.

serve, "recollect it is the army of HOLKAR." However much the chiefs had before differed, a sense of common danger, and a feeling connected with the reputation of the army to which they belonged, led upon this occasion to a momentary union. They had sworn fidelity to each other on the night of the 20th, and on the ensuing morning the order of battle was skilfully arranged. The Horse who had crossed to the right bank of the Seeprah, took a position that was well calculated to embarrass the operations of the English army, by occupying its attention, and threatening its stores and baggage, while the Infantry and cannon, covered by the remainder of the Horse, occupied a strong and well connected line, covered to the right by a deep nullah, and on the left by the abrupt bank of the Seeprah. The Horse who crossed the river were commanded by RAM DEEN; the Infantry were under ROSHUN BEG; while the Pagah under SUDDER-U-DEEN, and GHUFFOOR KHAN, with his own adherents, and the Mahomedan Sillahdars remained around the young Maharajah in the rear of the whole.

55. The attention of the British army was from the first directed to one object, the storming of the heavy batteries of guns.* All skirmishing and partial actions were avoided; and the troops having crossed the river, formed under cover, till the advance of the right of the line upon the enemy's left, which was the strongest point of his position, gave the signal for a simultaneous attack; which, after a short period of sharp conflict, was successful in every quarter; and the army of HOLKAR fled in great confusion. The Horse, who had shewn much boldness at the commencement of the day, when the action grew warm, were the first to fly; and both they and the Infantry gave way, before the artillery ceased its destructive fire.

56. The young MULHAR Row was in the action upon an elephant; and according to all accounts, behaved with spirit. When he saw his troops

* About Seventy.

troops flying, he burst into tears, and called upon them to exert themselves. His cousin, HURRY HOLKAR, is said to have shewn much gallantry on this occasion. He had cut down two Mysore Horsemen, when his Horse was shot, and the young prince called out with great anxiety to remount him.

57. These anecdotes are remembered as proofs, that young as its representatives were, they displayed on this memorable occasion that courage which its adherents boast as the prominent feature of the family of HOLKAR.

58. The flight of the army continued through the night; they went covered by its darkness in the direction of Seetta Mhow, which they reached early next day. TANTIAH JOGH and the Dewan GUNPUT ROW had made their escape from their guards, when the Battalions were routed, and found a momentary refuge in the town of Mahidpore, which they left during the night, and joined MULHAR ROW, whose mother KEISSURAH BAE, being now the acknowledged head of the government, sent for TANTIAH, and giving him an honorary dress as minister, placed her son, and the interests of his family in his hands. From Seetta Mhow they marched to near Mundissore, where a body of Pindarries under KURREEM KHAN were encamped. This Chief offered his services, but his alliance was not courted. The English troops were in pursuit, and all hope of successful resistance was at an end.

59. MEER ZUFFER ALLY, who had before been employed as an agent, was sent from Seetta Mhow with overtures from his Prince; the draft of a preliminary treaty was given to him, and he was informed that when he returned with that signed, hostilities would cease. He arrived at Mundissore with this engagement executed,* a few hours before that fixed for the

* MEER ZUFFER ALLY was the Agent of GHUFFOOR KHAN, who took at this time a very decided turn, refusing to accompany the Court in their flight. He had received letters from AMEER KHAN urging this conduct, but he was chiefly swayed by his own interests. He obtained the reward he sought in the Jaghire he held from HOLKAR, being confirmed, on condition of his supporting a body of Horse.

the march of the third Division of the army of the Deckan, to attack the remains of the Mahrattah army, which was encamped at a distance of only sixteen miles near Pertaubghur. Nothing but this seasonable submission could have saved them from destruction. By it the blow was completely averted. TANTIAH JOGH came to camp next day, and on the 6th of January the treaty of Mundissore was concluded, by which the family of HOLKAR, though it abandoned its claims upon the chiefs of Rajpootannah, its possessions in the Jeypore country, and its territories*, South of the Sautpoorah range, became through the support of the British Government, the actual head of their remaining territories. Twenty years had elapsed since this state had enjoyed any regular resources, or government, and its name during the greater part of that period, had only served as a pretext for committing every species of excess and crime.

60. The good effects to be anticipated from the great change made, in the condition of the HOLKAR state, by the peace of Mundissore, were justly appreciated by some of the adherents of that family: but the BARRAH BHAEE, or Mahratta Horse, the moment they heard the treaty was signed, hastened in a body to the Southward to join BAJEEROW, who was still in arms. They were commanded by RAM DEEN,† who had an additional motive for his desertion, from the irreconcileable nature of his quarrels with TANTIAH JOGH, whom the connection with the English had confirmed in that power to which he had been recently elevated.

61. The remains of the Battalions defeated at Mahidpore, had gone to Rampoorah, where they were surprized and routed, and their remaining

* The rights of the family in its Native place Waubghaun in the Deckan, and as Desmookh of Chandore, were subsequently ceded by the considerate generosity of the Governor General.

† RAM DEEN surrendered when BAJEEROW did, and disbanded his followers; this and his agreeing never to return to Malwa have obtained him a pension of three thousand Rupees per annum from the British Government, in whose territories he now resides.

ing guns taken by a corps under General BROWNE. The new minister and others who had thrown themselves decidedly on the English army, rather rejoiced than deplored* events, which disembarrassed a bankrupt state of a number of old and troublesome claims.

62. The transactions of the period that elapsed between the insanity of JESWUNT ROW, and the conclusion of peace between his son MULHAR ROW and the English Government, have perhaps been noticed more in detail than they merit; but they give a remarkable picture of a State, in which every tie but that of opinion, was dissolved, and which contitinued through the action of habitual feelings, to have the name, after it had lost all the shape and substance of a government. A respect, almost sacred for the person of their Prince, was the only sentiment which throughout these scenes of confusion and violence, appears to have been common to all; it extended to those who had charge of him, and was as a shield to their crimes. His name (though a minor), was the only rallying word left, and there was in this disorganized state, as in others constituted of similar materials, always a disposition to reunite, *which* gave to such a centre of opinion, more than ordinary importance. The events narrated have utility in another view; most of the actors are still on the stage, and from the scenes in which they have acted, we may form some judgment of what is likely to be their future conduct.

63. It is however now necessary to revert to one, who though a professed dependant of HOLKAR and one of the chief actors in the scene described, managed amid the petty revolutions around him, to have a separate sphere of his own, and at one period attracted a notice that makes it necessary to add to what has been incidentally said of him in the

* The Treasury of the HOLKAR State had been for years empty, and the Jewels of the family which were once very valuable, had been greatly diminished. There is good reason to conclude there was not twenty lacks of rupees lost at the battle of Mahidpore. At first this loss was greatly exaggerated, but subsequent minute enquiry has reduced it to a much more moderate amount.

the account given of others, a short account of those vicissitudes of fortune, that have raised a low inhabitant of one of the Company's Provinces in Hindostan, to a condition in which he has been treated as an independant Chief, and secured in the possession of a territory, that places him on a footing with the minor Princes of India.

ACCOUNT OF AMEER KHAN.

64. AMEER KHAN is a native of Sumbul in the Province of Mooradabad, his father was a Moollah or teacher, and possessed a small property in land. His sons AMEER KHAN and KUREEM UDEEN, left Hindoostan thirty-five years ago, when the eldest was about twenty years of age; and his being of some consequence in his native town, is marked by his having ten adherents, with whom he engaged in the service of DELEEP SINGH the Zemindar of Ranode in Aheerwarrah.*

65. The young Jemadar soon left this obscure service, and entered into that of a Maharatta Officer† of the PAISHWAH, who had the management of some Districts in Malwa. From this after staying about a year, he went into the service of NUTTEE KHAN, Chowdry of Shujahalpore. In all these scenes AMEER KHAN and his followers were employed as Sebundee or Militia, upon an average pay of three or four rupees a man, and perhaps ten rupees to the Jemadar. Better prospects now opened to the young Soldier. The troubles which ensued at the petty Court of Bhopal, on the death of the Minister CHOTA KHAN, led to a number of men being entertained by the different parties, and AMEER KHAN with a party of six horsemen, and sixty foot was enlisted‡ for the service of HYAT

* This tract of territory, which comprized many Pergunnahs, lies on the North East frontier of Malwa.

† The name of this Officer was DOJEE, he was Komisdar of the Punj Mahal of Aroun, Tomyn, &c. near Seronge.

‡ He was entertained by HIMMUT ROW the Dewan of HYAT MAHOMED KHAN. By a strange change of fortune HUMMUT ROW afterwards became the Dewan of the Jemadar; when the latter was raised to the rank of Nabob, and the son of this Hindu (DUTTEE RAM) is at the present moment the principal man of business of AMEER KHAN.

HYAT MAHOMED KHAN; he remained about twelve months in this Service, when a revolution placed the affairs of Bhopal in other hands than the party he served, and drove the young Afghan to the employ of DOORJUN LAL and JYE SINGH, ex-Chiefs of Ragooghur, who, expelled from their country by DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, subsisted by plundering the fields they had once tilled.

66. AMEER KHAN distinguished himself in one of the first actions that his Rajpoot Chiefs had with their Mahratta enemies, in consequence of which he was raised to the command of five hundred men, presented with a palanquin, and became of some note in this predatory army, which consisted of about fifteen thousand men.

67. In an affray with some Rajpoots of DOORJUN LAL's (which originated in an attempt made by AMEER KHAN to seize a servant of the Rajah's, as a security for his arrears due to his party) AMEER KHAN was so severely wounded by stones, that he lay three months at Seronge, before he had strength to move out. This affair led to his separation from DOORJUN LAL, and his entrance into the service of the Mahrattah Chief, BALARAM INGLIAH, who was at this period deeply engaged in the disputes at Bhopal.

BALARAM INGLIAH increased AMEER KHAN's party to fifteen hundred men, and placed him in charge of the Fort of Futtyghur, which he was obliged to abandon, as before stated; this apparent reverse in his fortune proved its happiest crisis, it led to his adopting the apparently desperate cause of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, as the associate of whose fortunes he rose to a fame that made him for many years eminent among the disturbers of the peace of India.

69. The connection of AMEER KHAN with JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR was first that of equality; but the rank of the latter, his being at the head of a State, and his more energetic character, soon established the relation,

of

of prince and chief. JESWUNT ROW, however, always continued to call the Patan leader his brother, and to treat him in a distinct manner from his other officers. AMEER KHAN was sole commander of his own army, entertained and dismissed whom he chose, and this made him in a degree independant; but his condition was little to be envied, for his followers, who were always much more numerous than he had any means of paying, were in a state of constant mutiny for pay. For more than half of every year their chief was in restraint;* and his conduct throughout his life, was more regulated by the clamours of this turbulent rabble, and the necessity of providing for their support, than any regular views of policy. The excesses of AMEER KHAN's Patans at Saugor have been noticed, but that was far surpassed at Poonah, where he was seized by a party of them, and not only beat and bruised, but almost strangled with his A. D. 1803. own turban, which they fastened round his neck. Though the energy of JESWUNT ROW repressed and punished this act of outrageous violence,† he too was compelled on almost all occasions, to soothe and humour the turbulent spirits of these freebooters. All Hindu feeling was outraged by their continuing to slaughter cows close to the city of Poonah, and the license they ostentatiously exercised in this particular may be received as a proof of that insolent and domineering spirit, in which they acted upon all occasions. It was the constant object of JESWUNT ROW to employ them at a distance, and he appears to have always considered them more as a body of plunderers, whose general movement he could direct through his connection with their leader, than

* The Hindu phrase of Dherna implies that restraint into which troops usually put their Commandant, whom it is, according to strict usage, their right to prevent from either eating or drinking, as long as they abstain themselves. Though the frequency of this practice has led to a laxity in its observance, its usages are still respected by all, and a Commander can neither use force, nor call upon others to aid him when in Dherna, which is considered in Indian Armies a species of legitimate restraint, that inferiors have a right to inflict upon their superiors to obtain a settlement of their just demands.

† JESWUNT ROW seized and confined GHOUS MAHOMED KHAN, and some offending Patans, who committed this outrage. He desired to put them to death, but AMEER KHAN interceded, fearing the consequences of such a step among a race whose honor is in revenge for real or supposed wrongs.

than as a part of his army, whose services he could at all times command; they, on the other hand, were willing at no period to give up the advantages they derived, from acting in the name of one of the States of India; and the principal tie, by which AMEER KHAN kept his precarious rank as their chief, was his being the link that attached this large band of depredators to the house of HOLKAR.

70 The history of AMEER KHAN is included in that of JESWUNT ROW till their separation after the return of the latter from Hindoostan. He at that period entered the service of JUGGUTH SING, Rajah of Jeypore, who engaged his aid in an approaching contest with the Rajah of Joudpore, for the disputed hand of the daughter of the Ranah of Oudipore. The latter family is the first in rank among the Rajpoots, and an alliance with it has ever been deemed the highest honor, to which a prince of that tribe can aspire. The Princess KISHEN KOWUR added to her high birth the reputation of extraordinary beauty. She had been betrothed to the deceased BHEEM SING, Rajah of Joudpore. On his death MAUN SINGH,* a distant relation, succeeded to the Musnud; but two years afterwards SEVAI SING, chief of Pokur (who had been minister of BHEEM SING,) brought forward a real or supposed son of BHEEM SING, in support of whose claims he formed a strong party; and as one means of accomplishing his ends, this chief determined to embroil the state of Jeypore and Joudpore in a war, and to effect this he proposed to the ruler of the former to demand in marriage the Princess of Oudipore. Inflamed by the exaggerated accounts of her beauty, JUGGUTH SING,† who was the slave of his passions, fell

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* It was settled at MAUN SINGH's elevation, that if any of the RANEES had a son, he should be RAJAH. This posthumous pretender to the GUDDEE was not brought forward for two years, and the circumstance of the reputed mother (SEVAI SING's sister) denying the fact of its being hers, and his being brought forward by SEVAI SING, a discontented Minister, has led to a belief, that the child DHOKUL SING was spurious. The point however appears never to have been clearly established.

† JUGGUTH SING was a weak, dissolute Prince, who devoted himself to sensual pleasures. The history of his low amours, and of those who were elevated by him as favorites, would be received as an incredible tale. RUSKAPOOR, a Mahomedan dancing girl, was raised to the first rank in the State. He followed himself in her train of attendants, and gave her great estates. The high Rajpoot females of his family were ordered to salute and visit her as their superior, but they rejected the command, offering to swallow poison or stab themselves if he desired it, but they never would, they said, condescend to the degradation of placing themselves on a level with a female of her character.

fell immediately into the snare. He sent proposals, which were accepted, and the customary presents were made. SEVAI SING had now effected half his work, and he was as successful in the remainder. He persuaded MAUN SINGH, with whom he was still in terms of communication, that as this lady was betrothed to his predecessor, her hand was his right; and, if it was bestowed on another, the house of the Rhattore Princes of Marwar would be disgraced for ever. These arguments had the full effect, and the first measure they produced was an insult that made war inevitable; a large body of men were sent to intercept the mission of ceremony, who had charge of the return bridal presents proceeding from Oudipore to Jeypore. These were only saved from being taken by the convoy who protected them, seeking refuge in Shahporrah, and they never reached their destination.

71. It is not meant to enter into any detail of the contest that ensued; every feeling that could excite to desperate hostility between Rajpoot Princes, was in action—and was solicited by both parties from all quarters. The British Government was in vain solicited to interfere.* SCINDIAH gave his countenance to two of his most unprincipled leaders, BAPPOJEE SCINDIAH and SIRJEE ROW GHATKIA, to feed their predatory bands upon the quarrels of these Rajpoot States, while HOLKAR made them, as has been before stated, the still more baneful present of AMEER KHAN and his Patans.

72. The consequence was what might have been anticipated, the almost complete ruin of both states. That of Jyepore expended, at the lowest computation, one crore and twenty lacks of rupees upon this unhappy war, which, though successful at the commencement, terminated in disgrace and defeat.

73. SEVAI

* When at Delhi with Lord LAKE in 1805 every argument was tried, and every offer made by the Jyepore Vakeels to engage me to become the advocate of their Master's cause, and to give him the support of an English force,

73. SEVAI SINGH, when he saw MAUN SINGH completely involved, renewed his demand in favor of DHOKUL SINGH, the reputed posthumous Prince, whose pretensions he supported. On finding evasion, he not only left the Rajah, but prevailed upon almost every other chief to desert him, and MAUN SINGH was obliged to fly the field, where he had expected to meet his enemies, with only a few adherents; leaving his Camp to be plundered by JUGGUTH SINGH and his new Allies. AMEER KHAN obtained a large share of this first booty.

74. The misfortunes of MAUN SINGH did not terminate with this reverse; pursued to Joudpore, his whole country was overrun by his enemies. DHOKUL SINGH was proclaimed Rajah, and the allegiance of almost every Rhattore Chief given to the young Prince. The contest appeared decided, but still the courage of MAUN SINGH, and that of the few troops who remained faithful to him, protracted the siege of the capital. He had early endeavoured to divide his enemies, and the difficulties attendant on a lengthened siege now promoted his efforts.* AMEER KHAN began to listen to his overtures, and on the usual pretext of want of pay separated from the besieging army, and began to plunder and levy contributions indiscriminately over the districts of Joudpore and Jyepore. The interest of almost every chief in the attacking army was affected by his excesses in laying waste their lands, and their clamours obliged JUGGUTH SINGH to detach his Buckshee SHEO LAL, to punish the Patan leader, who at first retreated towards Tonk, but having been reinforced by MAHOMED SHAH with some Battalions and guns, he attacked and defeated the army.† After this success, which was very

* The negotiation with AMEER KHAN was carried on by INDAH KHAN, Rohilla, the principal of MAUN SINGH's leaders, who remained faithful.

† This was composed of some Battalions with their guns and a body of horse. The former fought well; those of HEERA SINGH were almost all cut to pieces; the Jyepore horse fled, and the Mahomedans (the Hyderabad Rissallah) stood aloof during the action, and afterwards joined AMEER KHAN. SHEO LAL was not with his troops when they were defeated; he had left them a few days to visit Jyepore.

very complete, the Patan chief was expected at Jyepore, the inhabitants of which were thrown into great consternation; but on this, as on many other occasions, he shewed that he was but a leader of freebooters. Shunning, from apprehension of danger, the great prize of victory, he contented himself with plundering in a circle round the capital of his enemy; and that was out of danger the moment that its inhabitants and the troops left to defend it recovered from their panic.

75. The intelligence of SHEO LAL's defeat spread such dismay and confusion in the army besieging Joudpore, that JUGGUTH SINGH determined to return to Jyepore, and offered a large sum to the Auxiliaries sent by SCINDIAH to escort him safe from AMEER KHAN. The cannon and spoils taken in his first action were sent in front, and four Rhattore Chiefs, who had remained faithful to MAUN SINGH, but from becoming objects of his suspicion, had been obliged to leave Joudpore, now determined to give their Prince a convincing proof of their fidelity; and having concerted an attack upon the troops carrying to Jyepore the trophies of their country's disgrace, they completely defeated them, retook forty pieces of cannon with much other booty, and having effected a junction with AMEER KHAN, marched with that chief in triumph to Joudpore.

76. The fortunes of MAUN SINGH were restored by these events; but while his enemy SEVAI SINGH lived, he still had serious apprehensions. That Chief had taken refuge in Nagore; the Rajah entreated AMEER KHAN to march against him, and made him an advance of two lacks of rupees, promising future wealth and favor, as the reward of success in this important enterprize. The Patan Chief undertook the service, but apparently from the first trusted more to art than force, for its accomplishment. He moved to within a few * miles of Nagore, and hinting at his discontent, with some discoveries he had made of the ingratitude of

* Nudurah, about eight miles.

of MAUN SINGH, he made overtures through MAHOMED SHAH KHAN to establish a connection with SEVAI SINGH. The latter suspected treachery; but the officer employed by AMEER KHAN, pledged his oath for the fidelity of his Commandant, and his reiterated protestations at last succeeded in obtaining a promise on the part of the Rajpoot Chief to visit AMEER KHAN ; but he retracted next day, from his suspicion being revived by some secret intelligence. The Patan leader, on learning his irresolution, mounted and proceeded with a few followers to the shrine * of a Mahomedan Saint, close to the walls of Nagore. He was here joined by SEVAI SINGH, whom he reproached for his fears, asked him if he thought it possible a man, who cherished evil designs, could shew such confidence, as he had that day done, by placing himself in the power of him he meant to betray ? SEVAI SINGH confessed his error. Presents, dresses, and even turbans, (a pledge of brotherhood) were exchanged, and AMEER KHAN swore at the tomb of the Saint to be faithful to his new ally, who was persuaded by these proceedings to go next day to his camp ; a large tent had been pitched for his reception, and a number of Chiefs appointed to meet him. The troops were under arms, some on pretext of doing honor to the visitor, others apparently at exercise. The guns were loaded with grape and pointed at the quarters prepared for the Rajah and his followers ; but a few Officers alone were acquainted with what was contemplated. SEVAI SINGH and his principal adherents, to the number of two hundred, had hardly seated themselves in the tent appointed for their reception, when it was let fall upon them at a concerted signal, and while the Officers of AMEER KHAN saved† themselves, all the Rajpoots were inhumanly massacred by showers of grape and musquetry from every direction. Of seven hundred horse that accompanied SEVAI SINGH, who continued mounted

* The name of this place of devotion, SULTAN TURKIN; so called from the name of the holy man to whose memory it is dedicated.

† One MEER SHAH U DEEN, an officer of rank, could not extricate himself, and was slain.

mounted near the tent, only two hundred escaped; the rest were slain; and a number of AMEER KHAN's people, among whom was one of his own relations,* fell under the promiscuous fire of the cannon. SEVAI SINGH had been killed by grape, but his head was cut off and sent to MAUN SINGH, who rewarded his treacherous murderer with a Jaghire and a large sum of money.

77. Though SEVAI SINGH, as the author of a war which brought ruin on his country, may be considered to have merited his fate, that fact in no degree mitigates the deep guilt of AMEER KHAN, who evinced on this occasion, that he was alike destitute of humanity, principle and religion.

78. It was during these proceedings that HOLKAR became insane, and AMEER KHAN, after taking and plundering Nagore,† was compelled to come to Bampoorah. His conduct when there has been narrated, as well as his expedition into the territories of Nagpore. Some unadjusted disputes between the families of HOLKAR and BHONSELAH were the pretext of this invasion,‡ but the object was plunder.—AMEER KHAN had left his Infantry and Guns at Joudpore under MAHOMED SHAH KHAN, but his ranks (in the plundering excursion he now engaged in) were swelled

* MAHOMED DEEN KHAN; he had married AMEER KHAN's sister.

† GHUFFOOR KHAN, who was left in charge of the city, ransacked it to the digging-up of the floor of every house whose owner could be supposed to possess property. It was afterwards made over to MAUN SINGH.

‡ AMEER KHAN stated that he acted by orders of HOLKAR's Government; but when the Governor General addressed a letter to JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, demanding an explanation, one was returned written in the true style of Mahratta diplomacy. The Maharajah was made by his Ministers to disclaim all hostile intentions against the Nagpore Rajah. It was asserted that when AMEER KHAN entered the territories of the Bhonselah, that he was directed, instead of committing injury, to extend protection to them, and in consequence of the Governor General's letter, these orders were promised to be repeated. This letter, probably dictated by AMEER KHAN himself, admitted the fact of the invasion of this host of freebooters; but added, that it was made with the most friendly views. It however suited the policy of the moment to admit this evasion.

swelled by all the Pindaries, and by the Nabob of Bhopal, whose hostility to RAGGOOJEE BHONSELAH made him the forward and zealous ally of his enemies.

79. The dissolution of the state of HOLKAR, the distractions that prevailed in the Government of SCINDIAH, the discontents that had A. D. 1809. appeared in many parts of the NIZAM's territories, combined with the large body of Mahomedans under AMEER KHAN, (whose reputation was now at its zenith) led to a very general conclusion, that he cherished plans of restoring the Mahomedan power ; and there can be no doubt, that had he been a man of great talent, either as a statesman or military commander, the period was most favorable for such an object; but there is every ground to believe that he at no time seriously entertained any such designs; his Patans were continually saying, that the prediction of a Fakeer that he would be sovereign of Delhi, was nearly accomplished. He never openly encouraged such expressions or sentiments; and not only professed at all times to act in the name of HOLKAR, but never took one step towards establishing any power beyond that of the leader of an army, which it was his object to keep together, and to subsist, by all means that the scenes in which he acted presented.

80. This chief had sought and obtained grants for his personal support, but he never, though he had frequent opportunities, kept for himself any of the many fortified places of which he obtained possession; and on returning from Hindostan, instead of forming a place of strength of his own, when he received an assignment of the tribute of Kotah, he cemented the friendship he had before formed with ZALIM SINGH, the ruler of that place, into an intimate connection, and placed his family and property under his sole charge* and protection.

81. The

* A house and every accommodation required for AMEER KHAN's family were allotted to them in the fortress of Sheerghur.

81. The fact is, that the Patan leader has evinced throughout his whole life, that glory is not his passion, and he has desisted under apparent strong temptations from every attempt to establish his power as an independent ruler. This may perhaps be taken as a proof of his judgment. The success of any ambitious* effort on the part of AMEER KHAN would at all times have been very problematical, and his failure would have reduced him to insignificance. He well knew the sandy foundation on which he stood, for the man, who appeared to those at a distance as the head of the Mahomedan soldiery of India, was reminded by the daily mutinies of those under him, that he was but their slave.

82. Independent, however, of his actual condition, the marked features of AMEER KHAN's character were art and caution, which, combined with a callous heart, and a total want of principle, enabled him to attain the limited ends of his ambition ; but he has paid, without gaining it, the full price of an usurper's crown in crime,—never hesitating at either committing atrocities on his own account, or lending his power as the base instrument of others, where it suited his views, or even relieved the difficulties of the moment. The treacherous massacre of SEVAI SINGH is a striking instance of the latter fact.

83. After AMEER KHAN returned from Nagpore, and relieved JESWUNT ROW and his family from the hands of DHERMA KOWUR, he became one of the chief actors in a tragedy, in which a good end was obtained by a deed

* What I have stated here of AMEER KHAN's views and sentiments, is grounded on information from men who enjoyed his confidence. I applied to Captain T. D. STEWART, of the Bengal Cavalry, who, as Persian Interpreter to General Sir R. DONKIN, had much intercourse with the Patan Chief, and most of the facts I have stated are confirmed by his reply, which is as follows :—

"Having heard of his having expressed himself to this effect at one of his interviews with Sir D. OCHTERLONY, I made a point of asking him when he visited General DONKIN at Chatsoo, if he had ever entertained thoughts of establishing an independant sovereignty for himself. At first he seemed to avoid the question, by saying that all his hopes were now at an end ; but on the question being repeated, he answered in these very words, "Hum burrah, burrah, eerada keeah tha," meaning he had formed very great schemes ; on my asking him what the schemes were, he said "Delhi ka eerada keeah." This was said with a kind of laugh, and knowing shake of the head, betraying at once his vanity and his folly.

a deed which revolts every feeling of humanity. A reconciliation between the Rajahs of Jyepore and Joudpore was an object of just and wise policy; and it suited the views of the Patan chief to promote its accomplishment. It was proposed this should be established by a double marriage. JUGGUTH SINGH was to espouse the daughter of MAUN SINGH, and the latter the sister of his rival and enemy. To propitiate these nuptials, it was conceived that the honor of all parties required the death of KISHEN KOWUR, the Princess of Oudipore. The question of this sacrifice was agitated, when AMEER KHAN and BALARAM SEIT were at Oudipore. The former urged it warmly on the counsellors* of the Ranah, representing the difficulty of establishing peace, while the object of the war existed, and then pointing out the impossibility, without offending the two most powerful Rajpoot Princes in India, of giving his daughter to any other chief. To these he added arguments well suited to the high, though mistaken, pride of a Rajpoot, regarding the disgrace of having in his family an unmarried daughter. It is stated, and for the honor of human nature let us believe it, that neither arguments nor threats could induce the father to become the executioner of his child, or even to urge her to suicide; but his sister CHAND BAE was gained to the cruel cause of policy, and she presented the chalice to KISHEN KOWUR, entreating her to save her father and family, and tribe, the struggles and miseries to which her high birth and evil destiny exposed them. The appeal was not in vain; she drank the poisoned cup. All were acquainted with what was passing in the palace, and the extraordinary beauty and youth of the victim excited a feeling, which was general in a degree that is rare among the inhabitants of India. This account is written from the report of several persons who were upon the spot, and they agree in stating that the particulars† of KISHEN KOWUR's death were no sooner spread through the

A. D. 1809-10.

* He is stated never to have proposed it direct to the RANAH. The THAKOOR ADJEET SING, of KOOBAWA, was the RAJPOOT Lord, who is reproached with being his instrument upon this memorable occasion.

† Three cups of poison were given to her. In drinking the last she is stated to have said, "This is the marriage to which I was foredoomed."

the town of Oudipore than loud lamentations burst from every quarter, and expressions of pity at her fate were mingled with execrations on the weakness and cowardice of those who could purchase safety or repose on such terms.

84. AMEER KHAN proceeded from Oudipore to Joudpore, and from the period that the disputes between the latter and Jyepore were settled, his Mahomedan bands ranged over every part of both countries, that presented the slightest hopes of plunder. These scenes of pillage were only interrupted by occasional mutinies of the troops, the quarrels of their Commanders, and the protracted resistance of fortified places.

A. D. 1810 11.

A. D. 1812-13.

A. D. 1814-15.

85. A few years had brought the principality of Joudpore to the lowest state of poverty and distraction, when the Minister INDURAJ, aided by DEONATH, the Gooroo or Priest of MAUN SINGH, who exercised complete influence over the mind of that Ruler, determined on an effort to clear the country of its destroyers. AMEER KHAN did not refuse to depart when called upon to do so; but he urged an immediate settlement of his pecuniary claims. This was complied with to the extent of the ability of the state, and all appeared in the best train of settlement. AMEER KHAN had left the town, and a small part of his troops only remained to enforce some payments still due. These had placed INDURAJ, the Minister of MAUN SINGH, in Dherna or restraint, and in an affray which ensued, both he and the Gooroo NATJEE were slain by these turbulent men, whose insolent and domineering habits had now reached a pitch, that gave some color to the protestations of AMEER* KHAN, that he

* Many of the Joudpore Nobles were privy to the conspiracy, but none of the latter wished the death of NATJEE. The participation of AMEER KHAN in these murders is not denied by the Patans; but his friends assert in palliation that INDURAJ not only formed a plot against the life of the Nabob MAHOMED SHAH KHAN when he was negotiating at Joudpore, but that INDURAJ and NATJEE sent four Gosseins to assassinate AMEER KHAN when encamped at the Shekawul-jee Talao. Close to that city two of these Gosseins had waded through the tank, and got to the door of the Khan's tent when they were

he was innocent of this crime; but there appears no doubt it was perpetrated with his knowledge, and indeed by his direction. MAUN SINGH was so shocked and alarmed at this proceeding,* that he instantly affected the condition of a religious recluse, whose mind was abstracted from all worldly concerns. He spoke to no person, allowed his beard to grow, and soon had the appearance of one who, though he continued to exist, was dead to all the cares and interests of this life. On his remaining some time in this state, his son CHUTTER SINGH (who is supposed to have been concerned in the murder of the Minister and Priest) took upon himself the duties of the Government, and exercised them till his death, which happened about two years ago, when his father, assured by the protection of the British Government, recovered from his feigned insanity, and reassumed the Musnud.

86. AMEER KHAN did not return to Joudpore. He was, during the ensuing two years, too much occupied in plundering Jyepore, against one fort † of which he had been engaged for nine months; and he was found carrying on this siege with a mutinous army, when the
A. D. 1817. British force under Sir DAVID OCHTERLONY advanced from Hindostan to co-operate in the general suppression of that predatory system, of which

seized, and confessed by whom they were sent. KOOLB UDEEN KHAN and MAHOMED SAEED KHAN, both Patans of Mhera Shumshabad, were the principal actors in the scene, and when they returned to camp, after having put INDURAJ and NATJEE to death, AMEER KHAN embraced them, presented the Hookah to each with his own hand, and gave them very large presents. This account is given me by a Risaldar now in the service of the British Government; he is a near connection of MAHOMED SHAH KHAN's, was on the spot and an eye-witness of what he describes: his conduct for three years gives me every dependence on his veracity.

* He was particularly affected at the murder of his GOOROO DEONAUTH, to whose tenets (those of the Jullendee sect) he had devoted himself to the great offence of his relations and subjects. Their religious feelings are supposed to have led MAUN SINGH to prefer strangers, and to form his guards and other corps of Patans, Gosseins, &c. instead of confiding, as his ancestors had done, in his Rhattore Soldiers. To this source most of the misfortunes of his reign are to be traced.

† MADDOO RAJAHPOOR. The THAKOOR of this place had made prisoners a part of AMEER KHAN's family, and mutual suspicion of each other's faith led to a failure of the negotiation for their release.

which he and his adherents were deemed the principal supporters. The Patan Chief had no prospect of successful resistance, and the terms proposed and accepted were to him personally most liberal; for while they provided for the dispersion of the numerous mass of plunderers that had formed, what was termed his army, they made for its Chief a princely provision. All the countries he held from the HOLKAR State were confirmed, (making nearly an annual revenue of fifteen lacks of rupees) and the fort and district of Rampoorah has since been added as a gratuitous boon from the English Government.

87. AMEER KHAN had cherished some expectations that were disappointed, and this, added to the discontents and reproaches of his disbanded followers, kept his mind, for a period after he had agreed to the proffered terms, in a state of great irritation, which however appears to have subsided. The generosity of the Governor General has no doubt aided to produce this effect; but the Patan leader is a cautious calculator: his prudence has often brought suspicion on his courage, and the Chief, who abstained from hostility with the British Government when he might have marshalled half the plunderers in India under his standard, is not likely to attempt, at such a moment as this, to disturb the general tranquility. Besides, as far as regards impression, which was his principal power, the bubble has burst; and it may be asserted, that few men ever retired from a scene of great action less respected than AMEER KHAN. With the Court of HOLKAR he is naturally looked upon as a person who has deserted and despoiled the State, to which he owed his rise, and in the efforts he made to interfere* in effecting a settlement between this Government and the English, both before and subsequent to the Treaty of Mundissore, a rancorous feeling of hostility was evinced

* I received, both before and subsequent to the Treaty, several Letters from AMEER KHAN, expressive of his anxious desire to interfere in the affairs of the HOLKAR State, which I told him, in answer to every communication, never could be admitted.

evinced by all parties against him; yet it must be acknowledged, that, if there is one redeeming quality in AMEER KHAN, it is the unaltered regard and friendship he uniformly evinced for his friend and Ruler, (for he acknowledged him as such) JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR. This feeling led him to make every effort to wean the latter from his dissolute habits.* It made him most zealous to recover him from insanity, and in the action with Dherma near Sadree, the supposed danger of the life of the Maharajah made AMEER KHAN, as has been stated, expose his person in a manner that he was little accustomed to do. The most prejudiced of AMEER KHAN's enemies give him the merit of this attachment, and of steady friendship to ZALIM SINGH, the able Regent of Kotah. The latter connection has, however, been throughout more interested than the former. From the moment he committed his family and property to the charge of this Hindu Prince, he became pledged to the shew, if not the reality, of friendship; and the feelings of these chiefs were evinced, the moment that the alliance of the British Government rendered them independent of each other, in a manner that did not look, as if there was much sincerity in that mutual regard they had so long professed.

* The dissipation of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR appears to have reached its height at Poonah, where the intoxication of Victory, aided by a large supply of cherry brandy, of which he was immoderately fond, led to great and shameful excesses, for which he was openly and boldly taxed by AMEER KHAN. He was not offended at the freedom with which the latter spoke, promised amendment, and kept his word for a few days, when he relapsed into his usual habits.

PART

PART SEVENTH.

NABOBS OF BHOPAL.

1. The account given of the principal Mahratta families, and the chief, Ameer Khan, comprizes much of the history of Malwa during the last century; but there were subordinate actors throughout the whole, or greatest part of this period, whose names cannot be omitted without leaving much of what relates to that province in obscurity. I shall proceed therefore to give a short account of the family of Bhopal, and of the Mahomedan chiefs of the Pindaries. This, with a short notice of the principal Rajpoot Princes who have been destroyed, or who have survived the extension of the Mahratta power, and of the Grassiahs, Soandees, Bheels, and other plunderers, who have been raised into consequence by the anarchy of the last thirty years, will complete what is necessary on this head of the Report.

2. Mahomedan and Hindu authorities, though they agree as to the principal facts of the life of the founder of the family of Bhopal, are at variance with regard to several of the details connected with his establishment of independent power; but those facts alone, which rest on undisputed grounds, will be stated.

3. Dost Mahomed first came from Khybur in Afghanistan to the Nawaub Jelal Khan of Jelalabad, near Delhi, who was like him of the Mirajee Khil tribe, and had established himself as a Mansubdar of the empire. He left this chief in consequence of a dispute, and took service at Delhi in the Imperial army, about the middle of the reign of Au-

RUNGZEBE

RUNGZEBE, and was afterwards detached with two hundred men into Malwa, where he soon succeeded in bringing himself to the notice of the Soubah of the province by his gallantry, and was rewarded by an appointment to the charge of the district of Bersiah,* the revenues of which are stated to have been greatly reduced in consequence of its being overrun with freebooters.

4. The loss of some baggage plundered by the Hindu Zemindar of Jugdespoor, whom his superior the Goand Rajah of Chynpoor Barree was unable to punish, led DOST MAHOMED KHAN to determine to revenge himself by attacking this chief; and he is said to have taken advantage of the Zemindar (his family and relations being assembled at a feast) to come upon them by surprize, and put the whole to death.† The name of this village Jugdespoor was changed into Islamnugger, and became the capital of DOST MAHOMED.

5. In a very detailed narrative, written by a well-informed Hindu, of the life of DOST MAHOMED, he is stated to have come as a Military adventurer into Malwa with his father, NOOR MAHOMED, and his uncle, SHEER MAHOMED KHAN; but, according to the account of a Mahomedan writer, NOOR MAHOMED did not join his son till some time afterwards. This author states that he was killed in an action near Bhilsah, and is buried under a plain tomb at Bersiah.

6. NOOR

* Bersiah is stated to have only yielded a revenue of fifteen thousand Rupees when DOST MAHOMED was nominated to the charge of it, which is lower than ever this fertile district has been reduced to during the last troubles. It forms however, if the fact be correct, a criterion to judge of the condition of the empire during the last years of AURUNGZEBE.

Bersiah yielded when recovered from the Pindarries in 1225 Fuslee, forty four thousand and nine hundred rupees. This year, 1227 Fuslee, its revenue is eighty-five thousand and three hundred rupees. HENLEY's MS.

† Another account simply states that shortly after DOST MAHOMED's establishment at Bersiah, he had or took occasion to attack the village of Jugdespoor; an affray took place on the banks of a river, in which the Zemindar and his adherents were slain, and that the river in consequence obtained the name of HALLALEE.—Major HENLEY's MS.

6. Noor Mahomed, according to the Hindu writer of the Bhopal History, left some property to his son Dost Mahomed Khan, but the first rise of the latter is referred to an action not likely to be acknowledged (however true) by his descendants. He had become intimate with Anund Singh the Hindu Thakoor or lord of Munghalghur, who having gone to Delhi on business, left his Mahomedan friend in charge of his affairs and family. Anund Singh died in Hindostan, and when the accounts of his demise reached his family, his children, who were all young, could oppose no resistance to their Mahomedan guardian, who, it is asserted, converted the whole of the property they should have inherited to his own use. According to more favorable accounts of this transaction, Dost Mahomed obtained the daughter of Anund Singh in marriage; and with her inherited the greater portion of this Rajah's property. On this change of his fortunes the Afghan adventurer encreased the number of his adherents, and entered into the service of, or rather formed a connection with, Newal Shah, Rajah of Gunnour, then at war with Alum Shah the Rajah of Chynpore Barree, who chiefly through his means was destroyed*. Dost Mahomed became from this success a great favorite with Nawal Shah, at whose suggestion he sent for a number of his family and tribe from Khybur, upon whom the Hindu Rajah bestowed Bhopal † as a place of residence. This colony of Afghans was afterwards joined by several Mahomedan soldiers of fortune, among whom a chief of the name of Delil Khan is noticed as the principal.

7. The weak and distracted state of the empire had at this moment

* The wife and mother of the Rajah preferring death to dishonor, fired a Magazine and were killed by the explosion. He himself however found means to escape to Seronje, where he was poisoned by a servant for his Jewels. The mother of a younger son, Futteh Shah, is said to have gone over to the Patans, and probably aided them and obtained possession of the place. They afterwards became Mahomedans and obtained a Jaghire of twenty-four thousand rupees.

† According to a MS. written by a Mahomedan author, Dost Mahomed was led to fix upon Bhopal from a Jackal which he was hunting at that place, having turned upon his dogs, from which omen he inferred its future strength. Such tales are common in India regarding the origin of every town of celebrity.

moment left Malwa open to every adventurer, and* DOST MAHOMED passing the limits of Bhopal, had made himself master of the towns of Shujahalpore and Sarungpore, when the advance of some imperial troops into Goandwarrah led him to march to the aid of NEWAL SHAH; an action took place, in which the Rajah was successful,* and is represented as having been so delighted with his Mahomedan General, that he invited him to bring all his family, including numerous females and children, to Gunnour. This offer, according to the Hindu narrator, suggested a stratagem (very common in Indian history) to the unprincipled Afghan, which was carried into immediate execution. One hundred Doolies, or litters, containing each two armed men, were sent and admitted with unsuspecting confidence to the upper Fort, and the place surprized and taken.†

8. DOST MAHOMED, after he obtained possession of Gunnour, increased his troops to ten thousand men, and not only adopted measures to enable him to maintain the territories he had before obtained, but added to his rule all the other districts that have been before mentioned, as constituting at its utmost prosperity, the principality of Bhopal. He
Hejira 1125. A. D. 1713. built a citadel within the bounds of Bhopal, which he named Futtyghur; and having connected this with the town and enclosed the latter with a wall, gave to the whole a security which was indispensable to his object of encreasing the population and prosperity of his capital.

9. About

* The writer asserts that DOST MAHOMED took three guns from the Delhi General on this occasion, which are still in the possession of the Bhopal family.

† This, though an old stratagem in Indian History, may have been the mode adopted of seizing the place; at any rate there is little doubt that the place was taken possession of by some undue means. It does not however appear whether this event took place prior to the death of NEWAL SHAH or not; the account only states that the Rajah of Gunnour had no issue but two nephews, one of whom endeavoured to poison him. He did not succeed altogether, but reduced the Rajah to such a state of debility, that he never recovered the use of his faculties. His Ranees survived him many years, the last of them having died subsequently to the death of the Nabob FUZ MAHOMED These Ladies were always treated with marked attention at Bhopal.

9. About three years before the death of Dost Mahomed Khan, Nizam ul Mulk, who was proceeding towards the Deckan from Malwa (of which province he had been for a short time Soubah) sought the friendship of the Afghan Chief against the Ministers of Delhi, who threatened him with an attack. Dost Mahomed from political motives not only excused himself to the Nizam, but acceded to the requisition of the Ministers, by aiding them with a force under his Brother, Meer Mahomed Khan; in the engagement which ensued however, the Nizam prevailed over the Troops of his enemies, who were commanded by Delawur Khan, and among others the Brother of Dost Mahomed was slain. On the head being recognized and shewn to the Vakeel of Dost Mahomed still in Camp, he justified his memory as being a soldier of fortune. Dost Mahomed after this, avoided the threatened vengeance of the Nizam, by sending to him his son Yar Mahomed, who was put in confinement. The Nizam satisfied with this pledge, took no hostile measures against Dost Mahomed, who died at the age of sixty-six, soon after that Prince left Malwa. A. D. 1720.

10. The character of Dost Mahomed is differently given by several writers. The Hindu accounts impute cruelty and perfidy to him, in the capture of Jugdespore, but this is not admitted by his Mahomedan Biographers. The facts however, of his immediately changing the name of the village to that of Islamnuggur, and of the river near it to that of *Halalec*, or the *lawful*, evince a spirit of bigotry which might at once prove the source and excuse in his mind for crimes that he would otherwise abhor. His ambition is allowed by all, and every account agrees as to the combined art and violence which he used in obtaining possession of Chynpore Barree and Gunnour. He is said to have assumed the title of Nawaub after the death of Aurungzebe, about which period he acquired the greater part of the possessions since held by the Bhopal State, comprizing the Punj Mahal of Ashta, Rhatghur, Bhilsah, Hussing-

abad,

abad, Sewnee, &c. &c. He did not die till sixteen years after that Emperor, having exercised power as a military leader and ruler thirty-two years. He was no doubt a man both of talent and courage; he had received in action upwards of thirty wounds, and his memory as a soldier is to this day fondly cherished by the family of which he is the founder.

11. On the death of DOST MAHOMED KHAN the civil officers of Bhopal elevated SULTAUN MAHOMED KHAN to the Musnud, to the prejudice of his elder, though illegitimate, brother, YAR MAHOMED KHAN, who had been carried to the Deckan by NIZAM UL MULK, and first confined in Asseer, and afterwards in Golconda. The pretext for this act was the absence of YAR MAHOMED KHAN, but the real cause was perhaps a desire on their part to conduct the affairs of the State during a long minority. SULTAUN MAHOMED KHAN was a child of seven or eight years of age, while his absent brother was a youth of eighteen or twenty. This attempt was not successful. The cause of YAR MAHOMED KHAN was espoused by NIZAM UL MULK, and he was sent to Bhopal with *the title of* Nabob* and attended by a thousand Horse. No opposition was made to his return, but though SULTAUN MAHOMED KHAN was compelled by the Patan Chiefs to abdicate, they would not instal YAR MAHOMED as Prince, for being an illegitimate son, the usages of his tribe forbad that, as such, he should inherit the the name, though there was no objection to his exercising all the powers of a ruler.† The arrangements which took place on this occasion merit more notice, as they explain the rise of feelings which still exist, and give to the Colony of Patans at Bhopal a very peculiar character. When

* He also received from NIZAM UL MULK the high Insignia of the Maha Muratib, or the dignity of the Fish, one of the first honors of the Moghul Empire. This is still assumed as a hereditary honor by the Nabobs of Bhopal.

† Major HENLEY states in his notes upon the Bhopal family, that the arrangement with respect to YAR MAHOMED's succession to power arose from motives of policy rather than from any precise rule on the subject. AKUL MAHOMED saw the necessity of complying as much as possible with the wishes of the Nizam, and on SULTAN MAHOMED's entering the Durbar, YAR MAHOMED from courtesy rose to receive him, and moving aside from the Musnud, allowing him to sit on the right: thus was the matter accommodated.

When Dost MAHOMED had, after his first successes, invited his brethren and kinsmen to join him, there came along with them his elder brother, AKUL MAHOMED KHAN, who being at the head of a party attached to the usages of their Country, established, in order to keep these unchanged, a species of clan constitution, for the regulation of all their personal and family affairs, which comprized certain rules that were deemed as imperative upon their chiefs and Princes, as upon the lowest individuals of the tribe. AKUL MAHOMED KHAN was in rank the first chief among these Afghans, and his excellent character merited the distinction which his birth and their good opinion gained him; though he steadily opposed (as contrary to usage) the elevation of an illegitimate Prince, he was too sensible of the utility of the public support of the NIZAM to the petty state of Bhopal, and of the competency of his nephew to rule, to offer any opposition to his fulfilling the duties of his high office. He reconciled YAR MAHOMED to not being installed, by preventing his younger brother from having that ceremony. On the death* of this respectable chief, BYJEERAM, a Hindu, who had recommended himself to DOST MAHOMED by the surrender of Shujahalpore,† was appointed to the chief management of the affairs of the country. Islamnuggur owes its principal improvements to this person, who built a palace in it, and, according to some accounts, added to its strength by diverting the course of the Parwa, so as to make that river a ditch to its fortifications.‡

12. There

* AKUL MAHOMED KHAN was murdered by a Khossburdar at the Hoolee. This murder is believed to have been committed at the instigation of his nephew. AKUL MAHOMED was great grand-father of KURREEM MAHOMED KHAN the present Dewan of Bhopal.

† He was Governor of that place when it was attacked by DOST MAHOMED, but preferring his interest to his fidelity, he betrayed his trust, and entered into the service of the chief, whom he benefited by the defection.

‡ This latter work is however usually said to have been done by DOST MAHOMED.

12. There are few particulars given of YAR MAHOMED's rule.* The murder of DELIL KHAN the friend and supporter of his father, is imputed to him, and his seizing upon the possessions of that chief to the prejudice of his infant children, gives color to the charge. He was succeeded by his eldest son† FYZE MAHOMED KHAN, then eleven years of age, who did not however ascend the musnud without opposition. The pretensions of his Uncle SULTAUN MAHOMED KHAN had been before supported against YAR MAHOMED, and they were now brought forward by almost all the principal Afghan Chiefs‡ of the family, to preclude his son from the succession. These, who amounted to nearly two hundred, had adherents who swelled their force to three or four thousand, FYZE MAHOMED ascended the Musnud at Islamnuggur. The army amounting to five thousand men remained with him, and he made every preparation to resist the attack, with which he was threatened. The MAHJEE SAHIBAH or Lady Mother (as the Widow of YAR MAHOMED is called) hearing of these preparations, despatched SHAH ALUM, a Peer Sahib, or holy man, with a body of Rohillahs to seize SULTAUN MAHOMED, The latter at first concealed himself, and in an affray which took place the Peer Sahib was killed, and his party repulsed. On this intelligence reaching Islamnuggur, BYJEERAM, with the young Nabob and followers, immediately advanced towards Bhopal, and SULTAUN MAHOMED with his

Afghans

* About the sixth year of YAR MAHOMED's reign the NIZAM and BAJEEROW encamped near the lake of Bhopal—Depredations soon commenced on the part of the Mahrattas among the Gardens, &c. &c. on which YAR MAHOMED complained to the NIZAM.—He, incensed at the idea of YAR MAHOMED's siding with the Ministers of FEROOKSHEER, his enemies, told him to settle it himself, on which he attacked the Mahrattas and killed a great number.—The NIZAM is said to have observed this from his Elephant (and to have laughed heartily during the affray. In an interview the NIZAM demanded and received an order for the surrender of Futtyghur, but the Killedar positively refused to give it up. The NIZAM pleased with his fidelity, marched away towards Delhi, contenting himself with receiving fresh assurances of friendship from YAR MAHOMED, and leaving his heavy baggage there.

† YAR MAHOMED KHAN had four sons, FYZE MAHOMED KHAN, HYAT MAHOMED KHAN, GOOSSEIN MAHOMED KHAN, and SIZE MAHOMED KHAN.

‡ KHIDER MAHOMED KHAN was the chief instigator of this opposition;

Afghans, marched to receive them. Imitating the usage of the Hindu warriors, they dyed their garments with the hymeneal color of yellow,* which indicated they went to battle as to the hall of festivity, and were determined to die, or live, exulting conquerors.

13. BYJEERAM, whose numbers were superior, saw with pleasure his enemies quit the advantage they had in the walls of Bhopal. He drew up in line of battle; but his troops, who were chiefly Hindus, would probably have been defeated by the furious charge of the Afghans, had not these when exhausted by their first success been attacked, and in their turn routed by the Rohillahs of PEER SAHIB, who continued faithful to the cause of FYZE MAHOMED. The assailants were almost all destroyed, their chief SULTAUN MAHOMED fled to Seronje, from whence he went to the Hill Fort of Rhatghur, into which he was admitted by the Killedar. Here he was immediately besieged by BYJEERAM, but the MAHJEE SAHIBAH, or lady mother, seeing the evil of these family dissentions, interposed her influence and authority, through which Rhatghur with its dependencies were given in free grant to SULTAUN MAHOMED and his descendants, but they were precluded, by the same agreement, from all future pretensions to the Sovereignty, or any interference with the management of the Bhopal territory. A. D. 1152.

14. The termination of these disputes was probably accelerated by a sense of common danger. The PAISHWAH BAJEEROW on his return from Delhi encamped on the plains between Sehore and Ashta, and required, in the name of the Emperor, from whom he held the office of Soubah of Malwa, a restitution of all the territory which the Patans of Bhopal had usurped. Resistance was likely to prove vain, and the Minister BYJEERAM negotiated a Treaty, by which the Bhopal Government made a sacrifice of

* The flower from which this dye is made is called, in Hindostanee, Kuswur. To use it on the day of battle is among the Hindus deemed a sacred pledge to die or conquer. Volunteers for desperate actions are often invited to assume the yellow dress.

of half its possessions to save the remainder. By this engagement the Bhopal State lost all, except a few towns, of its possessions in Malwa. What remained, which was chiefly in Goandwarrah, was confirmed by an agreement with the PAISHWAH.

15. Soon after the departure of the Mahrattas, the discontent of the Garrison of the Hill Fort of Raiseen gave BYJEERAM an opportunity of making himself master of that place, which has ever since belonged to the Principality.*

16. BYJEERAM,† the Dewan of FYZE MAHOMED, is represented to have ben a man of talent, and the country of Bhopal attained a state of considerable prosperity under his management. He conciliated the Goands, and made some amends for the conduct of DOST MAHOMED towards them, by giving small Jaghires (which their posterity still enjoy) to the nearest F. 1158. relations of NEWAL SHAH, Rajah of Gunnour. The only conditions he exacted from these persons were allegiance, and the military service of their adherents. Soon after this period BYJEERAM died, and was succeeded by his son GHASEE RAM; but he had only been in office a twelvemonth, when HYAT MAHOMED KHAN and YASSEIN MAHOMED KHAN, two brothers of the Nabob, hurt at the general conduct of this man, who appears to have been very presumptuous, and taking particular offence at what they deemed a contemptuous refusal of the Dewan to obtain their Jaghires, determined to destroy him. YASSEIN MAHOMED KHAN became himself the chief actor in this plot; he cut off GASSEE RAM's head with his own hand, and received from one of the adherents of the latter two severe wounds.

17. FYZE

* The possession of it was afterwards confirmed by a Sunnud from Delhi, which, as well as the title of FUTTEH JUNG given at the same time, were paid for by the Nabob.

† BYJEERAM was a native of Hindostan, according to some of the Punjab. He was of a sect of Brahmins called Larasuff, who are the Gooroos, or Priests of the Tribe of KUTTORRE.

17. FYZE MAHOMED,* and his brother HYAT MAHOMED KHAN, were alike incompetent to rule, and on the death of GASSEE RAM, a Patan of the name of GHYRUT KHAN succeeded to the management of affairs, which he conducted for six years, when he was poisoned by a courtezan. His successor was RAJAH KEISOREE SINGH, of the Kait tribe, who had been a Muttasudee with BYJEERAM; he was a man of talent, and the country prospered for fourteen years under his rule, but the cause and circumstances of his death have given rise chiefly to his celebrity.

18. FYZE MAHOMED KHAN, who had given himself over to a life of austerity and devotion, though he had abjured all sensual indulgence, had still a Haram filled with ladies; amongst them there was one called BEGUM, a native of Delhi, who became remarkable for her supposed incontinence, and that of her daughters. One of the latter was suspected to have maintained (though in the Nabob's Haram) an adulterous intercourse with the son of KISREE SINGH. The Mahomedans do not allow any charge of criminality to have ever attached to the BEGUM of FYZE MAHOMED; they admit, however, that an intrigue was carried on between the son of KISREE SINGH, and a daughter of ASHRUFF KHAN, a Patan of the first rank, which was detected, and the lady put to death by her family. Either way, a pretext was made by the brothers of FYZE MAHOMED for destroying the Minister, and they could not have chosen a subject better calculated to influence the Afghans, whose pride and prejudice were alike inflamed by a belief, that the honor of their race was stained by a Hindu. Their rage made the intention of the conspirators so public, that they were obliged latterly to have recourse to deceit. A brick was wrapped up in a fine cover as a Koran, and ISHMAEL, the Priest of the family, attended by some of the Chiefs, presented it to KISREE

* This occurred only six months after GASSEE RAM's succession to the Dewannee. He is said by the Afghan Biographer to have conferred all offices on his Hindu favorites, and even to have gone the length of cutting off the noses of butchers who attempted to kill oxen or buffaloes, and this account is confirmed by some respectable Hindu authorities.

KISREE SINGH (who appears to have been alarmed) as the most sacred pledge of his safety they could give. He received it as such, and in consequence complied with a request to deliver up the Sicca or Seal of the Prince. This act was violently opposed by the chief Hindu leaders of the Army, who warned him of the intended treachery, and promised, as long as he had the Seal in his possession, to obey all his orders, and to guard him to FYZE MAHOMED, to whom alone he should surrender the type of his authority. KISREE SINGH, however, refused to listen to them, bade them retire, and not create a disturbance. He would die a hundred times, he said, rather than be a traitor, and, faithless as he knew the Afghans to be, he seemed (ignorant of the deception that had been practised) to be satisfied with the vow made on the Koran.* He had however no sooner come out of the Old Fort, where he resided with his family, than the palanquin in which he rode was thrown down, and himself and his son were murdered in the street. The Ranee of KISREE SINGH, anticipating his death, had collected the females of the family in one chamber, over which she had spread quantities of gunpowder. A servant brought her intelligence of the murder, when she instantly set fire to the powder, and not only destroyed herself and the remainder of the family, but threw down the house and parts of the decayed ramparts of the Pooranah Killah, or Old Fort. This explosion, which took place at mid-day, to the horror of the inhabitants of Bhopal, was the first information FYZE MAHOMED KHAN received of the fate of his Minister, whose death he is said to have deplored; but he was incapable of doing more; for his brother, YASSEIN KHAN, the perpetrator of this deed, immediately assumed the office of Minister of the State. The Nabob FYZE MAHOMED, who had nominally ruled Bhopal for thirty-eight years, died of a dropsy, brought on by his sedentary habits, in the forty-eighth or forty-ninth year of his age.

19. He

* The Chiefs, whom Major HENLEY interrogated as to this fact, said they did not know whether the Priest presented really any sacred pledge or not, but that it was well known that he made every effort to dissuade the chiefs to the utmost from the assassinating of KISREE SINGH.

19. He appears throughout his life to have been a religious recluse, was of enormous stature, being nearly seven feet high, and his hands, when standing, reached below his knees. He never but once went beyond the precincts of his palace. GHYRUT KHAN, when Dewan, carried him to Bhilsa, which had been for some time besieged,* and it happened to fall soon after his arrival. The belief, which the ignorant Afghans before entertained of the holy character of their chief, was confirmed by this occurrence, and his memory is revered as a Saint. FYZE MAHOMED having no issue, a dissention took place between the brothers and SHERIFF MAHOMED, nephew of DOST MAHOMED; but YASSEIN MAHOMED appears to have succeeded in retaining the Government during the few days he survived†. At his death HYAT MAHOMED KHAN was proclaimed Nabob, but he was from disposition and habits, like his brother FYZE MAHOMED, a religious recluse, and the actual exercise of power continued with the person who held the office of Dewan.

20. The whole revenue of Bhopal at this time amounted to about twenty lacks of rupees, of which a portion of five lacks were allotted in Jaghire for the support of the Nabob. With this the Minister had no concern; it was managed in an office separate from those of the State, and the revenue collected was appropriated according to the pleasure of the Prince; but, beyond this, he and his personal attendants were considered to have no further claim on the State treasury, or any concern with State affairs. The history of Bhopal, while this system continued, is to be found in that of the Dewans.

21. HYAT

* This place was one of several that by BIJEERAM's Treaty with the Mahrattas was given to that Nation; but a Rohilla chief refused the PAISHWAH possession, and FYZE MAHOMED went to the aid of the latter. After taking the Fort, however, there was a strong disposition in the Minister to keep it; but a threatening letter from the PAISHWAH made him abandon his intention.

† At the visits of ceremony to the Begum that took place, YASSEIN MAHOMED expressed a conviction, that he should not long survive his brother, and in effect after seventeen days he followed him to the grave. He died at the age of thirty-eight. He, as well as the Priest ISHMAEL, are said to have been half eaten by worms before death. This belief shews the abhorrence entertained of their characters.

21. HYAT MAHOMED KHAN, when installed Nabob, had no children by his wife, but he had adopted four Chelahs* or family dependants, who were considered as dependant relations. The oldest of these, FOWLAD KHAN, was the son of a Goand. The second, JUMSHERE KHAN, was the son of a Gossain, and the third and fourth, CHOTAH KHAN and ISLAM KHAN, were the sons of a Brahmin. In three out of four of these children, the merit of having withdrawn them from their errors and infidelity to the true faith, no doubt constituted, in the mind of a pious Mahomedan Prince, another tie to strengthen that of adoption.

22. FOWLAD KHAN, the eldest of the Chelahs, who held a high military command, appears the first who solely possessed the power of Dewan, and it was during his administration that the Detachment under General GODDARD passed through the territories of Bhopal; he came out to meet the General two koss from Islamnuggur, where, as well as at Bhopal, the British Troops encamped,—having afterwards crossed to Hussingabad and cantoned there from July till October, during which time they were abundantly supplied with provisions and grain from Bhopal.

23. The inhabitants of the country are justly proud of the part their ruler took upon this occasion; and with reason, for it was bold and decided in a degree beyond what their condition warranted. Every aid required was freely given by this petty state; and, from the certificates still preserved by some of the heads of villages, it would seem that all ranks behaved in the most friendly manner to a body of men who prized such conduct, more from having elsewhere met with nothing but hostility.

* Chelah means literally an adopted dependant; it neither applies to a slave, or an adopted child, but to a person who is admitted to the claims of a dependant relation. The tie between a person and his Chelah is considered as being very sacred, giving the adopter the right of authority under the claim of obedience, with the obligation of affection and support.

lity. That the remaining part of the march of General GODDARD's* detachment, after they passed the Nerbuddah, was unobstructed, may in a great degree be ascribed to the line taken by the Patans of Bhopal, whose conduct on this memorable occasion constituted a claim upon the British Government, that merited all the notice which it has since received.

24. FOWLAD KHAN, who appears to have been a violent and tyrannical man, when he found that MAHJEE SAHIBEH,† who, conceiving a favorable opinion of CHOTAH KHAN, had determined to raise him to the office of Dewan, immediately attacked the Old Fort in which that lady resided, in hopes of coercing her to support his interests. After carrying on a desultory siege for a month, FOWLAD KHAN was killed.‡ CHOTAH KHAN was throughout the friend of the poor, and encourager of cultivation. But a serious change took place in his principles of rule, as they related to the Patans of Bhopal, on the death of MAHJEE SAHIBEH, who had raised him to power, and by whose advice and opinion he continued during her life to be wholly guided.

25. The history of this extraordinary Princess, who lived to the advanced age of eighty, and who for more than half a century greatly influenced, if she did not direct, the councils of Bhopal, is very extraordinary. Her name was MUMULLAH,—she came from Hindostan, but seems to have been too obscure in her origin to have left any exact record of her parents or place of birth. Though never married§ to the Nabob, YAR MA-

HOMED,

* It is a remarkable fact that not one official report connected with the passage of this Corps through Malwa, or the events which occurred to it when within or near that Province, is to be found upon the records of Government. The usages have greatly changed, and we are perhaps at present liable to be charged with the opposite extreme.

† This Princess had taken pains to cultivate the mind of CHOTAH KHAN; an able tutor, MEER UFOULLA, was appointed to instruct him not only as a scholar, but a man of business.

‡ An account written on Mahomedan authority states, that FOWLAD KHAN acquiesced in the order given him to resign, and was on his way to join the Mahrattas when he was followed by KOOLLEE KHAN, who, though he had only orders to seize and bring him back, slew him.

§ The Nikah was performed on her union with the Nabob. This engagement, though inferior to marriage, is still respectable. It is common where the condition of the parties is too unequal to admit of one more legitimate.

HOMED, she became the principal lady of his family. She had herself no children, but all those of YAR MAHOMED she considered as her own, and the title of MAHJEE SAHIBEH, or lady mother, which was given her by them and all others, proves the relation and respect in which she was held. From the account given of her conduct, under the most trying circumstances, it seems difficult to pronounce whether she was most remarkable for the humanity of her disposition, or the excellence of her judgment. She was beloved and respected by all. Her memory is still fondly dwelt upon by the natives, both Hindu and Mahomedan, of Bhopal; and it is consoling to see, in the example of her life, that, even amid scenes of violence and crime, goodness and virtue, when combined with spirit and sense, maintain that superiority which belongs alone to the higher qualities of our nature, and which without these can be permanently conferred by neither title nor station.

26. CHOTAH KHAN had soon to contend with a combination of Patan lords, which included many of the Nabob's relations, who were quite indignant at his elevation. One of these, KUMIL MAHOMED, had endeavored to gain possession of Gunnour, through the aid of the Killedar's nephew, but the plot failed, and his brother, SHERIFF MAHOMED, disgusted with the squabbles of the low-born dependants of HYAT MAHOMED, retired with about seven hundred followers and his brother towards Sehore. CHOTAH KHAN pursued this party; an engagement took place, in which the adherents of SHERIFF MAHOMED, having deserted him, that chief and one of his brothers were killed on the spot. KUMIL MAHOMED alone effected his escape, though wounded, with the son of his brother SHERIFF MAHOMED. The latter, WUZEER MAHOMED, then a youth, lived to preserve his country, and to become the founder of the present family of Bhopal.

27. To this event succeeded others* of not unsimilar character, which greatly irritated the mind of CHOTAH KHAN, and urged him to the acts of cruelty and oppression towards his Patan rivals, with which he is but too justly charged. He had acted with great prudence and moderation while the Begum lived, from respect to her councils, and confidence in her support,—but deprived of these motives he saw his safety in another course. Irritated at the conspiracy of the Patans against his power, he put to death some, and expelled others. They were banished from all offices of trust, which were filled by persons on whose attachment he could better rely. He established so strict a police within the walls of Bhopal, that a complete end was put to those affrays, to which the Patans are so prone, and their turbulent spirit was for the moment subdued. Through these measures CHOTAH KHAN maintained internal peace, and promoted, beyond all who had gone before him, the prosperity of the town and country of Bhopal. His next object was to keep at peace with his neighbours, but particularly with MADHAJEE SCINDIAH and ALIAH BAE, who at this period were the chief rulers in Malwa. His principles of moderation, (founded on a just knowledge of the comparative weakness of the state he ruled) in the conduct of exterior relations, were sometimes carried to an extent that astonished many. Of this, the following instance may be given. A few years before CHOTAH KHAN's death, the Pindary leader, HERA BAE burned some villages of Bhopal. He ordered out all his best troops in pursuit, and they returned with four hundred

* Among the conspiracies formed against his power, one of the most remarkable was that of NEJABUT MAHOMED KHAN, a turbulent Patan Chief, the son of YASSEIN MAHOMED KHAN, whose object was to murder the Nabob and Ministers. This tragedy was to be acted on the last day of the Ramzan, when all the Afghans of the Nabobs were assembled at the house of the Mahjee to pay their respects to that remarkable Lady. Some suspicion was attached to NIJABUT, and he had been desired to leave his arms; a breeze of wind which blew aside his upper garments revealed prematurely a concealed dagger. The alarm of treason was given by a domestic, and the fierce chief, finding he was discovered, flew at the Nabob, but was overpowered and slain, not without a great struggle, as he is represented to have been a man of immense strength and desperate courage. Three of the principal conspirators were killed at the same time, but not before one of them had cut down RAJAH BHOLANATH.

hundred naked prisoners, who had been stripped of their horses and clothes. When these expected to be massacred, they were surprised to hear CHOTAH KHAN direct that they should be released, and that each man should have a turban and a rupee to carry him back to his home. "Take this," he exclaimed, "but recollect you shall have other treatment when you come again into my country." When those around him looked surprised, he said, "These poor creatures are of themselves no objects of vengeance; their leaders, from their connection with the Mahratta chiefs, are above my power; why outrage by useless violence those, whose employers we cannot punish? they will now feel obliged for my humanity to their followers, who were in my power, and it will be an additional motive to make them refrain from plundering us."* Nor was he mistaken; during his life there was never another attack made by these freebooters on the territory of Bhopal.

28. CHOTAH KHAN was not above forty years of age when he died. Though he had been brought up a Mahomedan, he appears to have continued as much a Hindu in his disposition as he was in his appearance. He was of moderate stature, slight made, and as temperate in his language and smooth in his manners, as he was crafty, persuading, and sensible. In short, in every thing the opposite of that clan whom he was destined to govern.

29. On the death of CHOTAH KHAN efforts were made by several to obtain possession of his wealth. NAWAUB KHAN, a Patan Sirdar, who had long been in the service of the Dewan, tried to make himself master of both this and his station. After some acts of great violence, he was forced to leave Malwa, but carried with him property to a supposed amount of six lacks of rupees. He left the unprotected family of his late master to the cruelty of their enemies.

30. GHANS

* This occurrence and CHOTAH KHAN's speech were stated by KHEALEE RAM, then a writer in his office, who witnessed and heard what he narrates.

30. Ghans Mahomed Khan, son of Hyat Mahomed by the daughter of a singer, stimulated by the exaggerated reports of the wealth left by Chotah Khan, exercised every species of torture to exact it from the mother of his two illegitimate sons, who were from the daughter of a Buneea. This unfortunate woman, after being plundered of every thing, was glad to escape with life. She was for some time subsisted by a small charity granted by Wuzeer Mahomed, and is now at Seronge, dependant for daily food on the Nabob Ameer Khan. Her only son, Ameer Mahomed, is among the poorest of the followers* of Ghuffoor Khan at Indore. Such has been the fate of the family of a man, who by his management raised Bhopal to the highest state of prosperity. But these reverses of fortune in India are too common to excite attention, much less commiseration.

31. Himut Row, a native of Hindostan of the Kayet tribe, who had been during almost the whole of Chotah Khan's administration at the head of his revenue office, now received the title of Rajah, and was created Dewan; but, during the twelvemonth he held this office, he had little if any power. Every thing was done by the Bebee (so Hyat Mahomed Khan's favorite lady was called) and an eunuch of the name of Gal Khojah, in whom she confided. The following is one among other ruinous expedients which these persons had recourse to for averting the dangers that threatened Bhopal, from the confusion which at this period prevailed in Malwa. Luckma Dada, one of Scindiah's independant leaders, was called upon as an auxiliary, and promised high pay and reward if he would recover the Fort of Hussingabad,† which had, immediately after the death of Chotah Khan, been attacked and taken by Ragojee

* From the several opportunities that have been afforded this man of improving his condition in life, and the bad use he has made of them, I am disposed to believe he is a worthless character.

† Himut Row protested against the employment of Luckma Dada, who received the money but did nothing.

JEE BHONSLAH, whose armies, aided by large bodies of Pindaries, had begun to lay waste the territories of Bhopal.

32. Amid these events, which threatened destruction to this petty state, a youth made his appearance as its defender in a manner which gives to his history that air of romance which continued to its close. He came to the gate of the city, habited as a soldier of fortune, and attended by some well-mounted adherents, and being stopped by the guards, proclaimed himself to be WUZEER MAHOMED, the son of SHERIFF MAHOMED KHAN, the cousin of the reigning Nabob, MAHOMED HYAT KHAN, with whom he desired an interview. This was immediately granted. The Nabob, after the first salutation, asked him how he had subsisted during his absence from Bhopal. He frankly avowed, that banished his native country by the power of CHOTAH KHAN, against whose administration his father had rebelled, he had been compelled to earn a livelihood by serving a plundering Rajpoot* chief in the province of Omutwarah. He had learnt, he said, the profession of a soldier, and the reports, brought him of the distress and danger of the land of his ancestors, had made him determine, at all hazards, to offer his services and to give his life, (it was all he had) in any way the Nabob pleased, for his country.† The old Prince was roused from his usual state of abstraction by the occurrence. He gave to WUZEER MAHOMED the endearing title of son, and hailed him

* HUTTEE SINGH of Beaura, a Burgoojhur Grassiah Chief.

† KUMIL MAHOMED, who had escaped with young WUZEER MAHOMED, sought refuge in Ragoogher, where he took service with JYESINGH, and was killed defending the gate of that Fort against an attack of the Mahrattas. After this misfortune WUZEER MAHOMED is said to have found an asylum with AWAH BAE, who had sheltered the families of the other Patan Chiefs, who suffered at Sehore. This, however, being considered unsafe, his uncle KHYBOTTEE KHAN took him to the Grassiah Chief HUTTEE SINGH, where he remained nearly two years. After this he was associated for some time with a Mahratta Chief named LUCKWUN RAO, and thence went to Hydrabad to a Patan family of distinction holding a high office there. Though several of the refuge Patan families returned to Bhopal and were well treated by CHOTAH KHAN, at the intercession of ALIAH BAE, WUZEER MAHOMED would not trust him; for it was said that the Dewan had offered five thousand rupees for his head—but this is strongly denied by the Biographers of the latter.

him (with a spirit of propheey) as the future saviour of the state. The period was one of action. The troops of Nagpore were besieging Hussingabad, and the depredations of the Pindaries were every day more dreadful. We may imagine how rapidly the fame of WUZEER MAHOMED, who soon became a distinguished actor in these scenes, had increased, when we are told that, in eight months after he reached Bhopal, he was a popular candidate for the office of Dewan. The Nabob is said to have determined on his elevation, but it was opposed by his son GHANS MAHOMED, and the mother of that prince, who represented the danger of giving such a station to a person whose mind was still warm with the wrongs of his family, and who had a father's death to revenge. It was acknowledged, however, that a Patan of high rank wss necessary to the conduct of affairs, and the choice unfortunately fell on MOOREED MAHOMED KHAN, the descendant of SULTAUN MAHOMED KHAN, and Jaghiredar of Rhatgur. This chief refused to accept the office till the Mahratta auxiliaries were dismissed. A large sum was given them in consequence of their agreeing to depart, and the new Dewan came accompanied by a thousand adherents to take charge of the Government. MOOREED MAHOMED KHAN presented, in his appearance and character, a very remarkable contrast to WUZEER MAHOMED. He had more the look and manners of a Hindu merchant than an Afghan chief. On the first day of his arrival he encamped at the garden of his grandfather, SULTAUN MAHOMED KHAN, where the day was passed in a display of tender feeling. He wept aloud at the recollections which this spot brought to his mind of the misfortunes of his family, and embraced the trees which had been planted by his dear ancestors. Next day, when he was introduced to the old Nabob, he addressed him with the most humble and fulsome language, calling him his more than father; he lavished at the same time the most exaggerated praise on GHANS MAHOMED. The Bebee, or mother of that Prince, at

whose

whose Durbar he next attended, was termed his aunt, and the person to whom he looked for advancement. A still more extraordinary part was acted when the chief banker and merchants of the city waited upon him. He refused their usual offerings of money, and made them presents of clothes, and gave to some of the principal the title of relations.* All the citizens he met were conciliated by the most soothing language; and, to gratify the poorer classes, he directed considerable sums to be distributed in charity. Many of the inhabitants of Bhopal were delighted at a demeanour to which they had been little accustomed, but the haughty and turbulent Afghan lords of that capital could hardly repress their contempt at a conduct which they considered disgraceful and derogatory. Some, better acquainted with the individual by whom these acts were practised, waited anxiously till the veil should be laid aside, and his real character developed. They were not long in suspense; in less than a month the vindictive and avaricious spirit which Mooreed Mahomed Khan evinced, in the oppression of the aged widow of Rajah Byjeram, opened the eyes of all. His conduct on this occasion was more mean from the distressed condition this poor woman had been before reduced to. His next object was the late Dewan Rajah† Himmut Row, whom with his nephew, Khealee Ram, the manager of Bersiah, he confined for six weeks, till they paid a fine of ten thousand rupees. The supplies from such sources of petty oppression were inefficient either to satisfy the Dewan's avarice, or the wants of the State, which every day became more pressing from the confusion into which not only its territories, but the whole of Malwa, had been thrown.

33. The Bhopal possessions, in common with others, were now overrun with freebooters and robbers of every description, and the troops it was necessary to maintain for their defence were clamorous for their pay,

* Dheum Chund, Koolee Chund, were both styled cousins by this cajoling minister.

† This person has been in my service for the last two years.

pay. To relieve these [illegible] MAHOMED KHAN levied a tax in the form of a fine or imposition on each house in Bhopal, which was fixed according to the real or supposed wealth of the inhabitants; and those he had a short time before called by the most endearing epithets, were now treated with marked severity. Grown bold with success, the Dewan demanded money from the BEBEE, and irritated by her refusal, he determined on her destruction.* This lady had been raised from the lowest class, and though not married to HYAT MAHOMED KHAN, had enjoyed as his favorite mistress all the rank and power of the first Begums. She paid little attention to the Nabob, who absorbed in religious contemplation† was heedless of her conduct. The character of CHOTAH KHAN had kept her in restraint, but subsequent to his death she had been less prudent.

34. MOOREED MAHOMED therefore availed himself of the pretext of her disgracing the Patan race by her mean birth, and still more by the intrigues she carried on, took the opportunity of a visit of ceremony to get her assassinated. Two of her principal Officers were killed in her defence, and though she fled to the inner apartments from the Durbar, the partizans of MOOREED followed and dispatched her. To cloak his own conduct, and to avoid the odium of the massacre, the Dewan swore upon the Koran that he had put the BEBEE to death at the earnest entreaty of her son, GHANS MAHOMED, who desired the act as a punishment for the dishonor her licentiousness had brought on him and his family. Whether GHANS MAHOMED or his father assented to this proceeding or not, could never be known, as they were both too much at the mercy of MOOREED MAHOMED, to venture any expression of their feelings. But the

* MOOREED MAHOMED had persuaded the Nabob and GHANS MAHOMED to forbid any person attending Durbar with their arms. This induced WUZEER MAHOMED and other Patans to retire from Court.

† Different reasons have been assigned for his seclusion, but whether his conduct was guided by religious contemplation, or that it arose from apathy or stupidity, it is evident that HYAT MAHOMED was in every respect unfit for the situation he held.

the motives of the Dewan's conduct were soon revealed by the plunder of all the property that the BEBEE had amassed,* a great part of which he is believed to have sent to Rhatghur and other places, where, amid the rapid revolutions that ensued, it became lost to him and to the State.

85. The next object of MOOREED MAHOMED KHAN was WUZEER MAHOMED, whose reputation excited both his jealousy and alarm, but all his attempts to ruin this young Chief were unsuccessful. They added to the fame of the man he hated and dreaded. WUZEER MAHOMED when sent with inadequate means to oppose the Pindarries, supplied by his personal valor and judgment the want of numbers, and obtained the admiration even of his enemies,† but his penetration soon developed the designs of the Dewan, and he was most guarded in not putting himself in his power. A plan was laid by MOOREED MAHOMED to cut him off near Chynpore Baree, but the letter which contained it, was intercepted, and the Commander (RAHIM KHAN) to whom it was addressed, and who was expected to carry it into execution was surprized, and defeated, and fled wounded with the loss of guns and baggage into Chynpore Baree, which surrendered to WUZEER MAHOMED the next day. The news of this event was received by the timid Dewan as the prelude of his downfall, and heedless of every thing but personal considerations, he summoned to his aid a large body of Mahrattas under BALARAO INGLIAH (one of Dowlut Row SCINDIAH's predatory Chiefs, who was then subsisting his force on plunder) and the standard of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH was, on the arrival of this force displayed on the ramparts of Futtyghur, and the Citadel of Bhopal. The next concession of the Dewan to his new Allies, was

* The unpopularity into which this woman had fallen from her cruel usage of the family of CHOTA KHAN prevents her being pitied, but it was deemed by none a pallation of the atrocity committed by MOOREED MAHOMED KHAN.

† WUZEER MAHOMED when in the service of HUTTEE SINGH of Omutwarrah, had on a plundering expedition the tail of his horse cut completely off. But he knew his value too well to reject him on this account, and the fame of the Horse well known by this mark, and his rider, were associated. It is asserted that the cry of Banda Ghora ka Sowar, or the Chevalier with the cut tail horse, was certain to put the Pindaries to flight, whatever were their numbers,

was the Fort of Islamnuggur, but what his fears had granted was saved by the spirit of an Afghan widow lady, named MOTEE BEGUM,* who, when the Mahratta garrison were advancing, ordered the gates to be shut and the guns to be opened, saying she knew not by what right, MOOREED MAHOMED KHAN disposed of the Forts of the Afghans of Bhopol, and that she would not permit any one to intrude upon the place where she dwelt. The noble resolution of this high-minded female appears to have been well supported by the troops within the walls of Islamnuggur, from before which the Mahrattas were forced to retire.

36. WUZEER MAHOMED, who had been employed in establishing his authority over the country round Chynpore Baree, moved, the moment he heard of this occurrence, upon Bhopal. This led the Dewan and his Mahratta ally to move out of Futtyghur to a plain four miles from Bhopal, where they were reinforced by some Infantry and guns, and by a body of troops under BAPOO SCINDIAH.

37. BALARAO INGLIAH left the Fort of Futtyghur to the care of the since-celebrated AMEER KHAN, to whom he had a few months before given service, and at the same time delivered over GHANS MAHOMED to his charge.

38. WUZEER MAHOMED had several sharp skirmishes with the Mahrattas, in which his courage and talent gained him the advantage, but the numbers of his enemies would perhaps have prevailed, had not the troubles which had commenced in SCINDIAH's own possessions made him direct BAPPOO SCINDIAH to renew his pursuit of LUCKWA DADA.† BALARAO was at the same time directed to withdraw from all interference with the affairs of Bhopal. These orders were immediately obeyed, and BALARAO carried with him the Dewan MOOREED MAHOMED KHAN as far as Seronje. He now accused that Chief of being the author of all his disappointments, and

* Aunt to WUZEER MAHOMED.

† This person was then at the head of an Army which fought for the cause of the Baes, or widows of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, the war between whom and his successor, has been before noticed.

and declared his conviction that he was a party in the resistance which had been made in the Fort of Islamnuggur. The other in vain denied, and stated how incompatible such conduct was with his own interests; His notorious reputation as a deceiver, was brought forward by the Mahratta leader in answer to all he could urge in his defence. He was threatened with torture, unless he immediately gave up the treasures he was known to possess. The fears and confinement of the unhappy Dewan brought on a violent illness, but this even was treated as a trick, and when he died, BALARAO refused for two days to allow his body to be buried, declaring his belief that he had counterfeited death to effect his escape, nor was it till putrefaction had commenced that the Mahratta would resign his prey and believe that for once MOOREED MAHOMED KHAN did not practise deceit.

39. The name of this man is doomed to execration by his tribe, and to this day when a Patan of Bhopal visits Seronje to pay his devotion at a shrine at that place sacred to MURTIZA ALLEE, it is deemed an essential part of the pilgrimage to bestow five blows with a slipper on the tomb of MOORED MAHOMED KHAN, to mark at once the contempt and indignation which his memory excites.

40. After the retreat of the Mahrattas, WUZEER MAHOMED surrounded the Fort of Futtyghur, where AMEER KHAN still remained in possession. He at first fired upon the troops of this Bhopal Chief, but soon afterwards agreed to give up GHANS MAHOMED, and to evacuate the Fort. AMEER KHAN was on this occasion taken into the service of Bhopal, and appointed to a command, but he engaged so much in intrigues, that he was after six months dismissed, and went, as has been before stated, to share the fortunes of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR. Gunnour had also been delivered up to WUZEER MAHOMED, but Raiseen, which had been given over to the Mahrattas, sustained a siege during the whole rains before it surrendered.

41. The mode in which the revenues of Bhopal were collected, has been

been before noticed. The Dewan, which office WUZEER MAHOMED now filled, received all the collections, except those appropriated for the personal support of the Nabob; but this Revenue was, from the distracted state of Malwa, and the repeated incursions of the Mahrattas and Pindaries to which the territories of Bhopal had been necessarily exposed at the present period, not above fifty thousand Rupees, from which it was necessary to maintain an army which could not be reduced below four or five thousand men, without the danger of ever losing the nominal rule over a country, which it was always hoped might some day regain quiet and prosperity. Under such circumstances WUZEER MAHOMED cannot be censured for having, to preserve the existence of the state he ruled, had recourse to the same irregular means, to which all others from DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH to the lowest chief who had possessions in Malwa, then resorted; or, in other words, to make his army support itself. This system of indiscriminate violence, which appears on the first view to confound all rights and property, and to seek its object in any mode, was nevertheless not without its distinctions, and had certain principles which were, generally speaking, well observed and clearly understood by all parties.

42. The Bheels and other tribes of petty robbers plundered where-ever, and whatever they could. The Pindaries had some restraint; their chief, acting for the general good of the Durrah or camp, often contracted obligations with the principal rulers of the country, and tho' this body of freebooters, who were now very powerful in Malwa, never established any character for their good faith or honor, they had a knowledge of their interests, which constituted some check upon their proceedings. The Grassiah or Rajpoot chiefs, who, ousted from their lands by the Mahrattas, claimed a share of the revenues of their former possessions on the ground of their having the power to injure them, were satisfied with a fixed and known Tanka or tribute, from certain

territories on which they had a real or pretended claim; and their plunder was directed to enforce this payment. The latter freebooters were always natives of the soil, and generally the friends, often the relations of the zemindars or landholders. Their war was with the Government that oppressed or injured them, not the inhabitants. The next and highest class of plunderers were the Governments themselves. The armies and detachments of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH; HOLKAR, and other Mahrattas, wherever they marched, took what was termed Maamlah, which meant as heavy a contribution as could be extorted from the managing public officers of the province or town they entered or attacked. At this period the greatest part of the revenues of Malwa were collected in the manner described. Campoos of SCINDIAH, or of HOLKAR traversed that province, making little distinctions in their operations to whom the place from which they desired money, belonged. These had always the ready excuse, if the chief desired it, of a mutiny among their troops for pay, and the ruler whose name they used, avowed or disapproved the actions of those who gave him but a loose obedience, as it suited his interests.

43. WUZEER MAHOMED was the first of the Patan leaders of Bhopal who took Maamlah or collections from other states. He seized upon the districts of Rahsein, Ashta, Sehore, Duraha and Ichawur, while Shujahalpore (which belonged to a Jaghiredar of the PAISHWA's) the pergunnah of Bersiah belonging to the Powar, Bhilsah, and other districts of SCINDIAH's, with Seonee and several of the possessions of the Nagpore Rajah to the South of the Nerbuddah, were made to furnish a portion of their revenues to supply his exhausted resources. He displayed equal activity, gallantry and judgment in the various excursions he made into these countries; but of all his exploits there is none during this period of his life which reflects more credit on his character as a Soldier than the re-capture of Hussingabad, which he, in concert

with

with the Pindarries, came upon it suddenly, and with [illegible]ned resolution to take it, that he actually terrified its comm[illegible] a surrender.*

44. After this success, Wuzeer Mahomed carried on for several years a petty warfare marked by vicissitudes with the Mahratta chiefs, who now considered him as a declared enemy. He endeavored to strengthen himself by a connection with the plunderers. His first ally among the freebooters was Kurreem Khan, to whom he gave two villages in Bersiah. The Chief, Cheetoo, also, who had offended the Mahrattas, made a compact of friendship with the Prince of Bhopal. He was promised a place of refuge for his family when distressed in one of its fastnesses, and received in gift the village of Chippaneer on the Nerbuddah. The Pindarree leader in return gave the aid of all his followers to assist in the hostilities carried on by the state of Bhopal against the Rajah of Nagpore.

45. The relation between the petty state of Bhopal and the government of Scindiah had latterly undergone a considerable change, to which it is here necessary to take a retrospect—Madhajee Scindiah had been throughout his life, looked upon as a friendly protector of the state of Bhopal, and though no actual supremacy was either claimed or admitted, still there was, from the policy of both parties, an implied relation of the kind. This had led to considerable consequence, being attached to the Khelut, or honorary dresses, which Dowlut Row Scindiah had sent to the Nabob, and to Wuzeer Mahomed Khan, but the latter, notwithstanding, when Scindiah soon after his accession returning from the Deckan

* This event occurred A. D. 1803. About a year after the reduction of Rahsein, Hussingabad had capitulated to the Nagpore Rajah in 1799, and remained with him till this surprize. Seronge too was wrested from the Nagpore Rajah, but in 1804 when Scindiah returned from Berhanpore, it was recovered by him and restored to Nagpore for the consideration of a sum of money. During a period of three years Wuzeer Mahomed appears to have struggled with various leaders, and with various success, sometimes carrying the war across the Nerbuddah, and sometimes defending his home.

Deckan entered Málwa and required him to join him, had used evasions, from a fear no doubt of involving himself with JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR. The consequence of this caution was that when the Pindary leaders, KURREEM KHAN, DOST-MAHOMED, and CHETOO were loaded with favours and created Nabobs (for the Mahratta ruler now gave* this Mahomedan title) in consequence of the aid given to SCINDIAH, the brother of WUZEER MAHOMED, whom he sent to congratulate this ruler on his success, was received with coolness, and a much more serious proof of displeasure now followed.

46. GHANS MAHOMED KHAN who continued to regard WUZEER MAHOMED with envy and hatred, invited the Pindary Chief KURREEM KHAN† to support him in the hostilities which he now contemplated, and that Chief was admitted into Bhopal by ACKBAR KHAN, Grandson of YASSIM MAHOMED. WUZEER MAHOMED was for a long time unable to cope with these enemies, but having succeeded in detaching DOST MAHOMED and other Pindarees, from KURREEM KHAN's interests, he attacked and surprized the Camp of that leader, who moved towards SCINDIAH's Army.

47. GHANS MAHOMED after this event proceeded to the Camp of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, who had advanced near Saukenbaree; and though the Maharajah at this moment put in execution designs he had long-cherished against KURREEM, whom he had made prisoner,‡ yet this treatment of the Pindary Chief did not prevent DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH from listening to the complaints of GHANS MAHOMED KHAN, and so eager was the latter to expel WUZEER MAHOMED, that he entered into an engage-

ment

* The bestowing this title had no form, but the Chiefs, SCINDIAH or HOLKAR addressing the favored person in writing or verbally as Nabob, after which the Chobdars and Durbar Officer proclaimed the new title, and the party ever after assumed it, was addressed by it in letter and had it engraved on his seal.

† HYAT MAHOMED would never consent to an interview with KURREEM KHAN, though he remained some time in power at Bhopal. WUZEER MAHOMED took advantage of the confusion at the Hoolee to make the attack upon him.

‡ This event occurred in A. D. 1806, SCINDIAH afterwards proceeded to besiege Rhatghur and that Fort was evacuated in A. D. 1807.

ment by which he agrees to surrender the Fort of Islam-nuggur, pay four lacks of rupees in cash, and give an annual tribute of fifty thousand rupees to SCINDIAH, and eleven thousand to his public officers, as the price of the Mahratta ruler's support, who is said to have confirmed this treaty by an oath. Confident in the belief that he would meet with no opposition, GHANS MAHOMED did not stipulate for the aid of any troops, and after receiving a rich dress from SCINDIAH, returned to Bhopal.

48. The fort of Islamnuggur was surrendered in the year 1807, and eighteen days after that event, HYAT MAHOMED died. He was seventy three years of age, very corpulent and of large stature. He appears to have been completely wearied with the troubles amid which he lived, and those near him relate that his invocations for death to release him, were frequent and earnest.

49. In the same year that HYAT MAHOMED died, Hussingabad again reverted to the Nagpore state, and was taken possession of by GUNPUT ROW, while SADIK ALLEE in advance across the Nerbuddah, took Chynpore Baree, and thence invited by the perfidious GHANS MAHOMED, moved rapidly towards Bhopal. Wearied either from meeting with such treachery, or inability to oppose it, WUZEER MAHOMED after telling GHANS MAHOMED that he might do what he liked with the country, returned to Gunnour, upon which the agents of the Nagpore Rajah and SCINDIAH took possession of the capital, destroying the palace of WUZEER MAHOMED entirely, and seizing all the public records and property that MOREED MAHOMED had spared, or rather that had escaped him. Several persons high in office, it was known, instigated GHANS MAHOMED to the part he acted, but whatever may have been the views of the parties concerned, it does not appear that much confidence existed between them,—for SADICK ALLEE after remaining at Bhopal about six

weeks

weeks retired towards Nagpore, carrying with him a son of GHANS MAHOMED as an hostage, whilst the agents he left in possession of the capital placed GHANS MAHOMED himself under restraint.

50. WUZEER MAHOMED watched these events, and encouraged by the security that appeared to reign among his enemies, he determined on an attempt to recover Bhopal. He left Gunnour with his adherents in the evening, and by break of day reached* the city. The walls were instantly assaulted, the Mahrattas within were attacked and expelled, and Futtyghur, which he was proceeding to blockade, was evacuated during the night. When he met GHANS MAHOMED, he rebuked him in the harshest and most contemptuous manner, and on that Prince alleging that he had been betrayed, WUZEER MAHOMED ordered the conspirators to be immediately produced, saying, "If these are the wretches who have betrayed you, punish them forthwith." LAL GEE and ROOP CHUND were trodden to death by elephants on the spot. NOWBUT RAI Buckshee, BENEE LAL Moonshee, and Sooree Mul were blown from guns, and two Pundits were bound, and a cow being killed before them, their mouths were opened with wedges, and the blood poured down their throats; they were then liberated, and desired to go and describe the taste of Cow's blood to SCINDIAH and the Nagpore Rajah. Such was the vengeance WUZEER MAHOMED took on the betrayers of Bhopal. For the insult offered to his religious feeling, he succeeded in averting the anger of SCINDIAH, by promising faithfully to fulfil the terms into which GHANS MAHOMED had entered, and sending his eldest son as an hostage for the payment of such part of the four lacks of Rupees as were due.

51. About a year after these transactions, WUZEER MAHOMED had an
A. D. 1809. interview with AMEER KHAN near Bhilsah, but disgusted with his disorderly troops, returned to Bahsein. He recovered this year Chynpoor and Chokeygurh, which had been seized by SADICK ALLY, and in action with

* A distance of nearly 40 miles.

with the Nagpore troops, the brother of that chief, who was left in charge of those districts, was slain. Five months after this AMEER KHAN was pursued by the Nagpore army, and defeated at Jubeera near great Deoree, and his sowarree elephant taken. WUZEER MAHOMED met him immediately after this at Rehlee, and was induced by his intreaties to aid him. When the Nagpore army heard of the coalition, they retreated across the Nerbuddah, and took post at Chowraghur, whither the combined force followed them. The enemy were strongly posted, but AMEER KHAN nevertheless proposed an immediate attack. WUZEER MAHOMED, who was remarkable with all his sense and courage for his superstitious prejudices,* said the day was unfortunate, and requested him to defer it. This however AMEER KHAN refused to do, with an expressed contempt of the reason on which the advice was grounded. The action in which he immediately engaged had an unfavorable termination. AMEER KHAN being (from having fallen from his horse) reported slain, his followers, after plundering their own camp, fled in every direction. The discomfited chief went to the tent of of WUZEER MAHOMED, who had taken no share in the battle, and requested he would accompany him in the retreat he was compelled to make. But the latter, who was disgusted with the whole conduct of his ally, and quite indignant at the cowardice and want of discipline of his followers, bade AMEER KHAN go back, as he had advanced alone. "You," he said, "who have no country to fight for, may think a casual defeat of little importance, but in the defence of a state, the reputation of its leader is one of its strongest bulwarks, and that, if once lost, cannot be regained. What hopes could a people entertain of a chief in my situation, who shrunk from danger? Retreat therefore shall never be resorted to by me, till I have convinced my enemies that I am resolved to achieve whatever is

within

* He always carried about with him a Takweem or Almanack, in which the good or bad days were noted according to the calculations of astrologers, but besides this he had great faith in omens. It is difficult to say, how much of this belief was real or pretended; he certainly amid the extraordinary vicissitudes of his life, often derived and imparted to his followers courage from the slightest events.

within the verge of possibility."* This conference was quite public: WUZEER acted as he said he would; he immediately led his troops, who were animated by his brave resolution, and proud of the superiority of their chief, against the army of Nagpore, whom he forced in their turn to give ground: but their numbers were too great, and he derived no benefit, except the substantial one of maintaining his high name by this temporary success. His attempts at this period to obtain the assistance and mediation of the British government,† were unsuccessful, for though there was no doubt, from the character of WUZEER MAHOMED, that it was from a motive of self-preservation alone that he had contracted friendship with the leaders of the Pindaries and AMEER KHAN, this could not prevent his being classed among those whose efforts were supposed to have combined to overrun the territories of Nagpore and the Deckan. He had indeed not only co-operated with those plunderers, but his country was their professed assylum.‡ He was in consequence at this period in imminent hazard of being destroyed by the British force which advanced under SIR BARRY CLOSE across the Nerbuddah. That army acted in co-operation with the Rajah of Nagpore against AMEER KHAN, but the Officer who commanded it had optional orders to attack Bhopal. The danger which threatened this petty state was averted by the jealousy of the Court of Nagpore, who feared if we aided in its reduction, we might impose some inconvenient conditions in favor of its rulers, and by the open and manly conduct of WUZEER MAHOMED. When SADICK ALLEE was seizing Chynpore Barree and other possessions, WUZEER MAHOMED sent an Agent to Colonel CLOSE to describe the

* I write this speech of WUZEER MAHOMED from the relation of a most intelligent Native, who was present when it was made.

† ENOYET MUSHEER, his Vakeel at the Court of Nagpore, was employed on this occasion to endeavour to interest Mr. JENKINS in his favor.

‡ In April 1811, KURREEM KHAN and CHEETOO arrived at Bhopal, and received an honorable reception from WUZEER MAHOMED, who in conjunction with them, set about recovering all that had been wrested from him by the Nagpore Government.

the necessity under which he acted, to urge the claims of the family of the Nabobs of Bhopal on the British nation, for the aid formerly given to General GODDARD, and finally to state his complete acquiescence in whatever terms the Colonel might dictate. His Agent was instructed to state distinctly that no thoughts of opposition were entertained against a nation which it was an hereditary feeling with the Princes and Nobles of Bhopal to regard with hope and confidence as friends, and towards which no extreme could ever make them place themselves in the relation of enemies.

52. The conduct of WUZEER MAHOMED and his Officers, when the British Troops were within and near his territories, corresponded with his professions, but he chiefly owed his safety to the vacillating policy of RAGOJEE BHONSLAH, on whose friendship the British Government had every day less cause to rely. WUZEER MAHOMED saw and took advantage of this state of affairs; he eagerly pressed the claim of Bhopal to British protection, but apprehension that interference in its concerns would involve much embarrassment, and carry Government beyond the limit they wished, led to the rejection of all the propositions which he made at this moment; and for seven successive years, during which his unsupported struggles for the existence of the state of which he was the head, were quite wonderful, this gallant Chief was at once an object of terror and of calumny at the Mahratta Courts, particularly those of Nagpore and Gwalior. Their efforts to destroy him had driven him to have recourse to every means for the preservation of himself and country, and forgetting the real authors of the condition in which he was placed, they represent him as the associate of Pindarries, the patron of plunderers, and the chief enemy to the restoration of peace in Malwa. Viewing him in this light, a combination was formed against him, which from the means collected it seemed impossible should fail in the object of crushing him. But this part of the subject deserves minute notice, as it evinces

evinces in a remarkable manner, what the natives of India, even when unaided by discipline, are capable of effecting, when commanded by an able leader who possesses their confidence and attachment.

53. In March 1812 one of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH's principal Generals, JUGGOO BAPPOO made an attack on Bhopal, with the Troops of which he had several slight actions, but appears to have made no impression. The plea of this attack was the non-payment of sums due by WUZEER MAHOMED to the Government of SCINDIAH. On a small amount* being given and a promise of more, JUGGOO BAPPOO retired for the rains to Dowlutpoor, in the Pergunnah of Itchawur. When the season opened, this chief again advanced, and the approach of the Nagpore Troops under SADICK ALLEE, announced the commencement of that combined plan of operations, which DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH and the Rajah of Nagpore had for some time contemplated against the principality of Bhopal. Their object was its complete destruction, and an engagement was entered into, by which the parties agreed to share equally that territory, the complete conquest of which they anticipated as the certain result of their great preparations.

54. The City of Bhopal, which stands on the high land of Goandwarrah north of the Nerbuddah, is of considerable extent, about four miles round. It is surrounded by a tolerable wall, but without any ditch or other defence on three faces. On the other side the Southern face is the Citadel of Futtygurh, which stands on an eminence, and is defended on one side by the tank or lake of Bhopal, a noble sheet of water, which extends in length five miles, and is in average breadth about one; most of the irregular crags or eminences upon the bank of the lake had formerly been fortified; one in particular, called the Old Fort, had been strong, but was now in ruins.

* Not above twenty thousand rupees.

ruins. Indeed, the works were all in a very bad condition; their appearance and that of the fallen and empty houses (for WUZEER MAHOMED had warned all the inhabitants that could not share in the toils and dangers of the siege, to depart) gave to Bhopal the place he was preparing to defend, more the appearance of a desolated ruin than a capital. The events of the siege which ensued will be best given in the plain narrative of a person who witnessed the actions he has described.

55. WUZEER MAHOMED had within the walls of Bhopal nearly six thousand horse and foot in his own pay, three thousand Pindarries under NAMDAR KHAN, nephew of KURREEM, and two thousand men furnished by the Zemindars of the Pergunnah of Tol, and by RUTTON SINGH, Thakoor of Satunbaree. A. D. 1813.

56. When JUGGOO BAPPOO,* after the rains were over, invested Bhopal, he was joined by one of his officers named DAN SINGH, who reinforced him with twelve Battalions of Infantry and thirty guns, and this force already amounting to twenty-five thousand, was subsequently augmented by the corps of RAM LAL† and KISHNA BHOW, consisting of fifteen thousand men, horse and foot, and an army from Nagpore under SADICK ALLEE KHAN of nearly thirty thousand men.

57. When this immense army, amounting altogether to seventy thousand‡ men was assembled, the siege of Bhopal commenced. During the first fortnight there was only a cannonading, after which the regular Infantry commanded by DAN SINGH, assaulting WUZEER MAHOMED's out posts, drove them with much loss on both sides under the shelter

* His proper name was JUGOPOH BAPOO, but he is best known in Indian history, by the name of JUGGOO BAPPOO.

† RAM LAL was commander of the Horse, and KISHNA BHOW of the Infantry.

‡ This statement is perhaps exaggerated by ten or fifteen thousand men, but the force is acknowledged by all to have been very great.

shelter of the town walls,* which the besiegers began to batter,—having occupied all the advanced positions from which the besieged had been driven. The latter, when confined within the walls, began to suffer some distress, particularly the Pindaries, who representing to Wuzeer Mahomed that they were unable to procure forage for their horses, recommended his permitting them to withdraw from the place. Wuzeer Mahomed consented, and the Pindaries withdrew by some by-road unknown to the enemy. Most of the mounted troops belonging to the Zemindars were compelled by the same motives to follow this example, and they promised however to assist as much as possible, by having supplies of grain conveyed to the town as opportunities should occur; they fulfilled their pledge, and the besieged for a time received occasional supplies by a secret road leading from the gates of the old fort of Bhopal, over the hills and defiles unknown to the besiegers.—Scarcity commenced, for unfortunately a deserter from the town giving information to the enemy of the by-road, it was immediately blocked up by the troops of Sadick Allee Khan, who occupied a space reaching from the gate of the old fort to the Gunnour gate of the town wall. The troops of Juggoo Bappoo also took positions which commanded the approach to the principal gates of the town wall, and the three or four remaining ones were blocked up in the same manner by Ram Lal and Kishna Bhow, whilst the enemy were employed in preventing the ingress or egress to or from the town. Wuzeer Mahomed made his dispositions for defence by posting a certain number of troops inside of each gate, at the most defensible positions of the town.† He gave the most strict orders to his troops

* It is stated in Major Henley's notes, on this siege, that the friends of Wuzeer Mahomed had on this occasion, the utmost difficulty in prevailing on him to abandon the tombs of his ancestors, where the principal battery of the enemy was raised.

†The old fort was guarded by a Rajpoot Officer named Dongur Singh, with one hundred men. The Gunnour gate by Thakoor Jey Singh with two hundred. The Goandwarrah gate by a Syud named Meer Bakur Allee with two hundred. The Mungulwarrah by another Syud named Nunga Sir, Bare Head, from continually going with his head uncovered, who had two hundred men under him.

troops that they should not expend ammunition by firing unnecessarily, which could only tend to impress the enemy with an opinion of their unsteadiness, and was so rigid in the observance of this order, that after the occurrence of several false alarms from unnecessary firing, he punished the offenders by cutting off their ears and noses, and expelling them with disgrace from the town. The siege commenced about the latter end of the month of October (Kartick.) In November the regular Infantry with JUGGOO BAPPOO drove in WUZEER MAHOMED's outposts as before mentioned. and in the beginning of December the enemy took up the positions that have been detailed, to blockade the town gates. Shortly after this WUZEER MAHOMED was informed of a spot where treasure was supposed to be concealed. He ordered the ground to be dug, and found twenty-two large bags, or sacks, containing each eight or ten thousand pieces of copper. He also found thirty nine iron guns in good condition;—these he directed to be mounted on the walls, while the copper was coined, and distributed to the troops. Grain had now become so scarce, that only two seers were procurable for a rupee. Having before stated that every road to the town was blocked up by the enemy, it is necessary to recollect (in order to account for the besieged continuing to receive occasional supplies) that the town of Bhopal is defended by a large lake on the western side, over which grain was from time to time transported in boats for the besieged by some of the Zemindars of the country, and

him The Etwarrrah gate by MOOLAFFM KHAN, with two hundred men. The Josmarat gate by a Chelah named KHAJAH BUKSH with two hundred. The Sondwarrah gate by MOIZE MAHOMED KHAN, Son of GHANS MAHOMED, with four hundred men, and the Hummamel gate by KURREEM MAHOMED KHAN, with two hundred. In a place called Wuzeer Gunge, founded by WUZEER MAHOMED out side of the Town, an Officer named GOOLSHUN Row was posted with five hundred men. Futtyghur, was defended by an officer named DIL MAHOMED KHAN, with two hundred men. A fortified eminence within Futtyghur called the Bala Kiluh or upper Fort, was guarded by a Rajpoot named ZALIM SINGH, with one hundred men. The Saley Port of Futtyghur was defended by SOOTA KHAN, a Chelah, with one hundred men WUZEER MAHOMED did not restrict himself to any particular place, but with five hundred men under his immediate personal Command, had a general superintendance over all the posts to any of which he was ready to move as occasion required.

and particularly by RUTTÜN SINGH of Soandwarrah. The progress of the besiegers was slow during the first two months. The wall of the Shuhpunnah, or town of Bhopal is high and strong, and the artillery of the enemy seldom fired more than forty shots in a day, except on occasions of their making an attack. None had yet been made upon the body of the town, but about the middle of December a general assault took place. A storming party was directed upon every gate, whilst others of the assailants attempted to escalade the walls, but they were repulsed, though not till after a conflict which lasted for eighteen hours. The conduct of WUZEER MAHOMED on this occasion gave great courage and confidence to the troops and the inhabitants. He flew himself or sent succour to every point that was pressed, till attack after attack was abandoned in despair by the assailants.

58. In the month of January two different attacks were made at the same time on the town, one by the troops of SADICK ALIEE KHAN on the Gunnour gate, and the other by those of DAN SINGH on the Mungulwarrah gate. Some of the assailants of this last attack were so successful as to effect an entrance by escalade over a part of the wall that had been battered near the top, but they met with so warm a reception from the defenders inside, that the whole of them were forced to retire The partial success of the attack on the Mungulwarrah gate having attracted the attention of the besieged, who all crowded to that quarter, the defence of the Gunnour gate had been neglected. This enabled a party of the assailants to escalade the wall and gain a bastion, where they planted their standard. This display however afforded but a short-lived triumph, as the women of this quarter of the town alarmed at the danger that threatened them, assembled in crowds on the tops of houses and other high places, and attacked the enemy with a shower of tiles, stones, and other missiles. This unexpected annoyance from the Amazons galled the assailants so severely, that they were compelled to lower their standard, and could hardly maintain their ground. At this juncture

juncture Wuzeer Mahomed, having beaten back the attack at the Mungulwarrah gate, arrived to oppose that at the Gunnour one, where he was equally successful, forcing those who had entered to return precipitately with great loss.* He was quite delighted with the conduct of the women who had defended this unguarded post, and after highly applauding their courage, he rewarded them with presents for the essential service which they had performed. No event that occurred gave such satisfaction to Wuzeer Mahomed as this. He was of a very sanguine temper, and inclined to superstition, and he confessed that he drew a happy presage from the display of valor made by the females of the town upon this occasion, that the place was not destined to fall into the hands of the besiegers. The situation however of the defenders of Bhopal became every day worse; during the month of February the price of grain rose to the rate of a rupee per seer. The boats had hitherto continued to bring occasional supplies, though scanty; but this mode of relief was discovered by the enemy, who bribed the boatmen to deliver up their boats and desert to them. This misfortune reduced the besieged to such distress, that numbers of the inhabitants as well as the troops were unable to resist opportunities which occurred of deserting. These with casualties diminished the number of the garrison, from between four and five thousand to as many hundreds. The Mahomedan part of this body did not scruple to eat carrion, whilst the most rigid of the Hindus endeavored to appease the cravings of hunger by making food of tamarind stones and leaves of trees. They at times received assistance from the besiegers themselves, some of whom, tempted by exorbitant profit, gave them by stealth supplies of grain, which were handed over the walls. During this month some more efforts were made by Dan Singh, but with such unvaried bad success, that it excited the indignation of another chief

* Another account states that the scaling ladders were thrown down, which left the assailants without retreat, and the greater part of them were destroyed.

chief named RAM LAL, who resolved to make a desperate attack, boasting that he would in the course of next day be in possession of the town. In furtherance of this determination he prepared an assaulting party of three thousand picked men, with which he marched before day break upon Wuzeer Gunge. The troops stationed at this point were fortunately on the alert, and opened a smart fire on the assailants, which gave the alarm to the besieged in the town, who immediately sent out two guns to their support, which with those from the walls and from Futtygurh, were so well served, and did such execution by a cross fire amongst the enemy, that when day broke about a thousand of them were killed and wounded. The assailants notwithstanding this loss, pushed on boldly till they advanced so close to the walls of Bhopal as to be under cover from the cannon. On this WUZEER MAHOMED with fifty men only made a sally from the Joomarath Gate, and the party at Wuzeer Gunge issuing from that place at the same time to join him, they made an united attack upon the enemy with such furious resolution and ardor, that they forced them to fly with RAM LAL at their head, their numbers being reduced from three thousand to little more than five hundred. WUZEER MAHOMED lost on this occasion about sixty or seventy of his best men, which lessened his adherents to the small number of two hundred. But RAM LAL, one of the bravest of the leaders of his enemies, was so much dispirited and afflicted by the defeat he had sustained, and the loss of so many men, that he could never venture upon another assault.

59. Grain was not now procurable in Bhopal, except such as was sold clandestinely by the besiegers; even that was little, and at the enhanced rate of two rupees per seer, whilst it continued to be sold in the Mahratta camp at the rate of one rupee for five seers. To preserve life, the besieged had no other food than what was before mentioned, pounded tamarind stones and a seed or berry used for medical purposes, called Kasnee, and even these two articles were not to be had under the exorbitant price of one and a half rupee per seer.

60. In

60. In the month of March the besieged experienced some respite from hostilities on the part of the enemy, in consequence of the death of JUGGOO BAPPOO, an event which occupied the Mahrattas nearly a month, and the performance of the funeral obsequies and rites of their chief, appear to have been deemed a duty that superseded every other. About the end of the month of April one of WUZEER MAHOMED's officers named DOONGUR SINGH, who had with a party of one hundred men (at this time reduced to ten) been stationed to defend the old fort, allowed himself to be tampered with by SADICK ALLEE KHAN and he not only deserted his post during the night, but conducted about five hundred of the enemy into the fort he had abandoned. It chanced that two men of the besieged, stationed at the old fort gate leading to the town, were alarmed at the bustle made by the Nagpore troops as they entered. They imagined at first that it was created by DOONGUR SINGH returning from his rounds, but upon attentively listening, they became convinced that the noise was that of a larger party than he had under his command. In order to ascertain the fact, they cautiously entered the fort, and on arriving near the Mukburreh, or Mausoleum of the late Nabob FYZ MAHOMED KHAN, they found it filled by a body of the enemy, with the matches of their fire arms lighted. On this discovery one of the men hastened to report the circumstance to WUZEER MAHOMED, who enquired what had become of DOONGUR SINGH, the other replied that he could not tell, but advised that some prompt and decisive steps should be taken, otherwise the enemy would soon enter the town. On this remark WUZEER MAHOMED, who had at that time only thirty men with him, cast an anxious glance at his son NUZZER MAHOMED KHAN, who construing the expression of his father's eye into a wish of his being the first to go against the enemy, entreated permission to do so. "If matters are come to this crisis (said WUZEER MAHOMED,) we must all go." But on further solicitation from his son, he permitted him to proceed in advance with twelve men, whilst he himself with the remainder of his party followed at a short distance.

61. In

61. In the mean time the enemy had not quitted the Mausoleum, but conceiving themselves already masters of Bhopal, they had become neglectful of precaution, and many of them had laid their matchlocks aside, whilst others undressing themselves sat down at their ease, enjoying the thoughts of their fancied success. On NUZZER MAHOMED with his twelve men arriving near the Mausoleum, two of the Patans who were a few paces in advance of the rest, called out, with a view of deceiving the enemy to those in the rear, "come on Comrades, the enemy are very inferior "to us in numbers." A volley was instantly fired by this small party, which did great execution, as the fire arms of the Patans consisted of a species of blunderbuss, each of which was loaded with thirty or forty small balls. The enemy were thrown into the greatest disorder and consternation by this unexpected attack. They were also deceived as to the numbers of the enemy by the call purposely made by the foremost Patans, and in this state of perplexity were incapable of adopting any plan of decisive action. WUZEER MAHOMED with his party joined that of his son, and the whole of this little band of Patans threw aside their fire arms, and drawing their swords, rushed with impetuosity into the Mausoleum. Those of the enemy who could escape offered little or no resistance, but they left behind them above a hundred men killed and wounded, also a number of their arms and clothes. WUZEER MAHOMED KHAN was on this occasion most severely bruised with stones, and NUZZER MAHOMED KHAN received a deep sabre cut on the shoulder, and a slight cut on the head; but this success was attended with more important consequences than could have been anticipated. In a few days after it occurred (in the beginning of the month of May) SADICK ALLY KHAN announced his having been visited by a dream, in which he heard a voice uttering the most awful maledictions against him for his apostacy, in leaguing with infidels against the Mahomedans, the followers of the most high prophet. He had been warned, he added, to desist

from

from attempts equally futile and impious, as the besieged were under the immediate protection of a divine providence. The impression, real or pretended, made on SADICK ALLEE KHAN by this dream, was so great, that he publicly declared his resolution of conforming to what it dictated, and in consequence issued orders to his troops to prepare to withdraw from Bhopal. DAN SINGH and the other chiefs used many arguments to induce him to remain, but their entreaties were answered by exhortation to follow his example, if they wished to avoid the vengeance of heaven.

62. After the departure of SADICK ALLEE KHAN, which greatly injured the confederate cause, the leaders and troops of SCINDIAH, fatigued by a long siege of nearly nine months, during which they had lost several thousands of their men, without making any substantial progress in their operations, desisted from any further attempts against Bhopal; and, after a fortnight spent in preparation for marching, they raised the siege by departing for Sarungpore, where they passed the monsoon.

63. Such was the termination of this memorable attack upon Bhopal, but the danger to that city was not yet over. JESWUNT ROW BHOW, the cousin * of JUGGOO BAPPOO, who had succeeded to the command of his troops, employed himself during the rains in making preparations for renewing the siege the moment the season would permit. WUZEER MAHOMED, who, though his means and numbers were reduced to the lowest ebb, still preserved an unbroken spirit, employed himself during the rains in sending grain and stores from Rahsein to Bhopal, to enable him to meet another attack. His difficulties, however, appeared insurmountable; the Pindaries had all joined the BHOW'S Camp, and that was now reinforced by JEAN BAPTISTE, an European† Commander in the service

* JESWUNT ROW BHOW was the son of JEWA DADA, the first cousin of JUGGOO BAPPOO. This family are Brahmins of the Seaver tribe.

† This Officer, though called an European, was born in India. He is the half brother of Colonel FELOZE, celebrated for having betrayed NANAH FURNAVEES.—Vide JONES' Letter on the MAHRATTAS.

service of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, who had a well-equipped Campoo or Brigade of eight Battalions and about forty guns. Fortunately for Bhopal, a serious dissention occurred amongst the leaders of its enemies. The refusal of JESWUNT ROW BHOW to make an advance of money to pay the troops of BAPTISTE was the first ground of discontent; this was daily increased, till a chance quarrel between a party of their foragers caused each to draw out their troops, and a serious affray ensued; but the followers of the BHOW, particularly the Infantry, which had suffered extremely from the siege, were not able to stand against the fresh and better-disciplined Brigades of BAPTISTE. They fled in every direction, leaving their camp to be plundered. This action took place at Sehore. BAPTISTE is said to have taken one hundred and three guns of different sizes. The BHOW and some of the leaders went under the walls of Bhopal, where they were permitted to find shelter for one night, but requested to depart early next day, as there was an apprehension that their finding refuge there might be a motive for another attack, which, if aided by a renewed combination against it, would probably have destroyed this principality in spite of all the efforts of the hero by whom it was defended. That BAPTISTE did not prosecute the siege has been assigned to many reasons; but the real cause was, that the overture made by WUZEER MAHOMED at this period to the British Agent* in Bundlecund had been so far favorably entertained, that the Resident† at the Court of Gwalior had called upon SCINDIAH to abstain from a prosecution of hostilities against Bhopal, as that country gained importance when it was viewed as an instrument that might be used for repressing the Pindaries whose excesses now threatened the general peace of India; and the Resident‡ at Nagpore, to whom WUZEER MAHOMED had also sent an Agent, evinced equal information and foresight in the delineation he early gave of the actual condition and character of this principality, and the eventual

* The late Mr. WAUCHOPE.

† Mr. STRACHEY.—Vide that Gentleman's Correspondence.

‡ Vide Despatch from Mr. JENKINS to Mr. Secretary ADAM, dated 29th October. 1814.

[illegible] use that might be made of his [illegible], [illegible] and resources, in the [illegible] against this predatory system which now threatened to [illegible] India.

64. Though Wuzeer Mahomed, relieved from the pressure of misfortune, did not pursue his object of obtaining the protection of the British Government with the same ardor he had at first desired, and the negotiations that ensued were never matured into any engagement during his life,*—yet the knowledge of his being in constant communication with the public Officers of the British Government was no slight shield, as it deterred his most powerful enemies from attacking him. He was, nevertheless, continually engaged in that predatory warfare, amid which he had lived, and of which the territories of the state that he ruled had long been the vortex. One of the last actions of his life was an effort to reconcile, by intermarriages, his family with that of Ghous Mahomed. The daughter of the latter Prince was married to Nuzzer Mahomed, the second son and favorite of Wuzeer Mahomed; while the latter gave his niece† to Mouzum Mahomed Khan, the eldest son of Ghous Mahomed. Wuzeer Mahomed died in February, A. D. 1816, aged 51 years, after a rule of little more than 9 years—but of this short period he had not passed one day in repose.

65. The principality Wuzeer Mahomed ruled was, from the hour he assumed the Government till that of his death, threatened with destruction. Such a man could alone have saved it. Though as remarkable for prowess and valor as the most desperate of that race of Mahomedans to whom

* Wuzeer Mahomed died in 1816. In 1814 Mr. Jenkins' Letter to Lord Moira states, that the British Government had afforded its protection to the state of Bhopal; but this appears to have been afterwards withdrawn—though by Mr. Strachey's communication from Gwalior, it appears to have been our interference alone that prevented Sindia's attack on Bhopal.

† The daughter of Kureem Mahomed, the present Regent.

whom he belonged, he was, from his manners, mild and pleasing; his look and stature were alike commanding, and there was in his disposition a sternness that inspired awe. He latterly gave way to habits of dissipation, which were believed to have shortened* his existence. All, acquainted with the vicissitudes of the life of Wuzeer Mahomed, deeply regretted his death at the moment it occurred. He should have lived to behold his great and patriotic efforts rewarded,—to see the people of the land he loved rescued from destruction, and raised to happiness and prosperity by the Government whose aid he had through life courted, and on whom his hopes till the last hour of his life rested. This destiny was reserved for a son whom he selected and educated for his successor, and who proved himself every way worthy of him.

66. Nuzzer Mahomed, the second son of Wuzeer Mahomed, has been already mentioned as fighting and bleeding, while yet a youth, by his father's side, at the memorable siege of Bhopal. Hopeless of his eldest son, who was a slave to indolence and excess, which early enervated both his mind and body, Wuzeer Mahomed had early determined upon his successor, whose education was an object of his earnest solicitude; and, in addition to his other acquirements, Nuzzer Mahomed, though yet a youth, had learnt so well the duties of a soldier, that on his father's death he stood the first in fame among the Chiefs of the country. The respect for the memory of his father, combined with his own high qualities, made all the Nobles press the Government of Bhopal upon his acceptance.

67. Ghans Mahomed, who, though sunk into obscurity, was still called Nabob, made no objections to his elevation; and his eldest brother, Ameer Mahomed Khan, stupified with his excesses, was amongst the first

* Wuzeer Mahomed, according to the account given by those who knew him best to Major Henley, became during the last years of his life much addicted to debauchery, particularly to the use of intoxicating liquors, and he died of an inflammatory fever, supposed to have been brought on by that cause, after a short illness of four days.

first to avow publicly his [illegible] younger brother to take the reins of [illegible]. To this [illegible] Mahomed consented, and his [illegible] efforts were directed to the favorite object of his father's life, a treaty of [illegible] with the English Government. The policy of this measure had been long under discussion, and a fear of the embarrassments it might produce had led the Court of Directors to desire that no such treaty should be concluded; but the excesses of the Pindaries forced the Supreme Government of India to a course of measures, which made obedience to such restrictive orders impossible.

68. The first step of the Campaign of 1817 was an engagement with the state of Bhopal, concluded at Hussingabad, which guaranteed that territory to its actual Ruler, and stipulated for his aiding the British Army with a contingent, and co-operating to the utmost of his means in the ensuing war. No obligations were ever more faithfully fulfilled. Nuzzur Mahomed received at the end of the war, as the reward of his zeal and efforts, the fine province named Punj Mahal, or the five Districts, which were taken from a Jaghiredar* of the Paishwah, and which not only joined the territories of Bhopal, but had formerly been a part of that principality. The restoration of the Fort of Islamnuggur, which was obtained from Scindiah, was though of no value in point of revenue, esteemed beyond all other favors by the ruling family of Bhopal. It contained the tomb of Yar Mahomed, and its position, almost at the gates of the capital, had made its separation from the State a source of the greatest regret. The condition of Bhopal was so low, that at Wuzeer Mahomed's death its actual revenue could not have amounted to one lack of rupees. It was now raised to a high rank among the secondary class of Native States. Its territories, restored, included almost all the Provinces its rulers formerly possessed, and its revenues improved to nine or ten lacks, with a prospect of early exceeding thirty.

69. Never

* The Vinchoor Chief.

69. Never were prospects more flattering than those which awaited NUZZER MAHOMED, when an unhappy accident terminated his life, and left his family and country to mourn the untimely and irreparable loss of a Prince who seemed born for the times in which he lived, and who promised to be as active and successful in restoring his Country to prosperity, as his father had been in saving it from destruction. His death was occasioned by the discharge of a pistol he carried about his person, which he laid down when playing in his inner apartments with his infant daughter, and it is supposed to have been fired by his brother-in-law, FOUJDAR KHAN, a child of eight years of age, who was the only one present on this melancholy occasion. The sensation caused by his death was great, and men gave way for the moment to the worst suspicions; but these were dispelled by the minute investigation which took place, and by the conduct of all to whom such a design could have been attributed, or who could in any way have expected benefit from the event.* But the

* After minutely detailing the results of the investigation which had been made, Major HENLEY, Political Agent at Bhopal, speaking of FOUJDAR KHAN, observes: the Child had been often seen to handle the pistol when sitting by the Nabob, who had on such occasion taken it from him. He was moreover just of that height, that a pistol discharged from his hand, when standing by the side of the Nabob sitting on the cot in the posture described, would have taken the direction which had been mentioned, and the circumstance of its having been fired, rather from before than behind, renders it evident that the attention of the Nabob could not have been excited, as must have been the case, had any person entered and taken up the pistol.

A premeditatory assassin, the Major adds, would have chosen other weapons, and not have risked the chance of his securing the pistol from the Nabob, whose personal prowess and courage were well known—nor was it possible such a one could have seized the pistol unperceived, and fired it in a stooping posture so close to the Nabob, without resistance being attempted.—FOUJDAR moreover being now alarmed, prevaricates and denies his former statements, which renders it probable he disguised the truth in the first instance. There is no reason however for supposing he was actuated by any bad intention, as he had always appeared much attached to the Nabob. The same cause (his being the son of GHANS MAHOMED) which led to these suspicions, attached to his sister, the Nabob's only wife, to which Major HENLEY reverts such an intent, appears most improbable in so young a person, her age being only seventeen; she is besides stated to be of a mild disposition, and strongly attached to the Nabob, who treated her with unusual consideration.—He not only resisted all the entreaties that were used to induce him to contract a second marriage, but strictly prohibited the introduction of any young females, either as slaves, servants or otherwise, within the mahal.—In further disproof of this it is stated, that her grief since the accident has been so great, as to produce her miscarriage,—an event that, had she cherished any ambitious views, she must have earnestly deprecated.

the general feelings and conduct of all persons, from GHAWS MAHOMED to the lowest Patan, banished every suspicion of NUZZER MAHOMED KHAN'S death being premeditated. There was but one sentiment, that of the deepest regret, and no person sought to take advantage of the accident to promote his own interests. At a consultation of the principal Chiefs, it was resolved to continue to attend to the Begum and Ministers of the deceased prince, till the pleasure of the British Government was known as to his successor; and it is remarkable, that not the slightest effort was made by any party to influence the judgment of the British Agent,---a sufficient proof of itself of the absence of all design or guilt on this unhappy occasion. NUZZER MAHOMED KHAN, when he died, was only twenty-eight years of age; he had ruled Bhopal three years and five months, and has left a name that has been attained by few during the longest life. Schooled in adversity under an able father, from whose example he learnt lessons which no books or tutors can teach, he early attained maturity of judgment. His appearance was noble, and his manners those of a Prince who knew the value of possessing the hearts of his subjects. His mind was so superior, and his courage so elevated him above suspicion, that the whole family of the rulers of Bhopal whom he had supplanted, as well as his elder brother who had resigned his birth-right to him, lived not only without restriction, but on the most intimate footing of familiarity with him, coming and going through every apartment of his palace at their pleasure. NUZZER MAHOMED held, in just detestation, the general vices and indulgence of his tribe. His Haram contained but one Begum, and no slaves; he was a good Mahomedan, but so far removed from bigotry that his favorite companion and minister was a Christian.* His whole soul was

* SHAHZAD MUSSEAH, or BELTHAZAR BOURBOUN. This Prince, who is an able man and a brave soldier, is the descendant of a Frenchman called BOURBOUN, who came to India in the time of the Emperor AKBAR; the following is an account given by SHAHZAD MUSSEAH of his family.

" John Bourboun came from Pari, or Bevi, (probably Paris or Berdi in France) in Europe to Hindostan during the reign of AKBAR, and going to Delhi was employed in the service of that Prince.—

was absorbed during the two last years in plans for improving his country. He investigated himself every account, heard every complaint, and, while all speak of his kindness, benevolence and justice, his memory is unstained by the reproach of a single act of tyranny.

70. A greater loss could not have occurred to a State in the condition of Bhopal than the death of NUZZER MAHOMED, and that event was also a serious misfortune to the English Government, to whom this virtuous Prince was firmly attached. He was exactly fitted to be that popular instrument of restoring order and prosperity which was required. His mind went far beyond the usual range of his class. He cultivated knowledge of every description with extraordinary ardor, and had made no slight progress in the arts* foreign to the occupations of his life, and the

After the death of JOHN BOURBOUN the King particularly distinguished his son ALEXANDER BOURBOUN, who was entrusted with the charge of the Deorhee of the Palace of the Begums. This charge was continued in the family to the time of FURADER BOURBOUN, about the time that the King (NADIR SHAH) destroyed Shahjehanabad, and the ruin of the Empire had taken place. FURADER BOURBOUN also left this wicked world, leaving a son, SALVADOR BOURBOUN, who viewing these events with disgust and sorrow left Delhi, and came to reside at Marwar, as all the Rajahs and Princes of Hindostan were aware of his having been distinguished by the Royal service and favor. He was treated with much consideration and respect, and lived at Nurwur in great ease, and now no other man of consequence (foreigner I suppose) remains, in whose family could be traced the possession of an Imperial Jaghire, with the exception of Sheirghur, &c. near Gwalior, which was the Jaghire of BHORA, commonly known as the Nawaub MUSSEAH RAGO KHAN. My father ENOYET MUSSEAH (SHOOHUR BOURBOUN) was born at Gwalior. Although Europeans have without numbers flocked to Hindostan since the arrival of JOHN BOURBOUN, yet our family has not intermarried with any of them, save with two, and they were noble in their own tribes, and also Monsubdars (which constitute nobility in India) of the Mogul Empire.—The one a Frenchman, and the other an Armenian of the Roman Catholic, otherwise our religion.

In the year that Colonels KAMAK and POPUN (CAMAC and POPHAM) took Gwalior, the Rajah of Nurwur had treacherously seized and murdered BHORA and our other relations and possessed himself of their property. At the time the fort was taken, my father, on account of the above calamity, was then residing there, and visited Colonel CAMAC, to whom he related the history of our family since its arrival in Hindostan, and especially of its recent calamity. The Colonel sympathized with and comforted my father, gave him a handsome sum of money, a good house for his family, and a village in free gift. Some time after this my father came to Bhopal, where he was also treated with great kindness and respect. Since the time that the Mahrattas have occupied Gwalior, the village has been resumed by them and lost to my family.

* He was particularly fond of mechanics, and could himself take to pieces and put together a watch, with the principles of the construction of which he was well acquainted.

the duties of his station. The fame of Nuzzer Mahomed will be long commemorated as an object of emulation to his successors, but we must despair of seeing his equal; he was, as most other such characters have been, formed by the early scenes of his life. No instructions could have conveyed the lessons he learnt; when encouraged by the example and rewarded by the love of a noble father, he struggled with him to preserve a country rendered dearer from the extreme misery to which it was reduced, and his mind was too well formed, before the hour of success came, ever to lose that tone which it had received from scenes of difficulty and danger.

71. Nuzzer Mahomed left no issue by his Begum, the daughter of Ghans Mahomed, except one female child. He had not assumed the title of Nabob, though he was always addressed as such by the British, and not Ghans Mahomed, who has sunk into complete obscurity, and was never in any way brought forward in the connection which was formed between that State and the actual Ruler of Bhopal. In the engagement which was entered into at Hussingabad, and the treaty made after the war, by which the cession to this State and the numbers of the contingent to be maintained was finally settled, Nuzzer Mahomed Khan and his descendants were alone mentioned, and to them the rule of the country was guaranteed. Mooneer* Mahomed Khan, the son of Ameer Mahomed Khan, the elder brother of Nuzzer Mahomed, has succeeded his uncle, to whose daughter he is to be married, that the interests of the family may as much as possible be united in his person.† In discussing the

* The right of Ghans Mahomed was never agitated. He was titular Nabob, but not Ruler. Ameer Mahomed, the brother of the deceased, had publicly resigned his birth-right and declared his incompetency; but this abdication of right was very properly not considered to affect the claims of his children.

† It may be asked if, as a theory, the abdication of Ameer Mahomed Khan was very properly considered not to affect the claims of his children, would not the same rule apply equally to the children of Ghans Mahomed, who has been, like Ameer Mahomed, excluded from his acknowledged incompetence? but it is to be replied, that the obligations and engagements of the English Government have been exclusively contracted with the family of Wuzeer Mahomed, who alone have been recognized by us

the question of succession, no reference was made to GHANS MAHOMED or his sons, who are living on the Jaghire assigned for their support at Bhopal, nor do these appear ever to have brought forward their pretensions. It is, however, to be remarked that, though the representative of the family of WUZEER MAHOMED may now be deemed entitled to the name as well as the power of Nabob of Bhopal, that title is still given by the inhabitants of Bhopal to GHANS MAHOMED.

72. The Murajee Khyl Patans of that place, it has been before remarked, have some singular institutions which arose out of their original agreement, to maintain the habits and laws of their society, as those existed in Afghanistan. It is from this patriarchal form of Government that they claim* a limited privilege in the choice of their chief, to whom however they deny the right of interfering in the jurisdiction of their families. The habits and character of this body of men require our attention. With every good disposition to the British Government, and grateful for the benefits they have derived from it, they are not only jealous of encroachment on their usages, but impatient of neglect, and turbulent in a degree, that requires much care in the conduct of our relations with them. They are, however, deserving both of that solicitude and favor which they have hitherto received, for Bhopal is at this moment, and will continue while well managed, an essential point of strength in Central India.

as Rulers of Bhopal. Nor can either faith or policy call upon us to revive or support the obsolete claims to rule of a family, to whom, though long excluded from power, a titular rank and a provision is still granted by the prejudices of their relations and countrymen.

* The rights of Afghans and other tribes in this particular are invariably limited by usage. They must choose a member of the ruling family, and the Murajee Khyl chiefs of Bhopal appear to have always adhered as closely to hereditary succession from the time of DOST MAHOMED as the state of anarchy and continual warfare would admit.

PART

PART EIGHTH.

RISE, PROGRESS AND ANNIHILATION OF THE PINDARIES OF MALWA.

1. The Pindaries, though they never took deep root in Malwa, made that Province their home, or rather Head-quarters, for the short period that they became formidable as enemies of the *general* peace of India, and cannot therefore be excluded from its history. Some general observations on the origin, character, and constitution of those plunderers, and a short sketch of the lives of some of the most remarkable of their Chiefs, from their rise to their downfall, will sufficiently illustrate this part of the subject.

2. The name of Pindary occurs in Indian history, A. D. 1689,* but it is only of late years that this race, or rather class of men, have attracted attention or acquired importance. At first obscure freebooters, they gradually rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful auxiliaries by the different Mahratta powers, whose desultory mode of warfare suited the predatory habits of the Pindaries. Their aid was purchased by occasional grants of land, or, more correctly speaking, by a tacit admission to their right to possessions which they had usurped, and a privilege of plundering even beyond the license given to a Mahratta Army. They took form under this system; Chiefs acquired reputation, and their claims to the service of their adherents were transmitted to their descendants. Tribes were cemented in federal union, and common motives of action led

* Poonapah, Pindary, is mentioned as being, in the latter part of the reign of Aurungzebe, an auxiliary of Mahratta Plunderers.—Scot's Ferishta, Vol 2d, page 121.

led to somewhat of a common interest being established throughout the whole of this lawless community.

3. The Pindaries have of late years, with some qualifications, been compared to the first Mahrattas; but, though alike in character and habits, there were essential points of difference. The adherents of SEVAJEE and his successors were united and animated by the ties of brotherhood, as well as the prejudices of religion. They were of one tribe, and almost of one province. They were not merely impelled by the love of plunder, and the ambition of a Martial Chief; they had the more legitimate, and therefore the more permanent, motives of attachment to their native soil and to the religion of their fathers, with the consequent resentment against the intolerant and oppressive rulers, by whom these were placed in danger. These motives, though they might have checked the increase of their numbers, gave them an union of interest and of action, which was unknown to the Pindaries. It was, however, one of the greatest evils attending the growing numbers of the latter, that, though divided and only susceptible of union through the existence of some common motives of action, they became, *from* the very looseness of their composition, a nucleus, for all that was floating and unattached in the community, to form upon; and this presented, at all moments, a mass of materials which an able and popular leader might use, either for the destruction of others, or his own aggrandizement.

4. The Pindaries, when they came to a rich country, had neither the means nor inclination, like the Tartars, to whom they had been compared, to settle and repose. Like swarms of locusts, acting from instinct, they destroyed and left waste whatever country they visited. Their Chiefs had, from grants or by usurpation, obtained small territorial possessions, but the revenues of their land were never equal to the maintenance of one-tenth part of their numbers, and they could therefore only be subsisted by plunder: their force, within the last twenty

years

years that they were settled in Malwa, has been computed at from twenty to thirty thousand of all descriptions. But it was evidently impossible to form a correct estimate of a body whose numbers were so continually varying, who were diminished by misfortune and swelled by success, who coalesced from similarity of habits and condition with every chief who was tempted by the weakness or the oppression of the power he served to throw off his allegiance, and to become a freebooter. It is also to be observed, that the Pindaries were fed and nourished by the very miseries which they occasioned; for, as their predatory invasions extended, property became insecure, and those who were ruined by their depredations were afterwards compelled to have resort to a life of violence, as the only means left them of subsistence. They joined the stream which they could not withstand, and endeavoured to redeem their own losses by the plunder of others. Such facts, as these, rendered fallacious all calculation regarding the numerical strength of the Pindaries, who were indeed so amalgamated with the predatory powers, and the whole of the loose part of the military population of India, that it had become a system, not a particular force, that was to be subdued.

5. Lines of defence against the ravages of the Pindaries, and partial expeditions against their leaders, were equally ineffectual in remedying the evil; for, while efforts were made to crush one head of the Hydra, others arose, and the resources of those Governments who tried to suppress them were vainly wasted against an enemy who had every thing to hope from success, and whose condition defeat did not render more desperate. To understand this fact, it is necessary to advert to the mode of warfare adopted by these freebooters. When they set out on an expedition, they placed themselves under the guidance of one or more chosen leaders, called Lubbiriahs,* who were selected on account

* The Lubbiriahs, according to Major Henley's MS. notes were not, selected for each expedition; but their situation in the Durrah appears to have had some affinity to that which is termed Herawul, or

account of their knowledge of the country they meant to plunder; they were neither encumbered by tents or baggage; each horseman carried a few cakes of bread for his own subsistence, and some feeds of gram for his horse. The party, which usually consisted of two or three thousand good horse, with a proportion of mounted followers, advanced (as secretly as they could and without plundering) at the rapid rate of forty or fifty miles a day, neither turning to the right or left till they arrived at the country meant to be attacked. They then divided, and made a sweep of all the cattle and property they could find; committing at the same time the most horrid atrocities, and destroying what they could not carry away. They trusted to the secrecy and suddenness of the irruption for avoiding the troops who guarded the frontiers of the countries they invaded, and before a force could be brought against them they were on their return. Their chief strength lay in their being intangible. If pursued, they made marches of extraordinary length, (sometimes upwards of sixty miles) by roads almost impracticable for regular Troops. If overtaken, they dispersed, and reassembled at an appointed rendezvous; if followed to the country from which they issued, they scattered into small parties. Their wealth, their booty and their families, were dispersed over a wide region, in which they found protection amid the mountains, and in the fastnesses, belonging to themselves and to those with whom they were either openly or secretly connected; but no where did they present any point of attack, and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of some of their fastnesses, produced no effect, beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter,

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or leader of the van among Rajpoots. When an expedition was determined on, the LUBBERIAH's moving out with his standard was the signal for march. These persons were always remarkable for intelligence and activity.

The names of those in the three Durrahs about the period of their dissolution, were, in DOST MAHOMED's,—REINJHAN, killed in returning from Ganjam.

In KURREEM's,—BHATTIA, settled in a village near Sehore.

In CHEETTOO's { SHAICK AHMED, died at Nimawur, about four years ago.
BOKSHOD, settled at a village near Sehore.

freebooter, whose place was instantly supplied by another, generally of more desperate fortune, and therefore more eager for enterprize.

6. The Pindaries, who had arisen like masses of putrefaction in animal matter out of the corruption of weak and expiring States, had fortunately none of those bonds of union which unite men in adversity. They had neither the tie of religious nor national feeling. The common motive of Country, even, was wanting to their society; they were men of all lands and all religions. They had been brought together less by despair than by deeming the life of a plunderer, in the actual state of India, as the one not only of the least hazard, but of the most indulgence. A body so constituted, and of such a character, could be little formidable, except when considered as part of a distempered community, with every branch of which they were more or less connected or associated. In this view they had importance, whether we refer to the dangerous contagion of their example, or the probability that they would early triumph over what little remained of Government in Central India, and swell their bands with all its Military population.

7. The Pindaries who settled in Malwa may be said to have been introduced by the Mahrattas into that Province. GAZEE-U-DEEN,* a person who had served as a Horseman with the first BAJEE ROW, died in command of a small party of Horse when employed with a force at Ougein. He left two sons, GHURDEE KHAN and SHAH BAZ KHAN; the oldest, though only sixteen years of age, succeeded to the command of the party of Horse, who were sent on all plundering excursions, and their successes pleased MULHAR ROW HOLKAR so much, that he presented their Chief with a ZUREE,† or golden flag, which enabled him to increase his numbers

* According to the account given by Captain TOD, this person, who was a Horseman in the service of the first BAJEE ROW, was the son of a person named CHEKUN, who had been a Jemadar of Beldars with SEVAJEE. The same station had been filled by NUSROO, the father of CHEKUN, who was a Mahomedan of the tribe of Tooraee.

† This distinction first gave them consequence as a body among the Mahrattas, and has led to an erroneous belief that this class of troop were first introduced by MULHAR ROW HOLKAR.

numbers. His party, it is particularly mentioned, were encamped separate from the other troops, and were professed plunderers; and, though he was known by the name of his tribe, Tooraee, which term is still used among this class to signify a man of distinction, his followers were collectively called Pindaries,* a name, that for a century has been given in this part of India to lawless freebooters.

8. Gurdee Khan accompanied Mulhar Row on his expedition to Hindostan, and was attached to that leader during his life. The actions of the freebooters he commanded, which are stated to have amounted at one period to thirty thousand men, are blended with those of the Mahrattas with whom they were associated. Their excesses were perhaps a shade worse, as they avowedly lived upon plunder. Defenceless Provinces, which it was the object of predatory conquerors to lay waste with a merciless sword, were the points to which the efforts of the Pindaries were directed; but it was to plunder, not to fight, that they were sent in front of other armies, and they never established any reputation as a body for valor, nor is the history of their excesses relieved by the recurrence of those instances of humanity and generosity, which usually chequer the narrative of the most desperate races of freebooters. Condemned from their origin to be the very scavengers of Mahrattas in scenes of plunder, their habits and character took, from the first, a shape suited to the work they had to perform. Courage and enterprize were often the quality of their leaders, and no doubt of many of their followers, but amid reverses and successes none appear to have possessed any higher virtues. It is indeed an extraordinary fact, that there is not, amongst

* Many different conjectures have been offered as to the etymology of the term Pindary. The most popular one among the Natives is, that they derived it from their dissolute habits leading them constantly to resort to the shops of the sellers of an intoxicated drink (termed Pinda.) Kureem Khan told me he had never heard any other reason given for this name, and Major Henley had this etymology confirmed by the most intelligent of the Pindaries of whom he enquired.

amongst the immense numbers of human beings who have belonged to this class for near a century, to be found one really high character; all appear to have shared in the ignorance, the art, the rapaciousness and unfeeling cruelty by which they were as a body* characterized. The narrative of such a race has very little variety. GURDEE KHAN left his Camp or Durrah, as it was now called, to his son LOLL MAHOMED, who was succeeded by his son EMAM BUKSH. The power of this Chief, however, did not remain as he wished in his family. A number of Jemadars established independant commands. Of LOLL MAHOMED little is said, and EMAM BUKSH, who is now a pensioner in Bhopal, though he received a village in Enam from ALIAH BAE, was never a leader of any note. A person of the name of KAUDER BUKSH, an ignorant but brave man, who was born in the Pindary Durrah or Camp, was of late years the chief leader of this tribe in HOLKAR's service. The vicissitudes of his life have nothing beyond the common events of a Pindary. He gave himself up at the end of the late war, and is now settled in the Province of Goruckpore in Hindostan, a pensioner upon the bounty of the British Government. Of the others who remained with the House of HOLKAR throughout the late scenes of distraction, TUKOO and BAHADUR KHAN were the two next to KAUDER BUKSH. They both delivered themselves up, and are now supported by the Government they before served, and have had small portions of land given them, which they cultivate.

9. The followers of the above Jemadars never amounted to more than four or five thousand, but they continued faithful throughout to the family they served, and obtained from this the distinct appellation of HOLKAR SHAHEE, or adherents to HOLKAR.

10. During

* On asking an intelligent old Pindary, who came to me on the part of KUREEM KHAN, the reason of this absence of high character, he gave me a short and shrewd answer: "Our occupation (said he) "is incompatible with the fine virtues and qualities you state, and I suppose if any of our people ever "had them, the first effect of such good feelings would be to make them leave our community."

10. During the time of the Subhadars, MULHAR Row and TUKAGEE, the Pindaries, who always encamped separately, had when within the Mahratta territories, and not permitted to plunder, an allowance, which averaged four annas or a quarter of a rupee a day, and they further supported themselves by employing their small horses and bullocks in bringing grain, forage, and wood, for which articles the Pindary bazar was the great mart. When let loose to plunder, which was always the case some days before the Army entered an enemy's country, all allowances stopt; no restraint whatever was put upon these freebooters till the campaign was over, when the Mahratta Commander, if he had the power, generally seized the Pindary Chiefs, or surrounded their Camps, and forced them to restore the greater part of their booty. A knowledge of this practice led the Pindaries to redouble their excesses, that they might be able to satisfy, without ruin, the rapaciousness of those by whom they were employed and supported.

11. Till the period of the insanity of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, the Pindary Chiefs, who served this family, were kept in their proper situation. Though they commanded large bodies of men, they were never allowed to sit down in the presence of the ruler; and when JESWUNT ROW, previous to his expedition to the Punjab, met DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, the topic of the rank and encouragement which the latter had given the Pindary Chiefs by his personal intercourse with them, and by the high titles and the grants of land which he had bestowed on them, was a subject of constant discussion and reproach. JESWUNT ROW was indeed quite aware of the danger of their progress, and one of his favorite plans was their complete extirpation. On his ceasing to rule, TOOLSAH BAE, and those that contended for his power, sought to increase their strength by every means. The Pindary Chiefs of the HOLKAR SHAHEE class consequently rose into a consideration they had never before known, and they were not only treated with respect, but lands exceed-

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ing in revenue one lack of rupees, were granted them in Jaghire for the support of their followers.

12. It has been mentioned that the Pindary Chief, [illegible], when he died at Oujein, left two sons, and that the eldest, [illegible] Khan, followed the fortunes of Mulhar Row Holkar. The second son, Shah Baz Khan, * who was a child at the death of his father, when he grew up entered the service of Ranojee Scindiah, whose favor raised him to a command. His party from the first appear to have been Pindaries. Shah Baz attended Ranojee into Hindostan, and was killed in an action at Tonk in the Jeypore country. He left two sons, Heeru and Burrun, both of whom became remarkable as Pindary leaders with the army of Madhajee Scindiah, with which they were generally employed in Hindostan. When that Chief died, they came to Malwa. Having encamped with about five thousand followers near Bersiah, † they offered their services to the State of Bhopal, that they might under the name of its ruler invade and lay waste the Territories of Nagpore, with which that petty State was then at war. This occurred immediately after the death of Chota Khan, when Rajah Himmut Rao was in nominal charge of the office of Dewan. Caution forbad the offers of these freebooters, (who were deemed adherents to the family of Scindiah) being accepted, and they went immediately to Nagpore, where Ragojee Bhonslah gladly received their services, gave them large presents, and sent them on the instant to lay waste the country of Bhopal, which was then in a most flourishing state. This service they performed so effectually, that the principality has not to this day recovered the miseries and horrors they inflicted. It was a small consolation to those who suffered from the cruel ravages of the Pindaries, that the avarice of the Rajah of Nagpore was so excited by the exaggerated report of the booty A. D. 1797.

* He was living then at his native village of Munagong near Poonah.

† Keshalee Ram (who is now in my service) was at this period manager of Bersiah.

booty they had obtained, that he not only surrounded and plundered their camp when they returned to his capital, but seized BURRUN, who died in confinement, while his brother HERU fled to the camp of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH at Poonah, and died soon afterwards at Berhanpore.

13. The Durrah of HERU descended to his sons, DOST MAHOMED and WASIL MAHOMED, who continued, throughout a career which was attended by the common vicissitudes of Pindary Chiefs, professed adherents of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, to whom they were generally obedient, though they shewed on some occasions little respect for his orders. Their cantonment was usually fixed in the eastern part of Malwa. DOST MAHOMED died some years ago, and the sole command of the Durrah devolved on his brother, WASIL MAHOMED,* who made himself remarkable, by leading some bodies of freebooters, who plundered the territories of the English Government, to whom he became in consequence an object of just resentment. When the Pindaries were broken and dispersed in the Campaign of 1817 and 18, this leader, who had been for some time a solitary fugitive, came to Gwalior, where he no doubt thought DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH would still protect him. Though he dwelt in secret, he was discovered by the vigilance of the British Representative, who demanded† his seizure with a firmness that was not to be evaded, and, though the struggle between the fulfilment of his faith and feelings of honor made SCINDIAH hesitate, he was at last true to the former, and gave up the Pindary Chief to the Resident. WASIL MAHOMED was sent to Ghazeepore, where he was treated by the Magistrate with every kindness, and the English Government in a spirit of liberal policy contemplated forgiving his crimes, and making a provision for him, as

* The Durrah or Horde, though they were actually commanded by WASIL MAHOMED, adopted the name of DOST MAHOMED's Son, MUZZUR BUKSH, who now enjoys a pension from the British Government. The Durrah, previous to its breaking up at Gunge Basouda, had six guns, and from three to four hundred Infantry armed with matchlocks.

† Letter from the Acting Resident to the Chief Secretary, dated 25th May, 1818.

as it had done for others, within its own Provinces. His restless spirit however could not brook his condition. He attempted to escape, but finding his design discovered,* he swallowed poison, which he had prepared, and perished on the spot.

14. The power of BURRUN,† after he was made prisoner, had fallen into the hands of a leader called DOOBLAH, Jemadar, and at his death his son RAJUN became the nominal head; but the real authority devolved upon a bolder chief, who raised himself by his energy and enterprize to the principal command of the Durrah. This person, whose name was CHEETTOO, was by birth a native of Mewat near Delhi. He had first been seized as a slave, and next adopted as Kower or son by DOOBLAH KHAN, and after many vicissitudes attained such rank as to be praised for the consideration with which he treated the son of his benefactor, whom he continued to consider the ostensible head of the Durrah. CHEETTOO, however, in this and most other acts of his life, shewed considerable art and prudence. He not only conciliated the Pindaries, by attention to RAJUN, for whom they had a hereditary respect, but he derived great benefit from being associated with a man of some humanity, and whose comparative reputation for good faith was such, that his word was taken when that of others was refused.

15. It has been before stated, that all the Pindaries joined DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, when he entered Malwa in A. D. 1804, and that their Chiefs were through the aid of SIRJEE ROW GHATKIA honored with titles. Those of CHEETTOO ‡ were engraved upon his seal. He at this period began

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* Vide Mr. BIRD's Letter to the Chief Secretary, 13th October, 1819.

† When BURRUN died, his son DADOO BUKSH, who was with KUREEM, did not succeed to any authority. This man now cultivates a few beegahs in a village near Bhopal.

‡ The name he assumed was NABOB MAHOMED KUNUD KHAN MUSTAKEEM JUNG. That of CHEETTOO, by which he was formerly and continued to be known, is more of a Hindu than a Mahomedan name, but it was common among the Pindaries to give familiar, and short appellations.

gan to be ranked among the ablest, as well as the most powerful, of his class. He had in the early part of his career been much indebted to KURREEM KHAN, in whose party he had served when the latter was made captive by DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH. CHEETTOO seemed to share the feelings of other Pindaries, and united his whole force with KURREEM, when he effected his escape; but at the moment when this union of the leading freebooters was alarming all India, the wily CHEETTOO not only left his former Commander, but joining with his enemies aided most actively to effect his ruin, and gained by this act of treachery the station to which he aspired, the rank of first Chief among the Pindaries.

16. CHEETTOO had fixed his abode among the rugged hills and wild forests that interpose between the northern bank of the Nerbuddah and the Vindhya Mountains. The range of this tract, which he possessed, was bounded to the east by the Bhopal territories, and to the west by the lands of the Rajah of Baglee. His cantonments were near the village of Nimaur opposite Hindia, and he himself resided there, or at Sutwass. He had besides small possessions on the table land, and he latterly established his authority over the district of Tallein or Omutwarrah. This leader, during the last years of his power, seldom went far from his Head-quarters, but parties from his Durrah, which was computed at twelve thousand Horse, ravaged in every direction. He always professed allegiance to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, but the territories of that Prince, though generally spared, were not exempted from occasional attacks, and several Armies were in consequence sent from GWALIOR against him and other leaders of Pindaries; but whether from the insincerity of the ruler, the weakness of those employed, the mutinies of their Troops, or the collision of interests, which continually existed between the half-independant Chiefs of SCINDIAH,—or all these causes combined, none were successful. Much had been expected from an expedition against this class of freebooters, commanded by JEAN

BAPTISTE,

BAPTISTE, who was himself a brave, energetic man, and commanded one of the most efficient Campoos or Corps in the Army; but his efforts (though he defeated them and their ally, JESWUNT ROW BHOW) ended in his entering into formal engagements, by which, on the Pindary Chiefs agreeing to refrain from plunder, and to furnish a body of Troops to serve the MAHARAJAH, he consented to cede to them specific lands for their support. Many causes made SCINDIAH hesitate * to ratify these engagements; among others was the very natural one, that a great proportion of the lands, of which his European Commander had disposed, did not belong to him, but to the PAISHWAH, the PUAR, and HOLKAR, and though he had often made free with the substance of their power and property, he had on most occasions pretended to observe forms † with these rulers. A very short period, however, satisfied him, that their was no medium between making the grants proposed, or having the country again overrun. Sunnuds were in consequence given to different Chiefs, among whom CHEETTOO was one of the principal.—He received grants for five Mahals, Nimar, Rajghur,‡ Talleyn, Sutwass and Kilchipore, for the support of his troops. This was the first occasion on which he was recognised as a Chief in the exercise of legitimate rule, and it might have led, and that at no distant date, to great changes, had not this leader and others of his class been so intoxicated with success, as to become the dupes of the designing intrigues of weak Courts, who, while they dreaded the excesses of these freebooters, sought to use them as means of annoyance to their enemies; but to command, it was necessary to divide them, and to this object the efforts of their policy were always directed.

17. CHEETTOO retired from Omutwarrah, after he had obtained his Sunnuds, to his cantonments on the Nerbuddah, and during the course of

* Vide letter from the Resident at SCINDIAH's Court, 20th May, 1815.

† For the first remarkable deviation from an observance of the forms of Mahratta relations on the part of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, vide p. 89.

‡ The grant of Rajghur was for the tribute paid by its Rajah, not the lands.

of next year his parties were encountered by detachments of English troops, which had in consequence of the subsidiary alliance, concluded A. D. 1816. with the Rajah of Nagpore, advanced to the southern banks of that river.

18. In the following year the British Armies entered Malwa. CHEETTOO, who with other Pindary Chiefs had been denounced as a criminal, and an enemy of the public peace, fled from his fastnesses* without an effort to defend them. He was closely pursued through Shujahalpore and Talleyn to Auggur, from whence he went to the skirts of Meywar; but on the approach of a British force to that quarter he again fled and regained, after a wide circuit, the strong country from whence he had been at first expelled. Here, however, he had no rest. The main body and detached parties were attacked and defeated in all directions; they were every where met by the corps of the English Army, till they were so dispersed and broken-spirited, that they became the prey of the petty Rajpoot Chiefs and village Jemadars, who plundered with a zeal and activity that was equally prompted by the desire of gain, and a recollection of the wrongs they had long borne from these base and cruel freebooters.

19. CHEETTOO, fallen from his power without having made one single struggle, now wandered a mere fugitive with his associate in rank, RAJUN, and thirty or forty followers, in the deep and almost inaccessible woods of Eirwass, the Goand† Chief of which, who had been before united with him in guilt, was still in secret his friend. But even here he soon found himself so pressed, that he could not remain. He had heard that the British Government had pledged itself to treat the Pindary Chiefs who had surrendered with mercy and generosity, but his ignorance could not understand the motives of such conduct, and his mind continued to waver betwixt the hopes of pardon and the fear of punishment. In this temper he repaired to Bhopal, seemingly to seek the intercession of the Nabob, but

* His force, when he commenced this flight, amounted to between four and five thousand Horse of all descriptions. He had also, when at Nimawur, five small guns and two hundred Infantry.

† KOOSHAL SINGH.

but when he appeared to have given himself up, his agitated mind took the alarm, and he fled from the protection he had the moment before sought, to regain his former haunts, which a division of the British Army had now approached, and commenced to penetrate with a number of detachments. Though offers were again made to CHEETTOO, his alarm, chiefly excited by a fear of transportation,* prevented his accepting them; and when the better sense of his associate, RAJUN, made him submit, and secure a respectable provision for himself and family, CHEETTOO crossed the Nerbuddah, and went to the fortress of Asseer, from whence he was summoned to join APPAH SAHIB, the Ex-Rajah of Nagpore, who had escaped from confinement and was collecting adherents among the Mahadeo Hills. The Pindary Chief became the guide of this Prince from these mountains to the vicinity of Asseer, but he had hardly reached that place of fancied security, when the attack of an English Detachment forced this small body of desperate men to disperse. CHEETTOO fled with his son and five or six followers towards his former place of refuge, the jungles of Eirwass, but he was now pursued by numerous small Detachments, while others occupied every place from which he could derive a day's food. His last friend, KOOSHAL SINGH of Eirwass, came into one of the British Camps to avoid the suspicion of giving him support, and this was the signal for the aid of even robbers being withheld from this once-celebrated leader, who was now tracked, like a hunted animal, by marks in the jungles and by the prints of his horse's hoofs.† Driven by the increasing vigor of the pursuit from every well-known haunt, forced by hunger to separate from his son and his last companions, CHEETTOO, when seeking shelter in a deep part of the forest, was sprung upon and killed by a Royal Tiger. When

accounts

* The Natives of the interior of India term transportation *Kala Panee*, or black water, (alluding to the sea) and have an indescribable horror at it. An Agent of mine, who was for some days with CHEETTOO, told me he raved continually about Kala Panee, and that one of his followers assured him, when the Pindary Chief slept, he used in his dreams to repeat these dreaded words aloud.

† He rode a horse with remarkable large hoofs, a measure of this animal's foot was obtained, and the flight of CHEETTOO literally tracked by it.

accounts of this event were brought to a local Officer of HOLKAR's Government, he hastened with some followers to the spot. The horse, saddle, sword,* ornaments, some money, and some recent grants he had obtained from the Ex-Rajah of Nagpore, and part of the body of the Pindary Chief, were found, where he had been first seized; but, aware of the necessity of establishing his death beyond all doubt, they traced the tract of the tiger to his den, and though the animal alarmed at their approach had left it, they discovered the head of CHEETTOO in a perfect state, which they afterwards brought† to the English Camp then besieging Asseerghur, in evidence of the truth of the facts they alleged. Those however could not be doubted, and the head of the Pindary was given for interment to the unfortunate MAHOMED PUNNAH, his son, who had been taken the day after his father's death. This youth, who had been from infancy deaf, and possessed but a weak intellect, was deemed more an object of charity than punishment. Besides, criminal as he was, the fate of his father had been such as to excite commiseration, and to satisfy justice. MAHOMED PUNNAH therefore was released and placed under the government of HOLKAR, from whom he has received a few fields for his subsistence.

20. The Pindary leader KURREEM KHAN, who attained greater power and independance than any Chief of this tribe, states himself‡ to be the son of MAHOMED DAWUD, who commanded a body of plunderers, in the service of the Mahratta Chief, RAGOBAH. He has been told, according to his own account, that he was born near Bersiah, and the earliest event of which he has any recollection is, his father's being killed, when he was eight years of age, at Shahpoor, when his uncle, YAR MAHOMED,

* HOLKAR's local Officer sent these articles to Captain WATSON, who was in Command of the Detachments on the north bank of the Nerbuddah.

† The head was brought to me by NANAH, a Brahmin Zemindar of Kuntapore, the district in which CHEETTOO was killed.

‡ This Chief, who delivered himself up to me, remained a long time in my Camp. I requested him to dictate (he cannot write) an account of his life, which, though full of exaggeration, is no doubt correct in the general facts, and I have found it useful in comparing with other accounts.

MAHOMED, succeeded to the command of the Durrah. This Chief served RAGOBAH till the latter joined the English, when he entered the service of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, with whom he went and remained in Hindostan till KURREEM was twenty years of age.

21. KURREEM, according to his own statement, had received promise from MADHAJEE SCINDIAH of a settlement in Malwa, into which he came with DE BOIGNE's army, and was present at the defeat of HOLKAR's troops at the Lakhairy Ghaut. The correctness of these facts may be doubted; for several years afterwards, when HEERU and BURRUN offered their services to the Bhopal Government after the decease of CHOTA KHAN, and on that being refused, became the scourge of the State they had proposed to serve, KURREEM, who shared in the spoils, was only at the head of five or six hundred men. He fled from Nagpore on the confinement of BURRUN, and joined DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, who had just ascended the Musnud, and was preparing, with other Mahratta Chiefs to attack the NIZAM. In the bloodless but eventful Campaign which ensued, KURREEM describes himself as having gained more plunder than ever he did at any other period of his life, and his fears for this booty induced him to leave or rather to escape from SCINDIAH's Army in the Deckan, and come to Malwa, where on his arrival he offered his service to JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, by whom he was entertained and directed to attend KURREEM U DEEN to reinforce his brother AMEER KHAN, who had been obliged to retreat from Saugor. KURREEM KHAN was now the Commander of between two and three thousand Horse. Alarm for his property, made this wary leader soon withdraw himself from the service of JESWUNT ROW, and while he entreated to be again admitted among the adherents of SCINDIAH he opened a correspondence with AMEER KHAN, from whom he solicited a place for his family. The Patan Chief, who was at this period anxious to swell his adherents, gave KURREEM a Tuppah* or District of Shujahalpore,

* The name of the place ceded to him was Kukra.

Shujahalpore, of which AMEER KHAN had then possession; but the Patan Chief had some reason to repent of this connection, for, when engaged in hostilities with DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, KURREEM formed a junction with other Pindary leaders, and made himself master of the town and pergunnah of Shujahalpore, and soon after joining SCINDIAH he made no slight merit of the manner in which he had treated the enemies of that Chief.

22. When SIRJEE ROW obtained for his Pindary allies honors and reward for the service they had done him, KURREEM KHAN was high on the list; he had confirmed that Chief in the Province of Shujahalpore and Bersiah, which he had just taken from the PUAR family of Dhar, and when SCINDIAH returned from the Deckan, after the unsuccessful Campaign against the English, KURREEM was honored with the title of Nabob.* This Chief had before compelled the Rulers of Bhopal to make some small cessions to him, and built a Fort at one of these, the village of Jerkerrah, † where he lodged his family in times of trouble.

A. D. 1805. 23. KURREEM KHAN about this period married a lady of that branch of the family of Bhopal which is settled at Ratg'hur, a connection which he expected would encrease his respectability, and promote the ambitious views that he cherished. Taking advantage of the absence of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR, who were both engaged on the frontiers of Hindostan, he added to his other possessions Ashta, Sehore, Itchawur, Sarungpore, and Shahjehanpore, making in all a country of more than fifteen lacks of rupees, into which he introduced a very efficient government. The Ryuts were protected and the revenue well managed within the limits of the country where his authority was established; but even in his own district men possessed of property were oppressed, ‡ and all without his

* He was addressed as Jemadar till the title of Nabob and Surafraz U Dowlah was conferred by SCINDIAH.

† He altered the name of this place to Kurreemghur, or the Mansion of KURREEM.

‡ When in possession of Shujahalpore, KURREEM obtained considerable sums of money by plundering all those who had any thing to lose. On the breasts of the principal Zemindars he placed heavy stones,

his limits were given to the rapacity of his followers, except such as chose to save themselves by the payment of annual contribution to this Chief, whose coffers were replenished by the collection of tribute and fines from the petty Rajahs in his vicinity. He was at this period arrived at the very zenith of his power, and a Pindary Chief appeared for the first time on the point of being the Ruler of a regular State. KURREEM cherished this ambition, and was active in preparing the means he still required to effect the object. He entertained one thousand Infantry, and cast two guns, which, added to two he before possessed, constituted his artillery. He also formed a Pagah, or body of Stable Horse, amounting to twelve hundred, which, added to ten or twelve thousand Pindaries whom he could now command, made him very formidable. His chief Commander was his brother, HERU. An invitation from GHANS MAHOMED (as has been noticed) carried KURREEM to Bhopal, but the poverty of that State, and the gallantry and enterprize of WUZEER MAHOMED, soon obliged him to give over the hopes he had entertained of increasing his wealth or power in that quarter. This effort had just failed, when he was summoned to attend DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, who had under various pretexts advanced from his capital with the view of destroying the power of this rising Chief. This was, however, difficult to accomplish by open means; art was therefore resorted to, and never was more consummate cunning displayed than by the Mahratta Ruler on this occasion. Success had added to the vanity and increased the confidence of the Pindary Chief. He advanced to meet the Ruler, to whom he professed allegiance, with a state hardly inferior to his own. DOWLUT ROW, who had encamped near the Fortress of Suttunbaree near Bersiah, flattered KURREEM with the hopes of giving him that strong hold, when it was reduced. He praised the Pindary's talent for rule, and

stones, and the chief Kanoongoe at seventy years of age was forced to ascend a high tree and remain till he produced the prescribed fine. Demands for the amount of the sums borrowed to meet these exactions are now brought forward against the unfortunate Zemindars.

and spoke as if it was his intention to entrust all the countries he had in Malwa to his excellent management; and, to give full weight to all those promises, he proposed to pay him a visit. KURREEM KHAN, though in general wary and full of caution, seems to have been completely the dupe of his own anticipations of splendid fortune. A Musnud* of rupees made one part of the present he bestowed upon his visitor.—SCINDIAH pretended at this visit, and for several days afterwards, to be quite delighted with the talent he discovered in KURREEM, who, he declared, had exactly those combined qualities of a Soldier and a Statesman which he had so long sought for. All the requests of the Pindary Chief were readily complied with. He asked, in addition to what he had been before promised, for Islamnugger, Gunj Bassouda and Bhilsa, and proffered security for an A. D. 1807. advance of four lacks and a half of rupees, on these places being given up to him. The Sunnuds were directed to be prepared, and a rich dress of investiture was ostentatiously made ready. Some of the older Pindaries, who had seen their Chief on former occasions seized and plundered, were not wanting in their warnings to KURREEM, whom they reminded of Mahratta treachery, but he had persuaded himself of his security, and SCINDIAH had so managed as either to bribe or deceive every one of those in whom he reposed confidence.

24. The day for his departure to take possession of his new districts being arrived, KURREEM was invited to pay his last visit, at which it was proposed to complete what remained of the settlement of his affairs. He came with few attendants, and was received with singular honor. The Sunnuds were called for, dresses were made ready, and every thing, in short, that could lull suspicion took place. The scene, however, drew to its close. SCINDIAH retired for a moment on some pretext, when armed

* The Musnud was made of one lack and twenty-five thousand rupees, covered with a rich cloth, on which SCINDIAH was seated. This mode of making a present to a superior, who condescends to visit an inferior, is very usual in India.

armed men rushed from behind the tent walls, and the vain-glorious Pindary leader, with some of his principal * adherents, were made prisoners. A cannon being fired to announce that the first part of the scene had succeeded, a part of the troops which had been drawn up to shew respect to KURREEM, as well as those that were to accompany him to aid in taking possession of the countries made over to his rule, moved the moment they heard the signal against the Pindary camp. The followers of KURREEM took early alarm, but though few were killed they lost a great part of their property, and the troops of SCINDIAH, glutted with plunder joined in praises of their Chief, who had shewn on this occasion all that art which constitutes the highest quality of a Mahratta Ruler, and his fame was enhanced, from his force being small in comparison with that of the freebooter whom he had so successfully entrapped.

25. The news of KURREEM's misfortunes were carried with almost incredible celerity to his family at Shujahalpore, where his treasure and property, said to be at that period very great, was deposited. His mother, though extremely old, appears to have acted with much energy. She instantly loaded all that was portable, and went towards the jungles of Baglee, where she was joined by a large body of Pindaries. But as the fear of SCINDIAH's power made all in that quarter refuse her shelter, she moved to the westward, and subsequently found a place of refuge in the territories of ZALIM SINGH, the Ruler of Kotah.

26. KURREEM was for four years kept prisoner at Gwalior, but though strictly watched his confinement was not severe. He had directed his Pindaries to plunder every where, and particularly in the territories of SCINDIAH. They acted in small parties; one of the largest that kept together was that under his nephew NAMDAR KHAN. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH after

* KURREEM's brother, HEERU, did not accompany him to the Durbar—He was however taken by SCINDIAH's Troops that attacked the Pindary Camp.

after long refusing to release the Pindary Chief, was at last tempted by an offer of six lacks of rupees, for the payment of which, and one lack more to the officers of the Court by whom this settlement was negociated, KURREEM obtained the security of the respectable RAJ RANAH of Kotah. After his release, an effort was made to obliterate past occurrences from his mind, by bestowing upon him the most honorable presents, and treating him with every mark of distinction. But the wound he had received was too deep to be easily healed, and he no sooner regained his liberty and re-assembled his Durrah of Pindaries, who came to join him from every quarter, than he commenced his depredations, and settling himself at Shujahalpore was soon in possession of more extensive countries than he before possessed.

A. D. 1808. 27. KURREEM at this period was joined by the whole force of CHEETTOO, whose junction connected with the relations of friendship that were known to subsist between these chiefs and AMEER KHAN, then in the very zenith of his power, caused a most serious sensation throughout all India; nor was it a causeless fear. The host of plunderers that one leading spirit might have directed to any given point could not have been less than sixty thousand horse. The combination was fortunately of short duration. KURREEM KHAN, whose disposition was violent, was led by his resentment against DOWLUT ROW to commit great excesses on his territories. That Prince, ashamed and alarmed at the consequences of his weak-sighted and avaricious policy, which had let loose such a scourge upon his country, directed one of his principal leaders, JUGGOO BAPPOO, to march immediately against the Pindary Chief, and to make every effort to destroy him. CHEETTOO, who had previously some difference with KURREEM, was easily persuaded to join against him, and the latter's Durrah was attacked and routed in the province of Omutwarrah. KURREEM fled from the field to the country of Kotah, but the wary Ruler of that State not desiring to offend SCINDIAH entreated his former friend to keep at a distance.

tance. But while he advised him to seek personally protection from AMEER KHAN, he gave shelter to his family and property.

28. The fugitive Pindary leader went to AMEER KHAN, who on pretext of recommending him to the favor of TOOLSA BAE made him over to GUFFOOR KHAN, on that Chief's becoming responsible for his custody. He remained under restraint amid the revolutions of HOLKAR'S Government for a period of three years, during which his Durrah, acting chiefly under NAMDAR KHAN, was engaged in various operations, principally that of the siege of Bhopal, at the commencement of which it aided the gallant WUZEER MAHOMED. The nephew of KURREEM obtained on this occasion much credit, but KURREEM KHAN, who always maintained a correspondence with his Durrah, asserts in his narrative that they acted in strict conformity with his orders.

29. A few months before the British troops entered Malwa, KURREEM KHAN made his escape from HOLKAR'S Camp, and joined his Durrah at Bersiah. He states as the motive of his conduct upon this occasion, a letter* which he received from DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, offering not only to forget the past and restore his former possessions, but to add Ashta and other districts, provided he would act with the Mahratta Chief against the English in an approaching war with that nation. A. D. 1817.

30. When the British Detachments were on the point of crossing the Nerbuddah, KURREEM KHAN (according to his own statement) joined, in conformity with DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH'S orders, the camp of WASIL MAHOMED, and they were within seven coss of Nerwur, and only forty coss from Gwalior, to which place they had been ordered, when a special and

* KURREEM KHAN, who stated this fact in the most positive manner, said he had left the letter with his family at Sheerghur, but would send it to me. He never did; probably such a document does not exist, for, though there can be no doubt of SCINDIAH'S having sent messages and authorized letters to be written to the same purport to several of the Pindaries, it is not likely he would commit himself in such a manner, as to write personally to a person whom he had proved to be false and unprincipled.

and confidential Brahmin* came from the MAHARAJAH, directing them to keep at a distance, as he was so situated by the advance of the British armies that he could give them no protection.

31. This intelligence threw the freebooters into dismay and indignation; a resolution was immediately taken to proceed to the westward, and join HOLKAR's army, which they heard had proceeded from the borders of the Kotah country towards Mahidpore.

32. Though resentment at, what they deemed, SCINDIAH's defection from a contest to which he had invited them made them plunder as much as they could of his country, their chief alarm was now for their own safety; every day brought reports of English Corps advancing in

A. D. 1817. all directions, by the operations of which KURREEM was so harassed and alarmed, that after entering Harowtee he could only escape by abandoning his family and great part of his baggage,† which he did, and pushed on without a halt to join HOLKAR's Army. This he found near Mundissore. The Pindaries with KURREEM were so reduced by their flight, that they did not, when they joined HOLKAR, exceed five thousand men. An offer of their services was made, which was rejected by the Ministers of that Prince, who had subsequent to the battle of Mahidpore no thoughts but how best to save themselves from ruin; and after a few days KURREEM KHAN was desired by GHUFFOOR KHAN to take his departure, as the English army was advancing, and the proximity of the Pindaries would prevent HOLKAR from making peace. They marched towards Jowud, where their own quarrels and the advance of English Detachments soon led them to separate. KURREEM, wearied out with fatigue, concealed himself in the town, while his Durrah, under NAMDAR KHAN, went back from Mewar to Malwa, and when near Gungrar fell in with an English Corps, by which it was so completely

* The name of this man, KURREEM KHAN states, is TANTIAH.

† KURREEM KHAN's wife and part of his property were taken by Major General DONKIN's Division.

completely routed, that its leaders despairing of all success, hastened to Bhopal, where they implored the Nabob to become their intercessor with the English, and this early submission obtained not only a liberal provision for NAMDAR KHAN, but secured to a great proportion of his followers the kind and humane consideration of the British Government.

33. KURREEM's career now drew to its termination. He was concealed in one of the meanest houses in Jawud when that place was taken by the British Troops. He afterwards escaped and wandered for some days in a mendicant's dress on foot, and alone; in equal danger, according to his own representation, of perishing from fatigue and hunger. Having at length communicated his situation to GHUFFOOR KHAN, he followed the advice given him by this Chief, and threw himself unconditionally upon the mercy of the British Government, by whom he was treated with consideration and liberality. He is now with his numerous family settled in the Province of Goruckpore, where lands have been allotted for his support, and where, could he forget the dreams of high fortune in which he once indulged, and learn wisdom from the strange vicissitudes he has endured, he might be happy.

34. In this short sketch of the lives of their principal Chiefs we have all that can be desired of the history of the Pindaries, who from their composition and habits, never did or could take shape as a State or Nation; they might and did cause revolutions, but it was impossible for them to rise upon such events, into any permanent power. They could not take root in the soil, without losing their character, because every institution of rule, however rude, was opposite to their institutions, which were framed for a constant war against rule.

35. The chief dangers from the Pindaries were their existence among Native Governments, of which no one was powerful enough to subdue them, and their being themselves constitutionally incapable of settling

settling into a community, which could have an interest in the general tranquility sufficient to make them as a body, contract and fulfil those relations by which countries are kept in peace; but their condition, while it made them formidable to weak and distracted States, rendered them incapable of resisting the resolute attack of a strong and vigorous Government. Superficial observers thought it would be difficult, if not impossible, to destroy these freebooters. But it was evident that they could not exist without a home or without support. To drive them from the territories they possessed, to identify with them, all who gave them aid or protection, was the only mode by which the great and increasing evil could be remedied; no measures were ever more wisely planned, more vigorously pursued, or more successfully accomplished, than those adopted for their suppression. There remains not a spot in India that a Pindary can call his home. They have been hunted like wild beasts, numbers have been killed,—all have been ruined. Those who adopted their cause have fallen. They were early in the contest shunned like a contagion, and even the villagers whom they so recently oppressed, were among the foremost to attack them. Their principal leaders have either died, submitted, or been made captives; while their followers, with the exception of a few, whom the liberality and consideration of the British Government have aided to become industrious, are lost in that population, of whose dregs they were originally formed. A minute investigation only can discover these once formidable disturbers, hid as they now are among the lowest classes, where they are making some amends for past atrocities, by the benefit which is derived from their labor in restoring trade and cultivation. These freebooters had none of the prejudices of cast, for they belonged to all tribes. They never had either the pride of soldiers, of family, or of country, so that they were bound by none of those links, which among many of the communities in India, are almost of an indestructible character. Other plunderers may arise from

from distempered times; but, as a body, the Pindaries who have ravaged India for the last thirty years, are gone for ever, and their very existence is already almost forgotten in the Province of Malwa, which they made their home, and which three years ago might be said to have almost exclusively belonged to this race, and the predatory bands, with whom they were from similarity of habits and character associated.

PART NINTH.

THE RAJPOOT RULERS AND CHIEFS IN MALWA.

1. In a former part of this Report the rise of the principal Rajpoot families in Malwa was noticed; some of these have, since the Mahrattas invaded that Province, acted no inconsiderable part, and, though they have all agreed to pay tribute, many have preserved the independant rule of their own lands; while others, though fallen, have gained equal celebrity by the courage and perseverance with which they have defended their possessions against the usurpations of these invaders. The history of one of the most remarkable of the families that have been destroyed, and of one that has beyond all others prospered throughout the century of convulsions with which Malwa has been afflicted, with a few general remarks on the past and present condition of lesser chiefs, will be sufficient as examples to illustrate the recent history of this class of petty Rulers.

2. The origin of the family of the chiefs of Ragooghur has been already mentioned; the sequel of their history is remarkable, and exhibits in strong colors, both the character of the Rajpoots and their enemies the Mahrattas; the Chuan Rajpoots of Ragooghur have been always distinguished by the name of Kychee. They are one of the oldest families in Malwa, they trace their descent to the first of the Rajpoot Princes, and according to their Bhats or traditionary bards, they had power before the Moghuls conquered that Province; but of this there is no distinct record, though we find them at a remote date the possessors of Gagroon on the Kalee Scind, but their history is indistinct before the period of

Ghurlee

GHUREEB DOSS, who appears to have been an Omrah of some rank at the Court of AKBAR, and his services gained him such favor with that Emperor that, in addition to his former possession of Gagroon and other lands that had before belonged to him, he received a grant of the town and district of Seronge as a Jaghire. This Chief left three sons, of whom the first, LAL SINGH* succeeded; he founded Ragooghur, where it is stated he was honored by a visit from SHAH JEHAN, when that Monarch was in Malwa,† who distinguished him by particular confidence, and employed him in the management of many of the districts of that Province.

3. LAL SINGH, died at the age of seventy, and was succeeded by his eldest son, DHURUJ SINGH who appears to have been very successful in all the petty wars in which he engaged with his neighbours. The reputation of this Prince was high. The reigning Rajahs of Jyepore and Oudipore both visited Ragooghur during his life, and each of these Princes married one of his daughters. This Chief was slain in an affray with the tribe of Aheers, whom he had been long engaged in reducing to order. His eldest son, GUJ SINGH, was expelled by his half brother BICKERMAJET,‡ through the aid of the Rajah of Jyepore, who had married his sister. The Ranah of Oudipore, whose Ranee was the sister of GUJ SINGH, supported his claims, but the death of this Chief terminated the contest, and his only son, INDUR SINGH, being unable to contend against his uncle, remained inactive till the latter died after a rule of twelve years, leaving his Musnud to BULBUDDER SINGH, against whom a powerful combination was formed by the neighboring Hindu Rulers§ in favor of INDUR SINGH, who

* The descendants of this Chief are called Lallawut, those of his brother, BEJA SINGH, Bejawut; the third son of GHUREEB DOSS died childless.

† LAL SINGH is stated to have been one of the Omrahs that attended the Emperor when he founded the present City of Shah Jehanpore, and was not only placed by the Royal favor in the management of Sarungpore, but of Ougein.

‡ He is called in one of the genealogical accounts, BIKKER SINGH.

§ There were no less than fourteen Rajahs in the combination formed against BULBUDDER SINGH.

who was, fortunately for his rival, slain in one of the first actions that took place. It was about the period of these events that the Mahrattas invaded Malwa, when the Paishwah, BAJEEROW, was at Saugur on his way to Hindostan: some difference took place between him and BULBUDDUR SINGH, but the latter, who is noticed as one of the most powerful of the Rajpoot Chiefs, appears to have succeeded in ingratiating himself with the invaders, and we find him throughout his Campaigns one of the favorite friends and companions of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, after whose death he accompanied JUNKOJEE SCINDEAH, (to whom he became equally attached) to Marwar, and was with the camp of that leader, when he was assassinated at Nagore. On this event occurring BULBUDDUR SINGH returned to Ragooghur, where he soon afterwards died, in the sixtieth year of his age, leaving his country in a state of prosperity, to his son BULWUNT SINGH, whose rule appears to have commenced with those misfortunes that continued to its close, and have since overwhelmed his descendants.

4. MADHAJEE SCINDIAH demanded from BULWUNT SINGH the cession
A. D. 1780. of the Districts of Gaorgul and Aroon, in compensation of Choute, and some years afterwards, on pretext of his having entered into negotiation with the English Government, with whom the Mahratta leader was then at War, MADHAJEE attacked the Fort of Ragooghur, and not only succeeded in taking it, but made the Rajah and his young son, JYE SINGH, with some of the principal Chiefs prisoners, and confiscated the property and territories of the family.

5. The Mahratta ruler was not long left in quiet enjoyment of his triumph. SHEER SINGH, a Thakoor, or Lord of the Kychee Tribe, assembled all that he could of the scattered adherents of BULWUNT SING, and commenced a desperate but systematic course of predatory warfare with the professed object of compelling MADHAJEE SCINDIAH to release his Prince. The first care of this bold and enterprizing leader was to prevent

vent the country of Ragooghur from yielding one rupee to the enemies of its Chief. He warned the villager to leave his dwelling, and the husbandman to desist from tilling his fields, on the pain of being plundered. He bade them go to neighbouring countries, and particularly Bhopal, where they would be protected, and with the managing Dewan* of the latter State, he contracted a friendship which gave him a place of refuge for his family; while to cement the connection, SHEER SINGH's son was placed in his service. The friendship with which the Ruler of Bhopal acted towards SHEER SINGH was well known to MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, but it did not suit the convenience or policy of that Ruler to resent it. This forbearance was not extraordinary. In loose Governments like that of the Mahrattas, which have no permanent principles of rule, but adopt year after year the expedients which seem best suited to the emergency of the moment, it is often deemed useful to have channels through which they can conciliate, if that becomes necessary, the greatest offenders against the State. The purpose for which such connections are used was evinced on this occasion in a remarkable instance. SHEER SINGH kept himself distinct from the class of common plunderers. Ragooghur and its dependencies were, as stated before, depopulated and laid waste, but MADHAJEE SCINDIAH's other possessions were not invaded. The Natives of Malwa were comparatively treated with humanity and consideration. It was against the Mahrattas that his implacable resentment was kindled. Every traveller, and every coffilah of Merchants, or detachments of Troops belonging to that nation, were attacked, and when successful, no humanity was shewn. The Pundits or Brahmins of the Deckan were the chief objects of his vengeance. Their noses and ears were cut off, and their infants murdered by this merciless Chief, who answered to all remonstrances that he would teach MADHAJEE SCINDIAH what it was to destroy a Rajpoot principality. While the terror of SHEER SINGH was at its height, MADHAJEE's wife with a number of the families

Chotah Khan.

milies of his officers came from Poonah to join him in Hindostan. The party was very numerous, and they were guarded by four or five thousand men. Though the numbers who followed the Rajpoot leader did not amount to as many hundreds, still his local reputation was so high, and the alarm he had spread so great, that the convoy feared to advance. They knew that SHEER SINGH would hazard every thing to glut his vengeance on the families of SCINDIAH and his principal Ministers; they therefore solicited the protection of the Dewan of Bhopal, who rejoiced in the opportunity of shewing his regard for the Mahratta Ruler, and not only appointed a party to accompany the BAE (or Princess) but wrote to SHEER SINGH, and requested that he would desist from offering any insult or injury to her retinue. His wish was complied with. The lady who had been much alarmed, when she reached Muttra, was warm in her praises of CHOTAH KHAN, to whom MADHAJEE SCINDIAH wrote a letter* of grateful acknowledgment.

6. While BULWUNT SING was kept prisoner in Hindostan, his Son JYE SINGH, a youth of twenty years of age, was kept *close prisoner* at Bhilsah. The most anxious efforts of SHEER SINGH had long been directed to release this Prince, and he at last succeeded through the double means of corruption and the adventurous enterprize of some trained thieves,† who introduced themselves in disguise to JYE SINGH, and enabled him to escape over the walls of the Fort. He was immediately mounted and carried to a place of safety, from whence SHEER SINGH sent him to Jyepore that he might interest the Rajah of that principality, and of Joudpore, in favor of his father. The young prince was successful in making both these Rulers adopt his cause, and their representations to MADHAJEE SCINDIAH

* The complimentary part of this letter termed the Dewan his Son, and gave him high titles, "Dewan CHOTAH KHAN BAHADUR SHUMSHERE JUNG FUSUND ARJUNUND." The vanity of CHOTAH KHAN was much flattered by this mark of attention from MADHAJEE SCINDIAH.

† BAGREES, one of these is stated to have leaped the wall with the RAJAH on his shoulders, and to have escaped himself without hurt.

SCINDIAH not only obtained the release of the Rajah, but the restoration of Ragooghur, to which, however, a stipulation for the payment of a large sum was annexed. AMBAJEE INGLIAH, then one of SCINDIAH's principal Officers, became responsible for BULWUNT SINGH performing this part of his engagement. Though this apparent friendship of the wily Mahratta had no object but his own benefit, he sent his brother* with the unfortunate Rajah, who, restored to a country without revenue, was soon compelled by his inability to fulfil his obligations, and by the threats of BALARAM, to leave his Fort and Country to be again usurped, and to retire to the Jeypore territories, where three years afterwards he died. BULWUNT SINGH was of a character quite unsuited to the troubled times in which he lived. His memory is held in no estimation by the gallant tribe, of which he was so long the head. This Chief, when compelled by the conduct of BALARAM INGLIAH to leave Ragooghur, had written to his relation DOORJUN LOL, whom he had left as his agent at the Court of SCINDIAH, to quit it, as he found the whole proceedings of the Mahrattas full of deceit and treachery, and had himself resolved to place no further confidence in them. DOORJUN LOL on receiving this intimation hastened into Malwa, where he collected a number of followers, and commenced depredations upon the Mahratta territories. After he had pursued this course about two years, he was forced to fly from the pursuit of several strong detachments† by which he was attacked, but the large force employed on this occasion by MADHAJEE SCINDIAH proves, that even at this early part of his career DOORJUN LOL was considered as no contemptible opponent. This Chief, when forced to quit Malwa, only retired to Saugur, from the manager of which he found shelter till the death of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH; and the war between his widow and successor gave him, in the dissentions of his enemies, that opportunity he desired A. D. 1796.

* BALARAM.

† The Corps of BALARAM INGLIAH, JEWA DADA and GOPAL BHOW were employed against him.

desired of avenging the wrongs of his family. He had been joined when he first commenced his depredations by the young Prince JYE SINGH, who on his father's death succeeded to the title of Rajah, and was treated as such by DOORJUN LOL, whose great experience and high character, however, continued to him the general direction of those operations in which they were associated. The two Chiefs were invited to adopt the cause of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH's widow, and united their force with that of LUCKWA DADA, the leader of the army. Their friendship and support were purchased by the restoration of Ragooghur to JYE SINGH, and the grant of a large Jaghire* to DOORJUN LOL, who was on all occasions treated by the heads of this party as second only to LUCKWA DADA. But all hopes of success from this connection, in which the Rajpoot Chiefs had engaged, were completely destroyed by an action fought near Dutteeah between the Army of the BAES and the disciplined Battalions of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, under the command of his French General PERRON. The latter was completely victorious. The troops of LUCKWA DADA fled and dispersed in every direction, and DOORJUN LOL and JYE SINGH were again forced to depend upon their own efforts. These were at first directed against the Hindu tribe of Aheerwarrah, whose Chief† was slain, and his capital, then called Oondee, fell into the possession of DOORJUN LOL, who, fixing it as his own, changed its name to Bahadurghur, and endeavoured by every means in his power to increase its strength and population. This was but a first step of this able and ambitious Rajpoot, who appears at this period to have entertained views of establishing himself distinct from the family to which he professed allegiance. It is also probable that he was disgusted with the moody violence of JYE SINGH, which had broken out on several occasions. Their interests were now decidedly separated; and, while the Rajah retired

* Seronge, Jadhooree and Ranoude.

† DELEEP SINGH.

retired to Ragooghur, DOORJUN LOL took advantage of the weakness of the petty Hindu Chiefs in the eastern parts of Malwa, and of contests in which the Mahratta States were involved in the Deckan, and subsequently with the English, to add to his Army, and to increase his territory, which formed at one period a State of no less than twenty-two Pergunnahs * or districts, which he possessed for several years, till a formidable force, under the orders of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH'S principal European † Commander BAPTISTE, was sent against him, which after some struggle succeeded in wresting from him one by one all his possessions. His capital, Bahadurghur, which shared the fate of the rest, was devoted once more to change its name, and received from the Christian conqueror, that by which it is now known, Yesughur, or the fort of Jesus. Though he lost his territories, the spirit of DOORJUN LOL was still unconquered. He kept around him a considerable body of the kindred bands of the Rajpoots of Kytcheewarrah, and some other faithful adherents; with these he made constant attacks on the country of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, and once at Nerwar carried off a number of the cattle from that Ruler's Camp. The object of the last efforts of this Chief was to compel SCINDIAH to come to some settlement with him, that would support his family and followers, in which he probably would have succeeded, had he not died.‡ Few of his tribe have left a higher reputation for wisdom, courage, and enterprize. He was for many years the terror of the Mahrattas, against whom he cherished the most rooted feelings of hatred and hostility.

A. D. 1801.

A. D. 1803.

A. D. 1810.

7. DOORJUN LOL left no children; his relation, BYROO LOL, was elected

* Bahadurghur, Renoude, Pucher and Gondah were the principal.

† This Commander is always termed European, though born in India, and his mother a native of India.

‡ He died at Bheernawud, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

elected his successor, and the depredations he continued so far succeeded, as to obtain him the grant of a District* for his support, yielding one lack of rupees, which he still enjoys.

8. The fortune of DOORJUN LOL for a period predominated over that of the Princes to whom he was related, and to whom he owed allegiance; but, though he endeavoured to establish his own fortunes, he never ceased to acknowledge them as his superiors. The zeal and attachment which he had evinced to BULWUNT SINGH was, upon the death of that Prince, transferred to his son, JYE SINGH, who was when his father died in the territories of Jyeporet†, with the Ruler of which, as well as those of Oudipore and Joudpore, he was closely connected. After he had received presents and congratulations from these Rajpoot Princes on his succession, he attended to the summons of DOORJUN LOL to attend him in Kytcheewarrah, and give his aid to sustain the war against the enemies of his family.

9. JYE SINGH, who was at this period twenty-eight years of age‡, was, according to the Hindu MSS. from which this account is written, a prince of great promise. His mother, the favourite wife of BULWUNT SINGH, is described as having been so beautiful, that she fell the victim of the jealousy of the other Ranees, who practised every art of sorcery for her destruction. This circumstance is described as having given BULWUNT SINGH an uncommon interest in his son, whom he took, according to the historian of his family, every pains to instruct both as a scholar and a soldier.

* BYROO LOL is a younger son of GOOLAH SINGH, a relation of DOORJUN LOL. A Jaghire, which comprizes the Hill Fort of Mufudunghur and fifty-six dependant villages, was made over to him seven years ago. This Chief assumes the title of RAJAH BAHADUR, on the ground of its having been conferred on DOORJUN LOL by the Ranah of Oudipore.

† He was at Madooghur.

‡ He succeeded to the title of Rajah of Ragooghur, in the Hindu month of Koomar, in the year of the Sumbhut 1855 or A. D. 1798.

soldier. We have no proof as to the progress that the young Prince made in learning, but he early shewed that in personal heroism he was excelled by none, and even before the death of Doorjun Lol, with whom his first efforts were associated, Jye Singh had established a name for courage and enterprize that rendered him formidable to the Mahrattas; but the admiration which his followers granted to his valor must have been mixed with fear and horror at his violence, of which he gave some terrible proofs. The most remarkable may be selected as an example; a short period before the death of Doorjun Lol, having chiefly it appears through his own rashness been defeated by one of Scindiah's Officers, he fled wounded to Beejrunghur, where he confined himself so closely that a rumour of his death was spread, and believed by his nearest relations and most confidential officers; some of whom, as was to be expected, under such an impression began to intrigue and cabal for the succession to his power. The Rajah is said to have encouraged the report of his death, that he might discover the real dispositions of those around him, but when recovered from his illness he appeared quite unconcerned at what had passed, and assumed a serenity and gaiety that lulled all into security: but after the lapse of some months he took advantage of the festivities of the Hooley, not only to seize and put to death his near relations, Lutchmun Singh and Amun Singh, who were the persons whom he chiefly suspected, but with the most wanton barbarity he ordered the families of these persons, without distinction of age or sex, to be sacrificed to his resentment. The mode in which these murders were perpetrated is quite shocking to every feeling of humanity. The only exculpation* of this Prince is to be found in a belief that he was at this period of his life insane; the evidence of

* He put several of his wives to death. When Captain J. Stewart expressed some surprize to the Vakeel of Dhokul Singh that Jye Singh with so many wives had no issue, the Vakeel very coolly gave as a reason, that he put them to death, and that was one reason for his having no children.

of those who were in the habits of seeing him often,* even before he exercised power, and was only a nominal Rajah, proves this fact. The misfortunes of his family and an ardent desire of revenge are stated, in one account of his life, to have had such an effect upon his mind, that he early devoted himself to the adoration of HUNNOOMAN, and sought and obtained through penances, incantations, and the aid of an old priest, an interview with the warrior god. It was, according to some statements, on this occasion, that his reason first became unsettled; and it is highly probable that the constant practice of these superstitious rites, combined with the use of opium and other intoxicating drugs, in which JYE SINGH indulged, acting upon an ardent and impatient temper, made him at times insane. His appearance and language indicated frequent intoxication, but his natural courage, which was great, was increased by this state of continual excitement, and as his mind was chiefly inflamed with one object, that of determined hostility to the Mahrattas, his Rajpoot followers were disposed to deem his madness inspiration, and they readily pardoned the crimes of a Chief, who, they persuaded *themselves*, was born to be the scourge of their cruel and oppressive enemies. We can on no other ground account for their suffering an intemperate tyrant to commit the numerous murders he did, when he lost all his possessions, and had no authority left, but what he derived from their continued attachment.

10. The policy of the Court of Gwalior, after it had made peace with the English Government, was directed to the complete subjection, or rather A. D. 1803. annihilation, of its Rajpoot tributaries in Malwa, all of whose lands it desired to incorporate with those of the State. BAPTISTE, with his corps of Infantry and Artillery, was employed on this service, and having reduced

* KHEALEE RAM was sometimes in DOORJUN LOL'S Camp. He often saw JYE SINGH, and says, that he appeared to him from his acts and conversation to be a person not merely of an ungovernable temper, but unsettled reason.

duced the neighbouring principality of Seopoor, the report of JYE SINGH's excesses led him to hope Bujrunghur, Ragooghur, and the other possessions of that Chief, would be an easy conquest. The festivities of the Hooley, when the Rajah and his adherents were known to give way to the greatest indulgence in liquor, was the moment chosen for attack. Bujrunghur was taken and Ragooghur invested, but the latter did not fall till some time afterwards, and during its siege every effort was made by JYE SINGH himself to distress an enemy whom he had no force to meet in the open field. Among his other exploits he completely succeeded in a well-planned enterprize against Seopoor, which he took,* and not only obtained considerable treasure, but made BAPTISTE's family prisoners. He afterwards released the wife of that leader, and this act of consideration was returned by his Ranee's being allowed to join him when Ragooghur fell. A settlement was more than once proposed by SCINDIAH's Commander to the Rajpoot Chief, but the objects of the parties were irreconcileable. The consequence was, the contest was continued with redoubled animosity; the Mahratta Army was numerous, and the authority of SCINDIAH was established over all the districts of Ragooghur. JYE SINGH, when expelled from

* Seopoor was taken on the 3d of June, A. D. 1816. Ragooghur surrendered to BAPTISTE about the end of August of the same year. It is curious to remark, that a body of ZALIM SINGH's Troops co-operated with BAPTISTE at the siege of Ragooghur, and when the place fell they were the first troops that garrisoned it. The mode in which JYE SINGH took Seopoor is described by Captain CLOSE as follows:

" He (JYE SINGH) approached the Fort early in the morning, having, as was believed, an understanding with some of the people within. He applied scaling ladders to the walls and mounted in person with sixty of his men at a place which led immediately to the citadel, where BAPTISTE's family resided There was here a guard of only twenty men, with five half-cast Europeans. The Rajah, half naked was armed with a spear, and the rest of his party with swords and shields. They overpowered the guard, among whom two of the Europeans were killed, but the Rajah also lost ten or twelve men of his own in the struggle. Written orders from BAPTISTE's son and wife were then sent down to the garrison, consisting of about two hundred irregulars, desiring them to remain quiet, as it would cost them their lives if any resistance was made; accordingly no opposition was made."

Vide Captain CLOSE's Letter to Government.

from his own country, found subsistence for himself and adherents by invading SCINDIAH's unprotected possessions, but even in this extremity of his fortune he preserved the character of a Prince. He levied contributions only from the officers of Government, and refrained from individual plunder. His range was at one period very extended, having
A. D. 1816. gone as far west as the Pergunnahs of Nolye and Katchrode, and as far south as Kundwah and Berhanpore. His force was entirely composed of Horse, and amounted to about five thousand men, many of whom were Rajpoots of his own tribe. His enterprizes were not alone directed against the wealth of the country. This band of bravè men, acting under a Prince whose fortunes were desperate, courted action with every force of SCINDIAH's, to whom they were at all equal. The least relaxation on the part of these, who had usurped their lands, was sure to bring on attack, and a war was maintained for several years against BAPTISTE, with an activity and spirit that often reduced that leader, in spite of his superior means, to great distress; at one period a corps,* consisting of two Battalions and a number of Guns, was completely defeated, and the Rajpoot Prince, who had led his own followers to the charge on this memorable occasion, seemed on the point of recovering his possessions, when his enemies collected in such force that he was again compelled to retire; but, though exposed to continual reverses, his spirit was unbroken, and he had infused the same courage into his kindred tribe. The undaunted valor and personal prowess of their Prince was the theme of all their Charuns and Bhats (Genealogists and Minstrels;) and this expelled Chief, whose country did not produce to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH an annual revenue of three lacks of rupees, occupied for five years previous to the

* This corps was commanded by ARATOON. It appears however from the accounts at Gwalior, as noticed in the correspondence of this Presidency, that this was only described as a sharp encounter, which terminated in a kind of drawn battle.

the breaking out of the late Campaign a large part of that Ruler's Army. Nor is it probable, had the English Armies not advanced into Malwa, that the Mahratta force, numerous* as it was, would have proved equal to the reduction of this daring leader, whose followers increased rather than diminished. These however were of different classes; he was personally surrounded by between four and five hundred of his immediate relations and family adherents, who were all well mounted, and so devoted to their leader and his cause that hardly any superiority of numbers would induce the Mahratta Horse to stand the assault of his band. The remainder of his force was made up of hired Soldiers, and he was able from the funds obtained at the commencement of the contest, and the contributions he levied during its continuance, to pay them with tolerable regularity. The increasing confusion of Malwa was favorable to JYE SINGH, but his hostility was solely directed against DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH; no other country was attacked, no travellers or merchants plundered, nor was he, except in action, cruel and vindictive. The scenes of constant activity and enterprize, in which JYE SINGH became engaged, are stated to have effected a favorable change in his character. He was, when the English Armies advanced to the Nerbuddah, the theme of every tongue, and held forth as an example of a gallant Prince, struggling to the last against his oppressors. He appears to have looked forward with anxious hope to the occurrence of war between DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH and the British Government, and his ardent mind anticipated the restoration, under the auspices of the latter, of his own fortunes, with those of the other Rajpoot Chiefs, who had been subdued by the Mahrattas. The following letter, which he addressed to an Officer† in command of a Corps on the frontier, is a proof of the exaggerated expectations in which he indulged from the events that he saw approach-

* There were with JEAN BAPTISTE, acting against JYE SINGH, five Battalions, with between thirty or forty guns, and from eight to ten thousand Horse, including a number of Pindaries.

†Colonel MACMORINE.

ing. After some remarks on the different Rajpoot tribes, and an assertion that the Kytchee Chouans, of which he is the head, have the true right to the title of HINDUPUT and the Sovereignty* which that implies, JYE SINGH observes, "As the Maharaj SCINDIAH has desolated my "country, and deprived me of my honor, besides having carried off "property to the amount of some crores of rupees, it is my earnest "wish to destroy his power. I therefore hope that the English Govern-"ment will enable me to demand retribution from my enemy; if the "country of SCINDIAH is made over to me, I will agree to pay six or "eight annas in the rupee on all the collections."

"The English Troops and my Horsemen, wherever they go, will from "the good fortune of the English be victorious, and SCINDIAH will be "destroyed." After some further remarks on the former power of the Rajpoots, he concludes by saying, "I am well informed that you, En-"glish, intend to destroy the Pindaries; let me have orders on this "subject, and if any Chief harbours these plunderers in his country, "or joins with them, I shall not fail to give information of it. The "Pindaries have thirty thousand good Horsemen; this is not hid from "you; if the English Government will advance me funds to maintain "fifteen thousand Horse, or five lacks of rupees, I will destroy "these Pindaries."

"Wherever I may suggest that Battalions should be sent, let them "be sent, and where Regiments (meaning Cavalry) are required, let "Regiments be sent; at all events, until an answer can be received to "this letter, let me have an advance of twenty-five thousand rupees, "and wherever I am ordered there shall I encamp; but if cash cannot "be immediately given, let a Vakeel of mine be allowed to remain "with you for the adjustment of this subject, and let me know to what place

* That is, to be kings of India. He gives the Sesodians of Oudipore only the second rank as Rajpoot Princes.

"place I am to repair to await your decision; but, above all things, let "the negotiation be made binding; it will redound to the fame and "glory of the Company."

11. Had DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH not preserved neutrality, JYE SINGH would have been an apt and popular instrument for his reduction; as it was, no support could be given to the cause of this Prince, who was preparing the means of renewing the contest, when he fell a sacrifice to the prevailing epidemic,* and left his title and claims to be disputed by two candidates, DHOKUL SINGH and ADJEET SINGH, who by dividing his A. D. 1818. adherents broke the union and strength of Kytcheewarrah, and gave to SCINDIAH's Government a comparatively easy triumph over that gallant tribe.

12. The principal Ranee of a Hindu Ruler or Chief, who has no issue, becomes on his death a personage of great consequence in the State, from her acknowledged right of adoption, and the claims to inheritance of the power and property of her husband which this choice confers. It is generally conceived a duty to choose from the least objectionable among the near relations of the deceased, but the obligation is not imperative, and the consequences of the exercise of this right are too often family feuds, and disputed successions. In the present instance,† one of the chief Ranees of JYE SINGH, after much consultation with some of the principal officers, chose BUCHTAWUR SINGH, the son of GOOLAB SINGH,‡ who was declared by her and her party raised to the Guddee, or seat of power. The aunt of JYE SINGH, a widow lady of much consideration,

* Cholera Morbus.

† Ranee BHUTANEEJEE.

‡ He was also the adopted son of BAHADUR SINGH, and after his adoption by the Rana was called ADJEET SINGH.

sideration, opposed this act, and proclaimed herself in favor of DHOKUL SINGH,* a young leader of some reputation for his gallantry, but against whom there was, with many of the Rajpoots of Kytcheewarrah, the insuperable objection of his being of the Bijawut or younger branch of the family, whose descendants have always been deemed subordinate to the Lalawut † or elder branch.

13. When it is considered that the descendants of the Rajah of Ragooghur did not possess a single village, or one acre of land, this disputed succession, which was as warm as if the contest had been for an Empire, may excite a smile. It may be deemed a quarrel for a shadow, but such was not the case. It was a dispute for the allegiance and devoted attachment for three or four thousand of as brave and hardy Soldiers as existed in any tribe in India. These were non-divided, and the early submission of one Chief, ADJEET SINGH, on terms mediated ‡ by the British Government attached some of them to the cause of order; but DHOKUL SINGH continued his opposition, till his followers, after several defeats from a contingent of SCINDIAH's acting under the command of British Officers, almost all deserted him, and he was recently made prisoner and sent to Gwalior. The testimony given by the Officers employed on this service to the courage § and enterprize of the Rajpoots of Kytcheewarrah

* DHOKUL SINGH grounds his claims chiefly in having received the horse and spear of JYE SINGH before the death of that Chief, and having been by him appointed his successor. The question was long under discussion, and was referred to the decision of the Rajahs of Oudipore, Jeypore, Boondee, Kotah, Seopoor and Nurwur.

† The names of Lalawut and Bijawut, into which the Ragooghur family are divided, take their origin from LAL SINGH and BEEJY SINGH, the two sons of GHUREEB DOSS, the founder of the principality enjoyed by this race of Chiefs in Malwa.

‡ Ragooghur is restored to the family with a Jaghire of fifty-five thousand rupees per annum; and two hundred and fifty of the relations of ADJEET SINGH and DHOKUL SINGH have been taken temporarily into service with DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH's contingent. The greatest importance was attached to the recovery of Ragooghur, a point which was with difficulty conceded by SCINDIAH.

§ The character of DHOKUL SINGH, as well as the feeling which he in common with the other Members of his family entertains for the Mahrattas, is well expressed in the following paragraph of a dispatch

Kytcheewarrah proves that it might have been long, had the British Government not interposed its faith and aid, before the Mahrattas could have triumphed over the small remains of this gallant tribe, who, as a separate and independant clan with a Chief of their own, can no longer be said to exist in Malwa.

14. The Raj or principality of Kotah, which forms in its later history a complete contrast to that of Ragooghur, originated in one of the Ranahs of Oudipore having, in consequence of a long-cherished feud with the family of Boondee, adopted the cause of a younger brother of the reigning Prince, whom he settled first in Kotah as a Jaghiredar, and afterwards so effectually aided in a war against his superior that the latter was compelled to purchase peace by the cession of half his territories to form the Raj* of Kotah, the Prince of which assumed the title of Maha Row, or the great Chief.

15. It

patch from Captain Stewart, acting Resident at Gwalior, to the Political Secretary to Government under date the 20th January, 1821.:

Para. 4th. "Dhokul Singh is a man of the most daring courage, which is evinced by the numerous marks he bears of the wounds he has received in action. It is to be regretted that his character is so deeply stained with deeds of cruelty; he had been allowed, while in confinement at this Residency, to retain his sword and shield, and would have also been permitted to wear them in the Fort of Gwalior, but when he was about to be delivered over to the Mahrattas he sent them over to me with a message, stating that he would never have surrendered them to a Mahratta but with his life, and that his only hope of ever taking them up again rested on the favor of the British Government."

* In another MS. the origin of the Raj or principality of Kotah is stated as follows: Chotah Lol, Prince of Boondee, lost his life in the service of Ackbar, who gave his son Row Bhow Singh the Jaghire of Kotah, with three hundred and sixty dependant towns and villages. Boodh Singh, the grandson of Bheem Singh, in a division of his large lands among his younger brothers gave Kotah to one of them, whose name was Bheem Singh; when this Chief went with other Rajpoot Chiefs to pay his respects to Jehangire on his accession, he received from that Emperor the title of Maha Row. Bheem Singh was succeeded by his nephew Doorjun Lol, who having no son adopted Gooman Singh. It was under his rule that Zalim Singh came forward. This Prince had married his sister, and when engaged in war with Pertaub Singh of Jyepore, who had conquered Boondee and desired Kotah also to become a dependancy. His brother-in-law, then but a young soldier, distinguished himself, particularly in the action of Beejawarrah, on which the Kotah Troops gained the victory; but it is not stated in this document, as in others, that Zalim Singh commanded, nor is the fact probable from his age, as he could only have been twenty years old. I find in this MS., which is very imperfect,

15. It is nearly two centuries since this event occurred. The first Prince of Kotah was BISHEN SINGH, whose family continued to enjoy the reality as well as the name of the power, till the elevation of the late MAHA ROW OMEID SINGH. This Prince, either from the state of confusion into which the Mahrattas had thrown Malwa, or his own inefficiency, had so entirely lost all authority over his principal Thakoors, and subjects, that this small State produced little or no revenue, and was unable to pay seventy-five thousand rupees per annum, which had been fixed as the Mahratta tribute. Kotah seemed at this period on the verge of destruction, when it was not only saved, but raised to the first rank among the Rajpoot Principalities, by one of the most remarkable men who has appeared in the modern history of India.

16. ZALIM SINGH, of the Hara tribe of Chouan Rajpoots,* was son of PERTHI RAJ, an Officer of rank in the service of GOOMAN SINGH, Rajah of Kotah. The father must have been in high estimation, as we find not only one of his daughters married to his Prince, but the son at the age of twenty commanding a force against the troops of the Rajah of Jyepore, whom, with the aid of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, he defeated. Some time after this event, a misunderstanding between GOOMAN SINGH and his young leader induced the latter to go to the Court of Oudipore, the Ruler of which employed him against the Mahrattas with such success, that they were driven from Mewar; but in a subsequent action fought near Ougein, ZALIM SINGH not only experienced a reverse, but fell a wounded prisoner into the hands of his enemies. He was at this period

no mention of ZALIM SINGH's being in the service of the Rajah of Mewar, or being made prisoner by the Mahrattas. It is merely stated, that he came to Kotah at the invitation of OMEID SINGH, the son of GOOMAN SINGH by ZALIM SINGH's sister, and having reduced the rebellious Thakoors or Lords, and put to death AHILEE RAM, the Bramin Dewan, whose intrigues had brought the Principality to ruin, he succeeded to full and uncontrolled power.

* The tribe of Hara have produced many celebrated men. RAM SINGH HARA, who was an Omrah of high rank, and a commander of nine thousand horse, was esteemed one of AURUNGZEBE's best Generals.

ried a Chief of reputation. The Ruler of Oudipore had bestowed upon him a Jaghire, and had added to the title of Raj, to which he had a hereditary right, the appellation of Ranah. He had been invited by his nephew, OMEID SINGH, who had succeeded to the rule of Kotah, to take upon him as Minister, the settlement of that principality, and he recurred to this proposition as a means of restoring his fallen fortune. During his confinement he became acquainted with several of SCINDIAH's Officers, but particularly with a Brahmin of the name of LALLAJEE BELLAL, who had the charge of the collection of the tributes of the Rajpoot Princes. To this person ZALIM SINGH made a proposal that he should be sent to Kotah supported by SCINDIAH's authority, by which aid and his own efforts he not only expected to reduce the rebellious lords of the principality to obedience, but to restore the country to a state of prosperity that would enable it to pay its tribute regularly;—and as a further inducement to incline the Mahratta Ruler to adopt this measure, an increase of twenty-five thousand rupees was offered to be made in the annual amount. This proposition was accepted, and ZALIM SINGH, accompanied by his friend, LALLAJEE BELLAL, and a small party of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH's Pagah or Stable Horse, went to Kotah, where his arrival was welcomed by OMEID SINGH, who immediately appointed him his Minister, and gladly resigned into his hands the whole power. The impression made by this act, as well as the energetic character of ZALIM SINGH, and the decided support of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, caused little opposition to be made to the full establishment of his authority. In the progress of the contests in which ZALIM SINGH became engaged with the refractory Thakoors of Kotah, he exhibited a severity which struck terror into his opponents. Averse to war, he appears early to have commenced that system by which he has in the course of 45 years raised a distracted principality, of which the Chief had not more than four lacks of rupees per annum, to a State, whose revenues cannot be estimated at less than

forty

forty lacks. * Amidst scenes of plunder, confusion and anarchy, when violence, weakness, rapacity and ambition led alike to ruin, the calm temper, the clear mind, the profound art, and the firm energy of ZALIM SINGH took advantage of the errors of all around, without ever committing one himself. He early shewed that, at a moment when none were trusted, he might be confided in. His character for courage and wisdom was soon so well established, that it was deemed dangerous to have him as an enemy; and so far was he from offering provocation, that, instead of assuming the high tone of a Rajpoot Chief, he readily acknowledged the paramount power of the Mahrattas, terming himself a Zemindar or land-holder and cultivator. He was, in fact, too satisfied with the substance of power to quarrel about its shadow. Bred to business, he was at once the farmer, the merchant, and the minister. In every transaction his tone was that of fairness and moderation; and, though he no doubt from the first cherished objects of the greatest ambition, these were never paraded, nor did good fortune (and the lives of few men offer a parallel of success so complete and uninterrupted) ever alter or in the least disturb his equal course. He appears, within a very short period of his first advancement to power, to have enjoyed the same character he does at this moment, and while his territories were kept in the highest state

* By memorandum regarding Kotah written in 1812, I believe by Mr. W. STRACHEY, the revenues are estimated as follows.

	Rupees.
Land Revenue, including Sayer and other taxes, ...	40,00,000
Jaghires of the Rajah's brother, ...	3,00,000
	43,00,000
Part of Mewar mortgaged to ZALIM SINGH, ...	91,000
Purgunnahs rented from HOLKAR, ...	1,05,000
Ditto from SCINDIAH, ...	2,29,000
Total Rupees,	47,25,000

The three latter sums ought not to be added, so that the total revenue by this account is rupees forty-three lacks; even this is supposed to be much exaggerated; the whole revenue is probably about thirty or thirty-five lacks.

state of cultivation, the additions made to them were obtained more by art, intrigue, and accident, than by force. But little comparatively was added; the immense increase of revenue was from the reduction of the nobles and dependants of the Raj or principality—and the confiscation and improvement of their large and ill-managed estates, which were chiefly usurpations upon the weakness of former Rulers. To enable him to give full effect to these changes in the internal administration of the country, ZALIM SINGH was most sedulous in establishing and maintaining links of amicable connection with all foreign Princes and Chiefs, from the principal Rulers in India to the most desperate freebooters. In a sea of trouble the territories of Kotah became a harbour where there was comparative repose, and the convenience, which all found in having occasional resort to this asylum, created a general interest in its continued security. The policy of ZALIM SINGH led him to purchase at any price, except a violation of his faith, the friendship and protection of the paramount power of the moment, which gave him confidence to pursue his views of aggrandizement at leisure. His object was never lost through hurry to obtain it. Every means, except such as might compromise a reputation which was his strength, were employed to effect his purposes; neighbouring districts were rented, fugitives received, treasure taken in deposit, powerful leaders conciliated, those in distress relieved, and every act had both in substance and manner, a discrimination as to time and the temper of the parties concerned, which generally gave to this extraordinary man all the chances of the troubled times, with few, if any, of the hazards, but against the latter he took care to be well provided. He formed at an early period a small but efficient body of troops, which were gradually augmented in numbers with his increasing means, and were always from their formation, equipment, good pay, and the high character of their selected commanders, among the very best of their class.

 17. To

17. To detail minutely all the steps by which ZALIM SINGH has raised Kotah to its present condition would be tedious. His character, talents, and the means he used, have therefore been thus generally described; a short account of his progress to the great power and influence he has obtained will suffice.

18. The town of Kotah and its original lands are chiefly situated in Haroutee,* one of the largest Provinces in the Soubah of Ajmere; but the possessions of this Raj, or principality, have gradually extended over other parts of Malwa. Among the first possessions which ZALIM SINGH obtained, was the fort and lands of Shahabad, the garrison of which were seduced from their duty, and put the Governor† to death. His relations hastened with their complaints of this violence to MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, but with him ZALIM SINGH had a powerful mediator in his friend, LOLLAJEE BELLAL, and the payment of a sum of money, with the promise of a regular tribute for Shahabad, not only obtained pardon for the violence, but a regular Sunnud from the nominal Emperor of Delhi, vesting the government of that place in the Prince of Kotah, in whose name ZALIM SINGH always acted.

19. Hardly a year past after his accession to full power, that he did not add to his territories by obtaining grants or leases of districts or villages, or by giving protection to small Kotrees or estates of Rajpoot lords, who repaid him with their service and attachment. The fall of the Rajahs of Nerwar, and other neighbouring petty Rajpoot states, and the decrease of the influence and power of the Puar family of the Mahrattas, were alike turned to the benefit of ZALIM SINGH. But the greatest advance of his fortune may perhaps be attributed to AMBAJEE INGLIAH.

* This Province, which adjoins Malwa, is stated by some to have received its name from the tribe of HARA. This however appears a doubtful etymology

† The name of this Governor was KUNDY ROW, a Brahmin; he held Shahabad nominally from the King, but it was under the authority of the Rajah.

AH. This powerful and wealthy leader, who had been held in high estimation by MADHAJEE SCINDIAH, when nominated by his successor Soubahdar of Gwalior, contracted the most intimate relations with ZALIM SINGH, and while he made Kotah the residence of his family and deposit of his treasures, he took every opportunity of favouring and adding to the strength of its Ruler. The same description of connection, which the latter had established* with AMBAJEE, was cultivated with the other managers of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, who governed countries or commanded armies in his vicinity. His friendship indeed was the first object of all these, as it gave them a respected asylum for themselves or families in the hour of trouble, and the care ZALIM SINGH took to keep well with the principal Ministers of SCINDIAH, whose necessities he occasionally relieved, made him certain that no casual or temporary protection he might give to offenders against the State, or public defaulters, would be seriously resented. The fact is (for reasons that have before been stated) nothing could be more useful or desirable to a Government like SCINDIAH's than to have those half-dependant leaders of its armies and managers of its provinces, with whose services it could not dispense, but whose power it could not control, look to such protection as that afforded by the Regent of Kotah, who, though firm in maintaining the pledges he gave, was not only moderate and conciliating, but leant always to the superior power. His wealth (and he early became rich) made him a convenient medium; for in all settlements between Mahratta States and their offending servants a fine is the first object. The security of ZALIM SINGH, if he did not advance the money, was so good, that no soucar or banker hesitated a moment in accepting it, and we find him extending this aid, not merely to high officers of state, but (as in the case of KURREEM KHAN, which

has

* ZALIM SINGH was in the latter years of AMBAJEE's life the only person he trusted, and it is generally believed that a considerable part of the wealth which he had accumulated was deposited at Kotah, and became on his death the property of the Ruler.

has been mentioned) to the most lawless freebooters. From all these settlements he must have derived great profit, for the parties in whose favor he interposed had commenced with giving him the pledge of their wealth and family, and placing themselves, in fact, completely in his power. But this was not the chief view in which he saw the advantage of such a proceeding. The Prince, the Minister, the insubordinate leader, and the freebooter, were alike his friend, from its suiting their convenience or interest to be so. The most alarming event, which ever threatened his deep-laid schemes of policy, was the rise of Jeswunt Row Holkar, a Prince unrestrained by any common bounds, and to whose violence and rapacity the prosperity of Kotah offered a tempting point of attack. The mode in which this danger was evaded for a course of years, exhibits a remarkable illustration of the wisdom of Zalim Singh. The principality over which he ruled had at one time paid tribute to each of the three great Mahratta families; that to Scindiah had been increased. But as it was the policy of Zalim Singh, as well as of the Rajpoot leaders, to give no tribute before it was demanded by those who had power to enforce their right, the payment of the Puars had ceased with their power to exact it. On the same principle a large arrear of tribute to the Holkar Government had accumulated since the death of Aliah Baf, owing to the confusion in which the State was involved subsequent to that event, and which had deprived it of the power to enforce its rights. These were however strongly asserted by Jeswunt Row, and the whole of the arrears due were paid; but further exactions were dreaded; and the uncertainty which attended all arrangements with Jeswunt Row led the Ruler of Kotah to cultivate and establish the most intimate relations of friendship with the associate of that predatory Prince Ameer Khan; and when the Patan Chief made Sheergurh the place of deposit of his family and property, he gave a complete pledge of his whole influence, which was then paramount, among the plunderers of India, being exerted

at

at all times to save the country of Kotah from their depredations, and to this connection may be chiefly attributed that profound peace which it enjoyed during the very worst tim es, with which Malwa has been afflicted.

20. While ZALIM SINGH, by that singular union of art, pliancy, firmness and wisdom which has been described, not only continued to preserve himself safe, but to increase his territories amid the wars and revolutions of Malwa, his ambition early led him to mix in the affairs of the Ranah of Oudipore. It is not meant to enter upon the details of the intrigues and operations in Mewar,* to which this interference led. These, after occupying him for thirty five years, have terminated in a manner that has neither added to the advancement of his interests, or his reputation. We may believe that the motives which originally led ZALIM SINGH to mix in the affairs of Oudipore were worthy of his name ; but, first disappointed in his higher and juster views by the weak character of the Ranah and the feuds and vices of the nobles, and next foiled in his intrigues by the baser art and more shameless rapacity of the Mahrattas, his objects degenerated into those of a low and selfish policy. He latterly, to accomplish a marriage between the Ranah and the daughter of the Maha Row of Kotah, (which was a great honor for the latter) made a shew of retribution to this unfortunate State by splendid promises of rich presents and renewed efforts to relieve the country from the intolerable miseries which the Mahratta leaders continued to inflict upon it. But the expectations he excited on this occasion were poorly fulfilled, and in the close of his transactions with Mewar, which was effected through the medium of the British Government, he brought forward accounts and claims against the Ranah to an amount of twenty-nine lacks of

* The conduct of ZALIM SINGH in Mewar, will no doubt be fully detailed by Captain TOD in the Report which I understand he is preparing, of that part of Rajpootana, and that officer has beyond all others access to correct information upon the subject.

of rupees, which were swelled by items * that would have disgraced the most sordid Hindu banker. The liberal policy however of the British Government, which sought to conciliate all parties, prevented the further discussion of this question. Some districts† in Mewar, of which ZALIM SINGH had possession, were restored to the Ranah of Oudipore, and the tribute of Shahabad and some other rights, to which it had become entitled, were ceded to ZALIM SINGH in compensation for what he had lost by this arrangement.

21. By the treaty concluded at Delhi he was exempted from all further tribute ‡ to the Mahrattas, but he agreed to pay that formerly fixed for SCINDIAH, HOLKAR, and the PAISHWAH to the British Government. This he had long sought, and though his wary policy had led to some doubts of his sincerity§ during the contest in which that State was engaged sixteen years ago with DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH and JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, the result proved that

* The Ranah besides being loaded with numerous petty charges for clothes and other articles at advanced prices with high compound interest upon bonds granted by Ministers, whose acts he had disowned, was charged nearly nineteen lacks of rupees due from expenditure beyond receipts on the districts of Jehaspore and Sauganeer, the possessions which the Raj Ranah had wrested from him.

† Jehaspore and Sauganeer.

‡ The tribute formerly paid to the Mahrattas is now paid to us. We account to SCINDIAH for his share; HOLKAR's and a small tribute to the PAISHWAH we gain; that is all which Kotah pays for our protection. That State also engages to furnish troops at our requisition according to its means.

§ ZALIM SINGH's sincerity was doubted by Colonel MONSON, who, when he reached Kotah in his flight before HOLKAR, desired more from this Chief than he could have been expected to grant, but there are two occurrences of that period which should be mentioned, as illustrative of ZALIM SINGH's sense of honor and his habitual caution. When HOLKAR reached Kotah, where he halted some days, he learnt that there were two of Colonel MONSON's Guns in the place and demanded them. The Ranah, though he paid a considerable contribution without much difficulty, yet resisted the demand for the guns with the greatest pertinacity, nor would he give them up till HOLKAR actually invested the place and then obliged him to comply. He is said to have been so much distressed, that he eat no food that day. While HOLKAR remained at Kotah, the Ranah refused to visit him, but after he had crossed the Chumbul with his Army a meeting of a singular kind was agreed on: HOLKAR in one Boat with a few armed men, and the Ranah in another with an equal number pushed off at the same moment from the opposite banks; they met in the middle of the stream and after a conference of a few minutes returned.

that he had not acted unwisely. When he perceived that the British Government was decided in the course it meant to pursue, and had resolved to assume that paramount rank among the States of India which belonged to the condition and magnitude of its power, ZALIM SINGH did not hesitate in the part he was to act. He cast off at once all his former connections, and united himself exclusively with that State, to whom as an instrument to restore and preserve peace and good order, he was the most important of allies. The promptness and energy with which he entered into the war against the Pindaries and HOLKAR, was early rewarded by the cession of four fine districts,* valued at four lacs of rupees, and rendered more desirable to him from their adjoining to his territories. ZALIM SINGH had lost no subsequent opportunity of evincing the sincerity of his friendship to the British Government. In every effort to establish order in countries near his, great benefit has been derived from his aid. In the settlement of Soandwarrah, one of the most turbulent districts in Malwa, his troops, who co-operated with those of the English, acted with a forwardness which proved at once the disposition of their Prince, and their own gallantry. The siege and storm of Narella was an achievement which reflected the highest credit upon their zeal and efficiency.

22. The death of OMEID SINGH, the Maha Row of Kotah, which occurred a few months ago, has been seriously felt by ZALIM SINGH, and it was certainly next to the death of the latter, the event most likely to disturb that State. The late Maha Row and the Raj Ranah had for nearly half a century maintained their mutual relations with the most perfect concord. The former, devoted to his religious duties, appears neither to have had the desire nor the ability to manage the affairs of his principality, and while he devolved every thing upon his uncle, the Raj Ranah, the latter pleased with the substance of power, studiously gave all its exterior

* Gungrour, Dug, Putchpahar and Gurrote.

exterior to his nominal Prince, whom he treated on every occasion with habitual regard and respect. A natural desire however to perpetuate power in his family made ZALIM SINGH stipulate, when he formed an alliance with the British Government, that it should maintain his successors as Ministers, or in other words as actual Rulers of Kotah. This engagement from the actual condition of the parties has already produced embarrassment, and that may be expected to encrease on the death of ZALIM SINGH, who is upwards of eighty years of age, is already blind and paralytic, and to all appearance on the very verge of dissolution.

23. KISHOUR SINGH, who has succeeded his father OMEID SINGH as Maha Row, though like him devoted to religious habits, is not free from ambition,—a passion that in him is more dangerous from the extreme weakness of his character, which renders him the apt instrument of the intriguing and turbulent. He has an avowed and irreconcilable hatred to MADHOO SINGH, the eldest and only legitimate son of the Raj Ranah, which has already led him to acts that have thrown the principality into great agitation. The most offensive of his measures has been the open espousal of the cause of GOHURDUN Doss, a natural son of ZALIM SINGH's, who has openly thrown off obedience to his father. This state of affairs has already led to the peace of Kotah being twice disturbed, to GOHURDUN Doss being banished, and the Maha Row becoming a voluntary fugitive from the seat of his nominal rule.

24. ZALIM SINGH, though distressed by these events, and weak in the extreme from age and infirmity, seems from all his conferences and communications with the British Agent at his Court, to maintain his intellect unimpaired, and to be yet equal to the duties he has to perform. But a few months will probably terminate his long, laborious and useful life. This event, whenever it occurs, will be a serious misfortune to

his

his country and to Malwa, for his influence and example give benefit beyond the limits of his own possessions. The character of ZALIM SINGH has been already given, and events have been narrated which shew that it is not without very serious defects, to which must be added the weakness of superstition and a firm belief in witchcraft.* But though we may be disgusted with the avarice of this ruler, and shrink from the art and worldly feeling which he has on many occasions displayed, it will be difficult to find an example of a Prince of a comparatively small State, who has preserved and encreased not only his territories, but the peace and happiness of his subjects at so few sacrifices of reputation. If his mind has had recourse to art, it has been to escape ruin that he could not by other means avert ; if he has been eager for gain, it has been less with a desire of hoarding than to possess himself of powerful means of defence against the dangers with which he has been surrounded. It enabled him to meet demands that he could not evade, to purchase aid when urgently required, and to maintain a force that made him always in some degree feared and respected. His avowed object was to avoid war, but he was above desiring exemption from that evil by a sacrifice of his pledged faith. When JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR was in distress after the defeat at Indore, his agent and a banker who had gone to Kotah to realize the tribute were peremptorily demanded to be delivered up by BALARAM INGLIAH, one of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH's Generals, who was at the head of a large force in the vicinity of that city. The demand was firmly resisted ; nor did the preparations for an assault of the town, alarm the Raj Ranah into any compromise of his character, and the affair terminated, as numerous others of the same kind have done, to the advancement of his fame, and the increased reliance of all ranks upon his protection.

25. It

* The extent to which *ZALIM* SINGH believes in witchcraft, and its fatal results, will be noticed hereafter.

25. It has been already mentioned that ZALIM SINGH rented a number of districts from other States. These were a legitimate source both of profit and influence. The manner in which this ruler manages his territories is singular, and partakes of that energy which belongs to his whole character. He seldom rents any large districts to one person, but places them under the management of well-qualified officers, who have regular pay, and who divide the whole into small portions, either rent, give in management, or settle with the villages or ryuts, as suits the usages of the inhabitants, or convenience of the period.

26. The peasants or ryuts of ZALIM SINGH are treated with justice, but that is not tempered by kindness or indulgence. Throughout his country a strictness, if not a spirit of severity mixes with his management, and he has endeavoured with success to establish a very complete command over his ryuts, by possessing himself of a number of ploughs and labourers, who on any symptoms of local insubordination, or obstinacy in not entering into his terms, are sent as a detachment to cultivate the fields. Under other times than those of the last thirty years, this rigid system would not have succeeded; but his territories have always afforded a security to life and property, which has made crowds of fugitives resort to them; and this has not only enabled him to bring large tracts into cultivation, but to build some new towns and improve others in an extraordinary degree; above all, Jabra Patun upon the Chunderbogho river has been the favorite object of his care. This child of his creation (for such it may be termed) whether we refer to the regularity of the plan, spaciousness of the principal streets, excellent construction of some of the houses, or beauty of the buildings, particularly one of its temples, or the wealth of its inhabitants, already vies with the proudest cities of India, and will long remain a monument of the taste as well as liberal munificence of ZALIM SINGH.

27. It is not necessary, after the details given of the Rulers of Ragoogurh and Kotah, to enter minutely into the history of any other chiefs of the same class; but the Rajahs of Purtaubghur, Banswarra, and Dongurpore, though their territories only border upon Malwa, merit, from their long possession of independance and their recent connection with the British Government, a short notice.

28. The family of Purtaubghur, though originally a branch of that of Oudipore, owes no allegiance to the Ranah of Mewar. JEJAH* RAWUL, who having obtained some villages near Deolah, then the residency of a Bheel Chief, made himself through treachery master of that place, is the first of this family who can be termed Rajah of Purtaubghur. This Chief, who appears to have recommended himself to the local Mahomedan authority, became a Jaghiredar of SHAH JEHAN, and after his death the circumstance of his son BHEEMA RAWUL being killed while aiding the Amildar of Mundisore, led to a grant of twelve villages from that district being given to his son JESWUNT SINGH, who however was seized and slain by the Ranah of Oudipore. The eldest son of this Chief shared the fate of his father, but his youngest son went to Dehli, and returned supported by Sunnuds from AURUNGZEBE, who gave him a high title, honorary dress, and Standards. PURTAUB SINGH, the son of this Chief, built Purtaubghur, a town eighteen miles west of Mundissore on the plain, but at the very verge of the Jungle and Hills. Of PERTHI SINGH and GOPAL SINGH, the

* The following is the account given in a MS in my possession of the origin of this family. SOURAJ MUL, Chief of Sadree, the ancestor of the Purtaubghur family, having quarrelled with PERTHI RAJ of Oudipore (his Uncle) went to ALLA UDEEN, who was King of Mandoo, at the time Chittore was besieged by AKBAR; after SOURAJ MUL's death the Ranah entreated his son BUG RAWUL to return, and on his consenting, committed to him the defence of Chittore, conferring upon him at the same time the title of Dewan, (which the family still retain) and ensigns of Royalty. This Chief was slain: his son BAI SINGH retired to Sadree, from which in consequence of his unauthorized assumption of the titles of his father, he was expelled and forced to subsist himself as a plunderer. JEJAH RAWUL was the grand-son of this Chief.

the two next in descent from the founder of the Capital, little is recorded; but the next in succession, SALIM SINGH, has acquired some celebrity, not only from his having raised this small principality to considerable prosperity, but his having obtained leave from MAHOMED SHAH to coin in his own name. The money which he first struck maintains its currency throughout the countries west of the Chumbul. Its coinage continues a source of revenue to Purtaubghur, and it is still called by the name it first received of the Salim Shah rupee.

29. The present Rajah, SAWUT SINGH who is about sixty years of age, is the son of SALIM SINGH. The country over which he rules, which is known as a Province under the name of Kauntul, may be valued when in a state of prosperity, at five lacks of rupees. Its Rajahs have, since the power of the Mahrattas was established at Malwa, paid an annual tribute of seventy-five thousand rupees to the house of HOLKAR. That has been transferred to the British Government, under whose protection the petty State of Purtaubghur is now placed.

30. The Rajah, or rather Rawul of Dongurpore claims descent from a senior branch of the reigning Princes of Oudipore, whilst the ancestors of both dwelt at Chittore. The primogenitor of the Dongurpore family either resigned or was deprived of his right of succession which was transferred to a Son of his Father by a second marriage. One of the descendants of the Prince, who thus lost his birth-right, left * Mewar, and having obtained possession of Gurrah Kote, then held by a Mahomedan, commenced a contest with the neighbouring Chiefs, who were mostly Bheels, in which he was so successful, that he soon became master of the whole province of Bangor. About a Century after the first establishment of this Rajpoot family at Dongurpore, POONJAH RAWUL formed a connection with

Sumbhut 1630.

* This occurrence is stated in the account in my possession, which is very general, to have taken place three Centuries ago.

with the Emperor of Dehli, by whom, according to the traditions of this House, (for they have no records) he was recognised as an independant Hindu Prince; but this appears an unfounded pretension, for there can be no doubt that both this Chief and his immediate successors were dependent upon the imperial Governor and Rulers of Goojerat, to whom they owed and gave tribute and military service.

31. On the fall of the Moghul Empire, Dongurpore, like other Provinces, was overrun and laid waste by the Mahrattas, and to save it from further devastations, a tribute of thirty-five thousand rupees was agreed to be given, which was at first settled to be divided between the three great families of Scindiah, Holkar and the Puars of Dhar, but the latter (who are stated as having from the first one half of this tribute) were ultimately recognised as having the exclusive right to the whole, which in a treaty recently concluded, they ceded to the English Government, of which Rawul Jeswunt Singh, the present Ruler of Dongurpore, is now a tributary. It would be alike useless and impossible to trace minutely the history of this petty principality from the period of its decline, from that prosperity which it enjoyed before the ruin of the Moghul Empire. It appears wonderful that even its name could have survived the vicissitudes and revolutions to which it was exposed by internal dissentions, the repeated attacks of the Ranahs of Oudipore, the annual incursions, first of Mahratta Rulers, and next of all those bands of independent and licentious freebooters who were generated by the predatory system. To complete the misery of this country, it became from its weakness, like most other petty States in its vicinity, a prey to those bands of foreign mercenaries which its Rulers entertained for its defence, but whom it could neither pay nor control. When it was rendered too desolate to tempt the annual invasion of a Mahratta Army, bodies of Arabs, Mewatties, Patans and Scindees found alternately enough of booty for

 their

their temporary subsistence, and a place of security from whence they could issue to plunder more fertile countries.

32. The wretched condition of this country was perhaps at the very extreme, when the advance of a strong Detachment of English troops, acting in combination with others towards the same object of compelling the Scindees and Arab mercenaries to abandon the countries immediately west of the Chumbul, forced a large body of the latter to leave Dongurpore, which country under the protection of the British Government is now advancing towards that state of prosperity which it appears to have formerly enjoyed.

33. The history of Banswarrah which is also in the Province of Bagur, cannot be separated from that of Dongurpore, a younger brother of one of the Rulers of the latter having added to some lands given to him as a provision, the Bheel Town of Banswarrah, made it his Capital, and his success and that of his descendants, raised it into an independant and rival principality, which has experienced nearly the same description of vicissitudes with Dongurpore, and has contracted similar relations with the English Government. The ruling Prince, Bhowanee Singh, succeeded his father Omeid Singh, since this petty state was taken under British protection.

34. The Rajahs of Jabooah and Rutlam have been before noticed. The descendant of Kishoor Doss still rules over the former principality, and is a tributary to the Holkar State; his country is chiefly inhabited by Bheels, but they are of the cultivating class, and the town and territories of Jabooah, though they have suffered much, are rapidly improving.

35. Purbut Singh, the present representative of Ruttun Singh at Rutlam, is a weak incompetent Prince, but from being at the head of a large and powerful family, has great influence, and can upon emergency

call

call a numerous band of his kindred and clansmen into the field. This he evinced, when two years ago threatened with attack by BAPOO SCINDIAH, A. D. 1818. who has long had the tribute of that principality assigned to him. The Mahratta Chief no sooner marched towards Rutlam accompanied by a small army, and with the avowed view of using coercion to realize his claims, than the summons was sent, and the descendants and adherents of the Rutlam family, though most of them were subjects of other States, deeming the duty of rallying round their Chief paramount to every call, hastened to his relief. In three or four days a body of twelve hundred Rajpoots, (almost all mounted) were collected, and hostilities would have ensued, but for the interference of the British Government, who guaranteed an engagement for the future regular payment of the tribute due by this Rajah, and that of Sillanah to SCINDIAH, on the condition that the peace of the country was not again to be disturbed, and its prosperity checked by the visitation of Mahratta troops.

36. The Rajahs of Seeta Mhow, of Rutlam, and the junior branches of the latter family, Sillanah, Amjerrah, Katche Barode, Moultain &c. &c. have always, accordant with the principles of their origin, paid tribute to the paramount or ruling power, and have never drawn any revenue or subsistence from plunder. Their example has been followed by a few Rajpoot Chiefs, who have subsequently established power over small districts in Malwa, such as the Rajahs of Baglee, who have been frequently mentioned. These are descended from GHOKUL DOSS, a Rhattore* Chief, who entered into the service of DOST MAHOMED, Nabob of Bhopal, on whose part he attended the Mahratta Army, which invaded Hindostan in A. D. 1760. He was present at the battle of Paniput, and subsequent to that fatal action, rendered such services to MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, that he was ever afterwards honored with his friendship. He received from him a Negarah or Kettle Drum, and Banner, which his family

* He came into Malwa from Marwa, with a banished Prince of that Country.

family still possess. The future services of Ghokul Doss to Ranojee Scindiah obtained him a grant of Baglee, on paying a light tribute to that Chief, and he added to this some other small possessions.

37. Ghokul Doss, who was killed in battle, left four sons, one of whom the youngest, Salim Singh, is still alive, and is Rajah of Baglee. He has increased his income by renting lands in the vicinity of his place of residence, and by selling wood for the supply of Indore and Ougein, from the thick forests that surround Baglee, which stands upon the verge of the Vindhya range of mountains.

38. There are along the banks of the Nerbuddah, and between Malwa and Goojerat, several Rajpoot Princes, whose ancestors had much more of wealth and power than they now enjoy. Among these Omeid Singh of Burwace, near Onkar Mundatta, is now reduced to an insignificant Zemindar, and the revenues of the Chief of Burwanee, whose territories which lie in Nimar, once yielded about three lacks, is now reduced to about twenty thousand rupees. The Rajahs of Aly Mohun Barreeah of Lunawarrah and Soante are all fallen; the latter who are particularly poor, having only fifteen thousand rupees of revenue, of which they pay a tribute of seven thousand rupees to Scindiah, boast that they are descended in direct line from Bikermajeet.

39. The next class of Rajpoot chiefs who claim notice in the history of Malwa, may be included under the general term of Grassiahs* a name not limited to this province, but known in several others, particularly Goojerat, where it describes as in Malwa, plundering native Chiefs, who driven from their possessions by invaders, have established and maintained a claim to a share of the revenue, upon the ground of their power to disturb or prevent its collection.

40. The

* This term is from Grass, a Sanscrit word which signifies a mouthful, and it has been metaphorically applied to designate the small share of the produce which these plunderers claim.

40. The character of the Tankah, or forced tribute of the Grassiah Chiefs merits a few words. The greater part of the province of Malwa since the invasion and conquest of the first Bajeerow, (and long before) has been held on loose and intermixed tenures. The usual predatory claims of the Mahrattas, Choute, Desmookh, &c. &c. were first inflicted upon the possessions of the Rajahs, Jaghiredars, and Zemindars of the Moghul Government, and next the countries of the latter were usurped; but to effect the latter measure, the conquerors were obliged to compromise, and in fact share the revenues with the native Chiefs of the military class, who taking refuge in strong holds and in woods and mountains, gratified their resentment by destroying possessions they could no longer enjoy. These excesses either produced a compact between the actual government and the excluded Chiefs, or between the latter and the heads of districts and villages; a settled sum was agreed to be paid as a Tankah or contribution, upon the condition of being exempt from plunder, and indeed an implied one of protection. This usage has existed since the Mahratta rule was introduced in Malwa, with constant variation as to particular parts of that province; but little as to the general principles upon which it is levied. The payment of Tankah, which originated in necessity, is only continued from the same cause, and it follows therefore that (with little attention to the right of inheritance) the chief, who has succeeded to the power of distressing and plundering the country, has been gradually recognized as possessing the claim to this contribution.

41. Large towns were seldom exposed to Tankah or forced contribution by the Grassiahs; that has always been chiefly collected from villages. Of these and the amount paid by each when the Tankah was fixed, a list was kept by the officers of government, and it was admitted as a charge in the revenue accounts. This regular Tankah or exaction in its first

first establishment was comparatively moderate, seldom exceeding twenty rupees annually, and sometimes as low as two rupees upon a village; but as the country became desolate the burden was increased upon the villages in which inhabitants remained, as the freebooters made them pay for those in their vicinity that were deserted.

42. This tax was not the only one which the Grassiah Chiefs levied; they had other claims, among the most vexatious and oppressive of which was that support which they exacted for as many persons as they pleased to inflict upon the villages which owed them tribute, and any sum that had once been paid for whatever purpose, however foreign,* in its institution to the Tankah, was, when they had the power, added to their account and included in the list of their demands.

43. On any delay or refusal of the tribute, the Grassiah Chief used to drive away the cattle, or seize some of the inhabitants or their children, who were rigidly confined till the payment was made: murders or even the infliction of wounds or torture were rare, but when the troops of the State interfered, a regular petty warfare ensued, in which, if the Grassiah Chief was compelled to fly, he soon returned and repeated his excesses till his demands were settled. The heads of the villages and their inhabitants were always anxious for an amicable adjustment of their claims. Those were indeed generally in collusion with the Grassiahs, with whom when the local governments became oppressive, they often found protection.

44. A

* A Rajpoot of the province of Indore became Mahomedan and received from one of the Emperors of Delhi a charitable grant which entitled him to receive the amount of two rupees per annum from each of forty-nine villages in the district of Indore. This person, whose name was KHONJEE, levied this amount during his life; at his death it was continued to his heirs, who connecting themselves with Grassiahs, received it till within a few years. On a recent settlement of Tankah claims the amount was demanded by a Rajpoot chief (PERTAUB SINGH of Bhogode) who declared himself of the same family as the Mahomedan, and he argued that he possessed from inheritance a right to his annual salary from forty-nine villages in Indore. This right was rejected, but it was seriously urged as one among other Tankah claims brought forward by PERTAUB SINGH.

44. A few examples of the origin, progress and present condition of some of the Grassiahs will describe the whole. The ancestors of MADHOO ROW and JESWUNT SINGH, the present Zemindars of Indore, had been cherished by the Soubahdars of Malwa, from whom they held high appointments, as mediums with the petty Rajpoot Chiefs and Landholders, among whom they had established a considerable influence. The defection of this family from their allegiance to the throne of Dehli, first in support of JYE SINGH, and afterwards the Mahrattas, has been noticed. They collected, to aid the first invasion of the latter, a considerable force, chiefly composed of Rajpoot Chiefs of desperate fortunes, who hoped to derive benefit from the change. Many were disappointed ; others were encouraged at the moment, but afterwards thrown off; these renewed their former habits of coercing, when able, the local Government to admit their claims, which, though nominally given for protection, were in almost all cases a payment for exemption from plunder.

45. Among others who took to this course of life, was the family of the petty Chiefs* of Noulanah, a small fortified village situated on the Chumbul in the district of Depalpore. One of the ancestors of the present Thakoor HUTTY SINGH, had been taken into service by MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, who granted him the village and lands of Noulanah in Jaghire. He gave him besides a small Tankah or claim upon eighteen villages in Depalpore, which did not exceed two rupees each village. Quarrels between the Mahratta Managers of Depalpore, and the Thakoor of Noulanah, were of constant occurrence, and the tax, which was no doubt given at first to the latter as protection money, soon changed its character and increased so rapidly, that in the time of ALIAH BAE it was settled at four hundred rupees per annum in money, and at the peace of

* They are of the tribe of Rajpoots who are a branch of the Chouan.

of Mundissore, it was recognised at sixteen hundred and forty nine; but this acknowledged Tankah was little in proportion to the other exactions of the formidable Grassiah Chief of Noulanah. He levied from the whole district of Depalpore an arbitrary fine, called Bheit, or free offering (as it is in opposition to fact termed) from each village on the occurrence of marriages, feasts, or any other occasion which he chose to deem worthy of a contribution. He also levied Zemindar rights on the pretext of the Zemindar or Government collector being absent, and took small fines from each trade, besides an annual quantity of grain.

46. This Chief had, independant of those claims upon HOLKAR, some upon SCINDIAH; he was summoned to attend the British Authority that his claims might be mediated, and on his obeying and dismissing his numerous* followers, his Jaghire of Noulanah was continued to him, and besides a settlement of his lesser claims upon SCINDIAH, the sum of sixteen hundred and forty nine Rupees was agreed to be paid to him from HOLKAR's Government at the Katcheree or public Office; but all other exactions were discontinued, and every intercourse between him and the villages, from which he made forced collections, broken off. This Thakoor has in consequence abandoned his habits, and become an active cultivator.

47. These Grassiah Chiefs, who abounded in every part of Malwa, were, from being of the same tribe, intermarriages, or motives of common interest so leagued together, that it was difficult if not impossible to destroy them. Among these combined exactors of a share in the revenue, none were more celebrated than some families of the Chouan Rajpoots, and a tribe called Bargoojurs, who were first their Ministers, but rose to be nearly their equals. The heads of the Chouan Grassiahs

were

* He had when he came into my Camp in May, 1818, eighty well-mounted Horsemen, and between two and three hundred Infantry in his service.

were the Chiefs of Chotah Rampoorah and Lalghur, both in Soandwarrah: the former must have been at one time the principal, from his having the title of Row or Lord, while the latter had only that of Dewan or Minister; but the fortunes of the Lalghur family latterly predominated from the superior character of the father and uncle of the present Chief, SALIM SINGH. These Chouan and Burgoojur Grassiahs for a long period levied contribution from fifteen hundred villages in Malwa, which was divided according to fixed shares. In the late operations in Soandwarrah the reduction of Lalghur was a primary object, but its Chief, alarmed at the approach of the British Troops, submitted, and was contented with a small pension (since commuted for land) from HOLKAR's Government; the Tankah claims of those of his nominal Burgoojur Ministers upon SCINDIAH's Country have since been settled by our mediation; they amount to no less an annual sum than fifteen thousand three hundred rupees. *

48. The districts from which the Chouan Grassiahs principally collected were those of Oujein, Punbehar, Turranah, Oneil and Oolye, Shahjehanpore, Shujawulpore, and Mehidpore. Their revenues were large from this source, and they were occasionally increased by sharing in the profit of the depredations of the lawless freebooters of Soandwarrah, to whom they often gave protection in their strong holds.

49. Several of the Grassiah Chiefs had settled in Soandwarrah, but this tract, which stretches from Gungraur to Oujein north and south, and from Auggur to the Chumbul east and west, received its name from a class of more ancient and more desperate plunderers called Soandees. These often describe themselves as Rajpoots, but they are a mixture of all classes, or rather descendants of a mixed race. In their origin they

* Of this it has been settled that SALIM SINGH receives 7,100 rupees, and his nominal Ministers, OUDAJEE and SOOBHAN SINGH, Burgoojurs, each 4,100 rupees.

they were probably outcasts, and their fabulous history (for they consider themselves as a distinct people) traces them from a Prince, who, in consequence of being born with the face of a tiger, was expelled to the forests, where he seized upon women of all tribes and became the primogenitor of the Soandees, or "mixed race," some of whose leaders soon after settled in Malwa, where they have ever since maintained themselves as petty Zemindars or landholders and plunderers.

50. That the Soandees have a claim to antiquity there can be no doubt; but we have no record of their ever having been more than petty robbers, till the accident of their lands being divided among four or five local authorities, always at variance and often at war with each other, combined with the anarchy in which Malwa has been during the last twenty years, raised them into importance as successful freebooters. Though often opposed to the Grassiahs settled in the same tract, a similarity of pursuit has led to their being much associated with that class of Chiefs for the last twenty years, but particularly since the insanity of Jeswunt Row Holkar. From that date neither life nor property was secure within the range of the lawless bands of Soandwarrah, most of whom, breeding their own horses, were well mounted, and at the peace of Mundissore their numbers were estimated at twelve hundred and forty-nine horse, and nine thousand and two hundred and fifty foot, who were all subsisted upon plunder, for the possessions they had were in a state of complete desolation. The reduction of this formidable body of robbers appeared as a first measure essential to the re-establishment of the tranquility of Malwa, and two strong British Detachments, (one of which had a battering train) a few of Holkar's Horse, and a very efficient and well-equipped body of Kotah Troops under a distinguished leader, * proceeded

* Mehrab Khan. This able Soldier is recently dead, but not before he had established complete security in that part of Soandwarrah which belongs to the principality of Kotah.

ceeded on this service. The Grassiahs and Soandee Chiefs were required to give up their forts, to surrender their horses for sale, and to engage in industrious occupations, to encourage them to which every respect was promised to their rights as landholders, and to such as had none lands were offered at their native villages on very favorable terms. The impression of the power of the English Government, the complete union and cordial co-operation of all the Native States who had possessions in Soandwarrah, combined with the active and spirited conduct of the troops employed, particularly those of the Raj Ranah Zalim Singh, soon made the Soandees lose all hopes of successful resistance. Some of their forts were taken by storm, others were abandoned, several of the strongest were razed to the ground, and the dispirited plunderers, assailed at every quarter, and with all their wonted places of refuge barred against them, had no alternative but to deliver up their horses, and to make, while they yet could, favorable settlements as cultivators. These they not only obtained, but such of their claims for Tankah or forced contribution, as had been long recognized and established, were admitted.

51. The Soandees, since they consented to disarm themselves and to live as peaceable inhabitants, have been treated with kindness and indulgence; but from a consideration of their character it has been thought necessary to keep for some time a force in their country to prevent the revival of those habits which have so long rendered this race the bane and terror of Malwa. Complete success has hitherto attended these efforts, and Soandwarrah is fast rising into that prosperity to which it has a right from the fertility of its soil and abundance of water.

52. Another large division of Malwa, which lies almost directly east of Soandwarrah, received its name, like that district, from a race of plunderers, who emigrating some centuries ago from Mewar rose, during

during the decline of the Moghul Empire, into consequence, and who under the direction of two brothers, MOHUN SINGH and PURSERAM, made themselves masters of fifteen hundred small towns and villages. The name of this Rajpoot tribe is Omut, and the country they seized has been called after them, Omutwarrah. It was, with the reservation of five villages to mark the superiority of the elder brother, divided equally between MOHUN SINGH and PURSERAM, the former taking the title of Rawut or Chief, and the latter of Dewan or Minister; but they exercised from the first distinct authority over their respective countries, or rather possessions; for Omutwarrah was not divided into distinct limits of territory, but the system of Duamilee or intermixed rule over the same village, so common among the Mahrattas, was established by the two Rajpoot Chiefs throughout their possessions. The successors of the Rawul, who fixed their residence at Rajghur, became tributary of SCINDIAH, while those of the Dewan, now established at Nursinghur,* ranked themselves among the dependants of the HOLKAR family. The establishment of power in the hands of two powerful chiefs led to Omutwarrah becoming a complete contrast of Soandwarrah. It was before the time of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR a well-governed fertile tract, and yielded a considerable revenue; but it has, within the last twenty years, suffered much, being from its situation more exposed than almost any other part of Malwa to the depredations of those plunderers by whom that province has been so long overrun. It is, however, now rapidly recovering, and will no doubt early attain its former prosperity.

53. The rugged country which lies between the Nerbuddah and the Vindhya range has often been mentioned. The banks of that river

* Puttun, near Rajghur, was the capital fixed upon by PURSERAM; but DEWAN ATCHEE SINGH, the ablest of his successors, built the Fort of Nursinghur.

ter from Hindia to opposite Baglee have been seized by some Goand Chiefs, the principal of whom are KOOSHAL SINGH,* of Erwass, and ANOOP SINGH, of Singhur. These and their adherents, after some warfare, have all been settled through the liberality or by the mediation of the British Government. In the same description of country which stretches from below Baglee to Onkar Mundatta, the banks of the Nerbuddah were infested by bands of robbers, of whom the principal was the Bheelalah family of Sillanah, whose Chiefs, particularly RUTTUN SINGH and MUNDROOP SINGH, of Buckutgurh, had extended their ravages as far north as Oujein and Indore, and as far south as the vicinity of Asseerghur and Berhanpore. They have, like others, submitted to the British Government, which has settled their claims to Tankah, or contribution, from the Governments of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR, and receiving that in part payment maintains the principal Chiefs and a few of their adherents in its service; thus rendering them the preservers of that peace which they have so long disturbed.

54. These Chiefs, as well as the Goands on this part of the Nerbuddah, are generally called Mowassee, which refers to the place they have chosen for their residence, Mowass being in the colloquial dialect of Malwa a strong hold or fastness.

55. The description of the Governments, principalities and tribes of Malwa would be incomplete without an account of the Bheels, who inhabit the wild and mountainous tracts which divide it from Nimar and Goojerat. This extraordinary class of people merit more than a cursory notice. They are as singular in their origin as their habits; but, while every thing connected with them excites curiosity, their dispersion over wild tracts, their extreme ignorance and prejudice, and their repugnance to confidential intercourse with all, except of their own tribe, present

* This Chief is lately dead.

sent serious obstacles to our obtaining a full and correct knowledge of their history.

56. It will be sufficient, for the present purpose, to offer some conjectures regarding the origin and progress of this tribe, to notice the classes into which they are divided, and, in conclusion, to give as much of the local history of one or two of their most remarkable chiefs in Malwa, as will elucidate their past and present condition in that province.

57. The Bheels are quite a distinct race from any other Indian tribe, and few among these have higher pretensions to antiquity. The adoption of their usages and modes of life by other classes of the community, and the fruit of the intercourse of their females with both Mahomedans and Hindus, have led to the term Bheel being given as a general name to all the plunderers who dwell in the ranges of mountains and woody banks of rivers in the western parts of India, not only Beelalahs and Kolies, who have an affinity with them, but Meenahs, Mengs, Mogees, Ramoossees and Goands, &c., have been included in this class. But the latter are in no manner (beyond having the common occupation of plunder) connected with the real Bheels, who have from the most remote periods been recognized as a distinct race, insulated in their abodes, and separated by their habits, usages and forms of worship, from the other tribes of India.

58. The accounts given by their Rawuts, or head men, differ from the general mention we meet of this race in ancient Hindu works,* but the popular tradition, as far as relates to their more recent history, is probably the most

* In the Sanscrit vocabulary, "Abhidhanah Chintaneni Hema Chundra," a work at least seven hundred years old, the term Bheel occurs to denote a particular race of Barbarians subsisting chiefly on plunder, and found more particularly in the mountainous woody tract of the Nerbuddah. But we have still earlier mention of them in the celebrated Hindu poem of the Mahobarut, which without claiming for it exaggerated antiquity is certainly a work of remote date. In the Hurrioungsha, and other parts of this work, the Bheels are not only minutely described, but a long fabulous account given of their origin.

most correct. These state, that as MAHADEO, one day when he was sick and unhappy, chanced to be reclining in a shady forest, a beautiful woman appeared to him, and the first sight of her effected a complete cure. An intercourse between the god and the stranger female was established, the result of which was many children, one of whom, who was from infancy alike distinguished by his ugliness and vice, slew the favorite Bull of MAHADEO, for which crime he was expelled to the woods and mountains, and his descendants have been on his account stigmatized with the names of Bheel* and Nishoda, which are derived from terms that signify a frightful or wicked action.

59. The same tradition lays the scene of their first residence and exploits in the country of Marwar, from whence, driven south by other tribes, they settled along the mountains that form the western boundary of Malwa and Candeish, in the lofty ranges of the Vindhya and Sautpoorah, and the woody and rugged banks of the Mhye, the Nerbuddah and the Taptee, where, secured by the strong nature of the country from that oppression which had expelled them from their homes, they have since dwelt, subsisting partly by their industry, but more from the plunder of the rich lands in their vicinity.

60. The truth of this account of their emigration from Marwar and Mewar is supported by the local histories of the Rajpoot Rulers of that quarter, which state that the lands were conquered from the Bheels, and by the fact of almost all their revered Bhats or Minstrels still residing in these countries, from whence they make annual, biennial, and some only triennial visits to the southern tribes to register remarkable events and changes in families, particularly those connected with their marriages,

* The term "Bhee" (from which Bheel is supposed to be derived) means frightful, and "Nishoda" depart away. The common appellation of this race is B[illegible], but they are also termed Nishoda. Major HENLEY mentions the common application of this term to one of the tribes on the Nerbuddah.

riages, and to sing to the delighted Bheels the tale of their origin, and the fame of their forefathers. For the performance of these rites and duties there are fixed dues, but the Bhat, when a man of sanctity and reputation, receives from the Turvees and Chiefs that he visits presents that have no limit, except the ability of the donor.

61. The Bheels of Malwa and neighbouring provinces have no record of ever having possessed the plains of that country, but they assert, and on authentic grounds, that they long maintained exclusive possession of the hilly tracts under their Chiefs, many of whom were as distinguished by their character as by their wealth and power. The accounts we have of the comparatively recent conquest of Dongurpore, Banswarrah, Jabooah, Burwanee, and other principalities, fully establish the truth of this pretension.

62. The Bheels have by the various changes in their condition been divided into distinct classes, which may be denominated the village, the cultivating and the wild or mountain Bheel; the first describes a few, who from antient residence or chance have become inhabitants of villages on the plain, (though usually near the hills) of which they have become the watchmen, and are incorporated as a part of the community. The cultivating Bheels are those who continued in their peaceable occupations after their leaders were destroyed, or driven by invaders to become desperate freebooters; and the wild or mountain Bheel comprizes all that part of this tribe, who, preferring savage freedom and indolence to submission and industry, have continued to subsist by plunder.

63. The peculiar usages of these classes will be noticed in another part*; and here no more of their respective history can be given, than that each has alternately decreased or increased in its numbers and character,

according

* This subject belongs to Part Twelfth of the Report, which treats of the Character and Usages of the Inhabitants of Malwa.

according to the fluctuation in the neighbouring Governments. When these have been strong and in prosperity, the village and cultivating Bheels have drawn recruits from their wilder brethren ; while weakness, confusion and oppression have had the usual effect of driving the industrious of this tribe to desperate courses, but amid all changes there is always a disposition in every branch of this community to re-unite, which is derived from their preserving the same usages and the same forms of religion.

64. There can be little doubt, from what has been stated, that the Bheels of this quarter, originally driven south by the Rajpoots who were expelled by the Mahomedans from Hindostan, have within two or three centuries lost many of the petty principalities they had established in the hills, but another great change in this community has been the consequence of these revolutions. The relations of the petty Rajpoot Rajahs have increased beyond the power of the heads of their family to provide for them; bred to no occupation but that of arms, many of them have adopted desperate courses, and associated in their predatory life with Bheels ; they have intermarried with that class, and hence have originated a number of tribes, among which the Bheelalah is the principal,---but it will be hereafter noticed. It will be in this place enough to make a short mention of some of the principal Bheel Leaders in Malwa and Nimar, and the present condition of that class.

65. These fastnesses, which lay between Baglee and Mundlasir, are chiefly inhabited by Goands, and the retainers of these plundering Chiefs were mostly of that tribe and men of desperate fortunes from Hindostan and other quarters* of India. Along the Vindhya range from

* Some Carnatic Sepoys were found in the service of these plundering Chiefs, among whom there were three or four who had deserted in A. D.——from the 6th Regiment of Madras Native Cavalry, when serving in the Deckan. They gave themselves up and were forgiven, but expelled the country.

from Jaum to the westward of Mandoo, which is wholly inhabited by Bheels, a considerable part of these have for more than a century owned allegiance to the family of NADIR SINGH, a Bheelalah Chief. He is the fourth in descent from a person, who, according to the traditions of the family, obtained power from the favor of a royal governor of Mandoo, to whom his spirit and enterprize had been useful in punishing a tribe of plunderers called Mounkur. The history of NADIR's ancestors presents the same vicissitudes as that of other robber Chiefs; his own rule, from occurring during the late troubles of Malwa, has been the most remarkable. He had fixed his residence at Jaummah, a small village of his father's, but he attained little celebrity till the death of his uncle, JESSOO POTEYL; upon that event however (which occurred sixteen years ago) NADIR came forward as the chief plunderer of the Vindhya range. He was courted and favored by JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, and it was not till after the death of that Ruler that he issued from the mountains and began to plunder and lay waste the plains. His name was, when the English entered Malwa, the terror of the southern parts of that province, and when the present cantonment was established at Mhow, which is on the very verge of his mountains, he had still about two hundred horse, and six or seven hundred foot. The history of this freebooter from that date is short; he was compelled to conform to the change that had occurred, and while he was deterred by the fear of the power of the English Government from continuing to plunder, he was invited by its liberality to place himself under its protection. Almost all those of his adherents, who were from distant countries, were discharged, and a number of his Bheels were taken into service. His nephew and son were placed in command of them, and the members of this formidable plunderer's family, as well as his followers, were through these means gradually familiarized to an intercourse with that community, from which they had been long separated, and of which they had been the bane.

66. The

66. The progress of NADIR SINGH's reform was slow, for he was personally very dissipated, and of rooted bad habits; but this was every day of less consequence, as the intercourse with his dependants weakened his power. Many of his crimes subsequent to his submission were pardoned, but a deliberate murder of some unarmed travellers, committed by his orders, put him beyond further toleration, or indulgence. He was at the time his guilt was discovered on a visit* to his Bheelalah relations, the Chiefs of Sillanah, to celebrate the marriage of his son, BHEEM SINGH, with a daughter of that family. A letter to his former associates was received at the very moment when the marriage was completed, directing his seizure. The order was obeyed; he was brought to Nalcha, where his guilt was investigated and proved before the assembled Zemindars† and Bheel Chiefs of the neighbouring country. The mild sentence of banishment for life was put upon him, and he is now a prisoner at Allahabad, while his son, a fine lad‡ of fourteen years of age, has succeeded to his authority. No event was ever more conducive to the tranquillity of a country than this act of justice. There is no part of Malwa where life and property are safer than amid the late dreaded Bheels of NADIR SINGH. Some of this race to the north of the Nerbuddah have not yet abandoned their habits, but their robberries are upon

* The following is a correct account of the armed men who accompanied NADIR to Sillanah.

	No.
Men with musquets and quivers of arrows, ...	62
Men armed with bows and arrows, ...	72
Horsemen, ...	102
Camels, ...	2
Grassiahs armed, ...	96
	334
Grassiahs and Bheels from NADIR's village, ...	196
Total	530

† For all the particulars of this remarkable transaction, vide my letter to Mr. Secretary METCALFE.

‡ BHEEM SINGH has been for the last two years almost entirely at my Head Quarters, where his education has been carefully attended to.

upon a very limited scale to what they were a few years ago, and measures are in progress that will, it is trusted, complete the reformation of a class of men, who believing themselves doomed* to be thieves and plunderers have been confirmed in their destiny by the oppression and cruelty of neighbouring governments, who have added to other feelings against this race a contempt for them as outcasts, and beings unworthy of being associated with any civilized community.

67. To the southward of the Nerbuddah, the woody and mountainous tract which runs west from the province of Kurgond to the Raj Peeplee Hills is almost wholly peopled with Bheels, and here there are few, if any, Bheelalahs. The ancient families of the Rajahs of Burwanee† have been mentioned, and there can be no doubt that, when they were prosperous, the Bheels who inhabited or bordered upon their territories, which extended from Candeish to the Nerbuddah, were generally kept in check, if not obedience. But among the other plunderers who were received by JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, was the noted GORDHUN Naick, who encouraged by that Ruler (to whom he had for a period given protection) usurped the power of the petty Raj or principality

* The common answer of a Bheel when charged with theft or robbery is, "I am not to blame, I am Mahadeo's thief." In other words, my destiny as a thief has been fixed by God. It is this superstitious impression which offers a great, but not insurmountable, obstacle (as it has been too rashly termed) to their reform.

† That the Rajpoot Chiefs of Burwanee usurped upon the Bheels, there can be no doubt, and they, like many others in a similar predicament, established an usage which marks the character of their connection with that tribe. When a Chief succeeds to the Guddee, a Bheel should place the Teekah or mark on his forehead. This has been discontinued for two generations at Burwanee, but exists at Ally Mohun and several other Chiefships where the Ryots are Bheels. The right of putting on the Teekah is hereditary in certain families, and the sandal powder, of which it is made, is usually moistened with blood, taken from the left toe or right thumb of the man who places the mark. At Jabooah the blood is taken from the thumb, and the Rajah told Captain SPEARS, who enquired into this ceremony, that it was a mark of inferiority in the Chief when the blood of the Bheel was taken from the toe. It was added that the person who applied the blood-stained mark never survived above a twelve month, and some instances were given to prove the truth of this assertion. There can be no doubt that both the Rajpoot Chiefs and their Bheel subjects deem this superstitious ceremony (the sealing with blood) a contract by which the one party is bound to protect, and the other to obey.

principality of Burwanee, but his exercise of authority was so marked by crime and excess, that it became intolerable, and he was assassinated.

68. The Bheels of Nimar (aided by the anarchy of the last twenty years) had, under GORDHUN Naick and other leaders, become so formidable, that the road to Candeish by Sindwah was almost impassable.—Much effort has been necessary to bring these robbers to order, but the liberal consideration extended to them by the HOLKAR Government, acting by our advice, connected with the measures adopted in Candeish, and the spirited repression of their attempts to plunder, have already produced a great change in the tribes of this race south of the Nerbuddah, among whom there are now no leading chiefs of any consequence, and many of them have already taken to occupations of industry, to which their race have been strangers for many generations.

69. Enough has been said to illustrate the local history of the Bheels of Malwa, their character and peculiar habits will be treated in another place: but it is impossible from the prescribed limits of this Report to give so complete a description as could be desired of a class of men, who, whether we consider their well-founded pretensions to remote antiquity, their remarkable separation from the other tribes of India, or the importance of withdrawing them from habits which render them the enemies of order, merit the minutest attention of the English Government, whose extended power in India can have no firm basis but that of the general prosperity and tranquillity of that great Empire.

PART

PART TENTH.

GOVERNMENT OF THE STATES OF MALWA.

1. The established Government in Malwa during the reign of the Kings of that Country, and from their fall till the invasion of the Mahrattas, was of the same form as that of other parts of India under Mahomedan rule.

2. This Province, which was one of the greatest Soubahs or divisions of the Empire of Delhi, had a Soubahdar, or Viceroy, who had his Dewan or Minister, and other Officers of his petty Court and Army, while the country was managed by Amildars and all the other inferior Officers who belonged to the Moghul system of rule.

3. The Government established by the Mahrattas in Malwa was, both in its shape and substance, taken from the institutions of their own country, and those they found in that which they conquered; but to give a view of the form of their administration, as it exists at this moment, it will be necessary to give an account of all the parts of which the whole is constructed, from the Mahratta Chief and his principal Officers, Civil and Military, down to the individuals who constitute the ancient and respected municipal establishment of the lowest village or hamlet.

4. The Governments founded by the families of Scindiah, Holkar, and the Puar in Malwa have all nearly the same form; they consist, first, of a Chief or Ruler, to whom no fixed title has yet been given, different members of the same family having assumed, according to circum-

stances,

stances, various names* or titles. In theory the power of the Ruler is absolute, but according to the most revered, as well as the most able Hindu writers, it is not deemed of divine origin. According to those authorities, a Rajah or Ruler was first made, and since continued, because men, when they fell from good ways, required a head or Chief; but this relation to his people is described in his being termed their defender and protector, for which he is said to be entitled to a revenue,† and the dues to which he has a claim for the duties he performs, are stated generally in the sacred Volume of the Hindus;

* MADHAJEE SCINDIAH styled himself Poteyl. His successor is Maharajah and Alyjah, both Mahomedan and Hindu titles. MULHAR ROW HOLKAR was called Soubahdar of Malwa; his successors have contented themselves with the Hindu title of Maharajah, which, though in fact high, is through courtesy become very common.

† The duties of Kings, their dues and origin, are described in the following passage of the Mahabarutha, one of the most sacred of the Hindu Volumes. BHEESHMA said, " without a Ruler no country can " prosper; health, virtue, &c. are of no avail, two will invade the property of one, and many again will " attack two; thus men will eventually destroy each other, as the various species of fish. A Rajah pro- " tects the people as a large fish the smaller. In this manner mankind were continually oppressing each " other, when they went to Brahma to give them a ruler. Brahma directed Munnoo to become " their Rajah. He replied, I fear a sinful action. Government is arduous, particularly so among ever " lying men. They said unto him, fear not, you will receive a recompense, of Beasts a fiftieth part, " and thus also of gold; we will give you a tenth of corn, increasing your store, a becoming duty of " damsels, and on disputes and Gaming. Men exalted in wealth or science shall be subordinate to you " as gods are to great Indra: thus become our Rajah, powerful not to be intimidated; you will go- " vern us in peace as Koorun does the Yakshus. Whatever meritorious actions are performed by " subjects protected by the Rajah, a fourth part of the merit shall belong to you. Thus, let those " who desire advancement hold the Rajah superior to themselves (as he defends the people) as a dis- " ciple the religious instructor, as the gods the divine Indra. Let them, when in his presence, " adore the man who is Rajah. The Rajah despised by others is a cause of pain to all; therefore let " them give him the canopy and umbrella, cloths and ornaments, food and drink, dwellings, seats, " couches and all accommodations.

" GOODHISTA asked BHEESHMA, what is the reason that a Rajah, who in his birth, life, death, " members, &c. resembles all other men, should be as it were adored and respected by powerful he- " roes, and all mankind, and that on his happiness or misery that of all those depends. BHEESHMA " replied, I will relate the institution of Government. There was neither Governments nor Gover " nors, Judgment or Judge; men with Justice mutually protected each other; they became weary of " this and practised partiality, and their understanding was darkened by sin and passion, &c. The sage " proceeds to state that this condition of affairs produced the necessity for a Rajah or King being " nominated as the head of a distracted community."

Hindus; but on the other hand, none of these have any passages which imply any check or limit beyond those of a moral or religious nature on their Rajahs or Rulers, and consistent with this theory the heads of the Mahratta Governments in Malwa are, like other Hindu Princes, deemed absolute, and have a right, as their judgment or will dictates, to punish, mutilate, imprison the person, seize and confiscate the property, or take away the lives of their subjects.

5. Though the Mahratta Chiefs of Malwa are in theory absolute, they practically exercise their power under many restraints (beyond those which are general to all Rulers) of a moral or religious nature. The first founders of the Mahratta Governments were Military leaders, and though their habit of life as such was the exercise and often the abuse of arbitrary power, still they were men tutored and corrected by the vicissitudes they had experienced. They professed themselves, and to a certain degree were, till lately, under the control of the Paishwah. They preserved the plain habits of their nation, and were connected by the ties of blood and by constant familiar intercourse with many of their principal officers, a great proportion of whom, and particularly those employed in civil duties, were, from their being of the sacred order of Brahmins, considered as exempt from the punishment of death.

6. The principal Mahratta Rulers in Malwa belong to the Sodra tribe, and this circumstance, as it associated them with the lower orders, has perhaps had a salutary effect in mitigating the exercise of despotic power. Though often marked by cupidity and rapacity, there are rare instances of their being cruel, and they have uniformly shewn attention to the established forms and institutions of the countries they have conquered; but the restraints imposed by such habits and considerations, though great, are not of that obligatory nature to alter the character of their power, which is absolute; the Chief or Ruler, as before stated,

being

being in fact in his person the Government. The principal Government Officers employed by the Mahratta Princes in Malwa took both their name and duties from those established at Poonah. Government Officers.

7. The Dewan, who may be termed the Prime Minister, has the superintendence and chief control over every department in the State, subject only to the supreme power and sanction of the Ruler himself. Dewan.

8. The head Civil Officer is the Phurnavees,* (a term almost synonimous with that of Minister of Finance) who receives the accounts given in by the renters and collectors of revenue. It is not only his duty to exhibit schedules of the actual revenue and to form estimates of probable receipt and expenditure, but also to inspect all accounts of public disbursements of every description, which he regulates, and upon which he is a check. It is his duty to give out from his office all Sunnuds or grants of Jaghires, Enam Lands, &c. and commissions to Officers appointed to any public situation. Phurnavees.

9. The Mozumdar is next to the Phurnavees; his Department may be termed a Register office, in which all Sunnuds, grants or commissions† are regularly entered. Mozumdar.

10. The Chitnavees is a Secretary of State, in whose office is carried on all political correspondence, as directed by the Ruler, either public or confidential. Chitnavees.

11. The Siccanavees is Keeper of the Seal of the Ruler, which he affixes to all letters, orders and grants, keeping in his office an exact register of all such documents. Siccanavees.

12. The

* The name of Phurnavees used by the Mahrattas is a compound of the Persian term, Ferd-Navees, or the writer of sheets, i. e. by implication official documents.

† These commissions, after being made out in the office of the Phurnavees, are sent to the Dewan, in whose presence the date and seal are affixed. They are then returned to the Phurnavees, who writes upon them the word, "roojoo" or shew, and are finally brought to the Mozumdar, who writes upon them in Mahratta "Udnia Purwana" or by order.

Potanavees. 12. The Potanavees is the Treasurer; in his Office are kept all accounts of sums received into the State Treasury, as well as of all disbursements.

Dufturdar. 13. The Dufturdar is the keeper of State papers, relative to accounts connected with receipts and disbursements of the revenue. He is also an Intendant of Finance, and though his duties are in some respects distinct, he may perhaps be deemed a deputy of the Phurnavees, to whose department he belongs.

14. All accounts regarding the revenue, as well as the accounts of the State disbursements of any description, are forwarded in the first instance direct to the Dewan, who sends them to the Phurnavees, by whom they are given over to the Dufturdar, who after examining them submits them to the inspection of the Phurnavees, to whom it is his duty to point out what appears correct and admissible, or otherwise.

15. The Dufturdar has in his office a great number of Muttasuddees or clerks, the principal of whom are employed in the *Ek Burjee Duftur*, an office in which abstract statements are formed of the whole public accounts of the State, and in which all matters regarding its finances are brought into as clear and general a point of view as possible.

16. The Keeper of the *Ek Burjee Duftur* is next in rank to the Dufturdar. In this office, which like others is under the Phurnavees, the statements termed Tujuma (from the Persian word signifying explanation or rather translation) are made, as also the abstracts termed Khutounee, or exact and arranged accounts of expenditure during the year.

17. The above chief Civil* Officers of the State have under them a number

* The rank and precedence of these Civil officers exists only in the theory of the Mahratta Governments. The talents of individuals and the favour of Princes often exalt a person at the head of the lowest of these offices to the highest consideration. For instance, among these Civil Officers at Scindiah's Court, the Sicca Navees has most influence, and the Minister is not at the head of any office, nor even styled Dewan, but is called Mookhtarkar, or the head of the administration.

number of assistants and writers termed Karkoons, Muttasuddees, &c. to aid them in the duties of their departments.

18. In the Armies of the Mahratta Rulers in Malwa, the Prince is deemed the Sirdar or Commander; next to him is the Bukshee or Paymaster, who is vested with the principal charge and responsibility, and is considered accountable for all expences and disbursements connected with military matters. This trust places him in influence, if not authority,* above those military Chiefs, who are occasionally put in command of forces, and upon whom his department is always a check. It must here however be noticed, that this Officer is only responsible for payments and the interior economy of the troops that receive their pay direct from the Treasury of the State. He has no concern with those who are in the service of Chiefs or Commanders, who have Jaghires, and maintain their own contingents. Bukshee and his Deputies.

19. The Officers under the Bukshee, as well as almost all the Officers who hold situations in the Civil administration, are Mahratta Brahmin Pundits or writers. These sometimes rise from their individual merit, but more from hereditary family claims, the most prejudiced attention to which pervades the whole system of Mahratta Government.

20. The usual Military grades of Sirdar, Tokdar and Rissaldar in the Cavalry, and Subadar,† Jemadar, Havildar, and Naick in the Infantry, are used in the Armies of the Mahratta Chiefs of Malwa, but the principal persons in these bodies are a host of Karkoons or deputies to the Bukshee, to whom their pay and accounts are exclusively entrusted; one of

* The Bukshee possesses sometimes also the complete Military command as well as the Civil arrangements of the Army with respect to finance.

† Laterly the imitation of English discipline introduced English names to different ranks, and it was not unusual to hear of a Colonel DUNJUN SINGH, Captain MEHRAB KHAN, and Adjutant SHAIK AHMED.

of these is attached to every detachment and Corps, and from their duties they become the superiors of the Military Officers, whose actions they not only usually control, but direct.

21. There are many other Officers in the Mahratta Governments in whom great trust and responsibility are vested, who however are considered more as belonging to the household of the Prince, than to the State, and who have little concern (except what his personal favor may give them) with the general administration of its affairs. This class includes the heads of the following departments.

Household Officers of Marhatta Rulers.

22. The Jamdar Khanah, or Head Wardrobe Department.
The Jowaher Khanah, or Jewellery Department.
The Sillah Khanah, or Armoury ditto.
Furrash ditto, or Camp Equipage ditto.
Feel ditto, or Elephant ditto.
Tope ditto, or Ordnance ditto.
Shutur ditto, or Camel ditto.

23. The Havildar and Naib Havildar of the Pagah or household horse of the Ruler are officers of rank. The horses in this Corps being all the property of the Prince, makes it considered as quite distinct from the Army of the State. The Pagnovees, or keeper of the accounts of this body of troops, fills an office of station, and of consequence.

24. The office of Khasgee Walah, or chief Steward of the Prince's personal property and possessions, is one of trust and respectability.

Huzooriahs.

25. The employment of that singular description of officers called Huzooriah, or servants of the presence, by the Maharatta Rulers of Malwa, has been borrowed from the usages of the Poonah Court. Huzooriahs* are personal attendants of the chief, generally of his own tribe, and are

* Derived from the Persian Huzoor, implying Presence.

are usually of respectable parentage; a great proportion of them are hereditary followers of the family of the chief they serve, and whose confidence they are supposed to enjoy. They are the usual envoys to subjects on all occasions of importance, and are considered as the representative of their master. Their appearance supersedes all other authority, and disobedience to the orders* they convey is termed an act of rebellion.

26. There formerly existed in the Poonah State an officer, who was nominally at the head of the administration of justice, and was entitled Ram Shastree. Under him were a number of local judges called Necaeet† Des. This system was never introduced by the Maharatta leaders who formed governments in Malwa. The Ruler and his chief officers have in those States reserved to themselves the exclusive regulation, if not the administration of justice, which has at times been as profitable as any source of revenue they enjoyed. Ram Shastree and Necaee Des.

27. The exercise of judicial authority over districts distant from the capital devolve much on civil officers called Komisdars or managers (a name given whether they manage or rent the country to which they are nominated); but to these are always attached deputies from the Dewan, the Phurnavees, and each of the other high functionaries of the State, and this deputy takes in the district in which he is employed the name of his office. Civil Officers Komisdars.

28. A Komisdar,‡ whose authority extends over many pergunnahs or districts, appoints from himself separate Komisdars to the head of each, sending with them persons§ to perform the duties of each separate office, who

* To enforce these orders, when the party does not attend to them, the Huzooriah at the last extremity burns his turban, an act which usage has rendered tantamount to proclaiming the disobedient person a traitor.

† This word is a compound of Neeaee, Justice, and Des, Country, or local Judge.

‡ A compound of Kumarra, the Hindostanee verb to collect, and dar a Persian adjunct.

§ This class of petty revenue Officers have no connection with the persons deputed from the heads of the Government.

who are skilled in the proper mode of keeping the accounts according to prescribed forms. In each of the different tuppahs or circles* of villages, the deputed Komisdar keeps a Karkoon or agent† if they are under management. If rented, the whole is left to the renter, with whom, unless in extreme cases, the government officers do not interfere.

29. A Jaghiredar or proprietor, to whom lands have been granted, whether for service or in free gift, as far as relates to the civil and military administrations of that land, is deemed the government.‡ He nominates Komisdars, &c. and has under him upon a smaller scale, officers of similar names and duties with those of the chief Ruler, who is his paramount lord.

30. When troops are sent to a distance on service, they are generally placed under a distinct Sirdar or Military Commander, with a Karkoon or agent from the office of the Bukshee, who keeps the accounts and regulates the pay. If there is any part of the Pagah or household horse, a person§ from the Pagnavees office attends them, and the troops of Jaghiredars when employed are provided with their pay, and have their accounts settled by their lords or his officers, whose name and duties are the same as those in the service of his superior.

31. It has not been unusual, particularly when the country was in a state of confusion, to depute high officers in the State (generally military

* This varies from seven and eight to twenty and thirty villages, sometimes more.

† This person is in some parts called a Tahsuldar, but the duties that Office implies in other States is in the Mahratta states of Malwa performed by the Komisdar in his own person, or through a Karkoon or agent.

‡ Civil Officers employed in management of countries, &c. are known under the names of Momlutdar as local Officers, while the State Officers at the seat of Government, and those they depute, are by the Mahrattas termed Daruckdar, or the executive Officers of the Ruler. Both these terms are adopted by the Mahrattas from their Mahomedan predecessors, many of whose names and forms they have preserved in the construction of their Government.

§ This Officer is at once a Paymaster and Accountant.

tary leaders) to govern large tracts of territory, where either lands, tributes, or orders on managers, were assigned them for their current and extra expenditure. But these officers, who have always taken advantage of the times to usurp as much power as they could from the Prince who employed them, cannot be classed among its officers, or considered as belonging to its regular government.

32. When part of the army of a Maharatta Ruler is serving with a Komisdar for his protection or support, he gives his instructions to the Commander; he also makes advances on account of the pay of the troops, but has no concern with its distribution, nor indeed with any interior arrangements. The Sebundy or revenue troops, necessary for the country under his management, are maintained entirely by the Komisdar, who charges for their support against the revenue of the countries under his management; with these troops the government have no direct concern.

33. The Komisdar is aided by one or more Zemindars or hereditary revenue officers of pergunnahs. They have separate officers, at the head of whom is the Kanoongo, an officer next to the Zemindar, and like him belonging to the land on which he has dues. In the office of the Kanoongo of the pergunnah or district, the records of every village including its inhabitants, lands, and every thing relating to its interior rule and revenue, are kept. Zemindar and Kanoongo.

34. In the Mahratta governments of Malwa the pay of each officer, from the Dewan or Minister to the lowest rank, is upon a calculation of his current and contingent expences. The Minister, for example, receives pay for a palankeen, for an elephant, for State servants, except those he has from the government, from which also he receives a certain quantity of provisions. The Dewan has besides this a fixed pay in money for his

personal

personal salary and support. It is usual to commute the latter allowance for a Jaghire* or estate, which is however seldom if ever made hereditary.

35. The Dewan has, independant of this pay from the Ruler, certain rights upon the collection of every district. He has a due called Bheit † of two rupees each harvest (or four rupees per annum) from every village ‡ in the country. He has also in some places an anna, or sixteenth part of a rupee—in others half that amount from the pay of the Sebundies or Militia of the country.

36. The Bukshee is paid in the same manner as the Dewan, but has no Bheit or due from the villages, though he has a right of small stoppage § from the troops, which makes his avowed income very large.

37. The Phurnavees has an allowance for a palankeen and a horse, with a smaller establishment of servants and less pay than the Dewan or Bukshee, and his Bheit or due from each village is exactly one half of the Minister's, or two rupees per annum. The same amount from the same sources is collected by the Mozumdar or register, but that officer, though he has an equal due, has less pay and establishment than the Phurnavees, whose deputy he may be termed. The whole of the officers in the civil and military employment of the State are paid in this way; the amount varies, but the principle is the same. The Komisdars and managers

* Tantiah Jogh has two Villages (one in Indore and the other in the Depalpore Pergunnah) in Jaghire, as a commutation for his pay as Dewan. Their aggregate value is about twenty thousand rupees.

† Bheit is in its original meaning a present to a superior.

‡ This means a registered village, which sometimes contains several hamlets or small villages, called dependencies.

§ Every Horseman who rides his own horse has a stoppage made of one rupee per mensem from his pay as the due of the Bukshee.

gers of Pergunnahs, besides an establishment and a pay proportioned to their charge, have a Bheit on each village of two rupees per annum, and their petty Dewan, Phurnavees and Muzumdar, besides their pay, share in the collections under this head.*

38. This notice of the mode of paying Mahratta officers was necessary, as it explains much of their system of rule. It connects them with every village, and opens a wide door for abuse of all kinds. It need not be added, after the account which has been given (in the Historical Part of this Report) of the Mahratta families, who have exercised power in Malwa, that neither the Chiefs of that nation nor their subordinate officers have ever limited themselves to their ordinary allowances or dues; but still they have been uniformly particular in recognizing such as the amount to which they were justly entitled.

39. When the Mahrattas became masters of Malwa, they preserved some of the forms of the Moghul rule, but set aside, or left to perish from neglect, all that remained of the most useful establishments of that Government. Among these fell every institution for the administration of justice, and though in a few principal towns, of which a proportion of the inhabitants were Mahomedans, a Cauzee or judge was left with a pittance for his support, his duties were limited to contracts of marriage, or drawing, or registering, bonds and deeds of sale among his own tribe. It was assumed that as all the Officers, high and low, that were employed in Civil Offices at Court, or in the management of countries, were well-educated Brahmins,† they would be aided by the native municipal institutions of the country, quite competent to the judicial as well as the revenue administration. But the fact was, (as has been before

* Zemindars and Officers of this class have also claims to Bheit, and in many parts of Malwa the villages are assessed as high as twenty and twenty-one rupees annually for this one demand of public Officers.

† These, with hardly one exception, were from the Deckan and Konkan: whole hordes of this tribe followed their successful countrymen into Malwa and Hindostan.

before stated) that, with perhaps the single exception of ALYAH BAE, justice became from the first establishment of the Mahrattas a productive source of revenue to those who had power for the moment, from the Military Ruler upon his Musnud to the lowest Brahmin Pundit, who, as a delegated Karkoon or agent, tyrannized over his village or petty circle of hamlets.

40. Before an account is given of the mode of administering what remains of the forms and substance of justice in the Mahratta Government of Malwa, it will be necessary to take a view of the construction of their power over a Province where there are many Chiefs, who, though subject to the general authority of these southern invaders, and recognizing different leaders of that nation as their superiors, are yet independent within their own limits, and exercise sovereign power over their respective possessions and subjects.

41. Bhopal cannot exactly be described as belonging to this class of petty States. It is the only Mahomedan Government of any consequence in Malwa, and, though always till now more or less under Mahratta influence, it has never formally recognized the supremacy of that nation. Its Nabobs have preserved the usages of the Moghul Government both in the name and duties of its Officers. The Minister is termed the Dewan—his Office the Dewan Dufter. The principal revenue and registering Officers are called Mustoffee, and their offices Mustoffee Dufter. There are in this petty Government a Mufti, Cauzee, and other Officers of justice, and the Civil managers are known by the name of Amil, and the military leaders by the same names as were applied to the Commanders of bodies of equal numbers under the Dehli Government.

42. The principal tributary Rajahs of the Rajpoot tribes and many of the Thakoors or Rajpoot Lords and Bheel Chiefs, though they acknowledge

knowledge Mahratta rulers as their Lords paramount, have each distinct rule within their respective limits, and a separate form of Government, which it will be necessary to describe.

43. The Rawul, Ranah, or Rajah of a Raj or principality, is a hereditary Prince enjoying absolute power. He is also in general the Chief,* or head of his clan, which, in some respects, extends his power, but in other limits and checks it. The principles of his rule over his own tribe and his other subjects are quite distinct. His relations and kindred, who are termed Thakoors or Lords, have in general independent Kotrees or estates, for which they pay a certain sum or give military service (sometimes both) to their superior. They preserve, however, the exclusive management of their estates, but with limited power, which does not extend to life, and there is a check on their mal-administration from a recognized right of appeal, on the part of their subjects, to the Prince or paramount Lord.

44. The principle of this part of a Raj or Rajpoot principality differs little from that feudal system which formerly existed in Europe, and is liable to the same vicissitudes in the relations and powers of the respective parties; but the theory is, that, though the Rajah or Prince has general powers, the Thakoor or Lord owing him service and allegiance is master of his own soil and subjects, with the limitations stated; and it is a remarkable part of this construction of Government, that the transfer of the revenue of these Thakoors to another power does not necessarily imply a transfer of their allegiance.

45. The Rajpoot Princes in Malwa who held their lands from the Moghul Government gave service for them, but this was commuted by the Mahratta leaders for a money tribute. Service, it is true, may be given from the power of the Mahratta Chief to exact it, or a desire of the

* His common title from his tribe is Bapjee, or father, while he is often called by that of Pertee Nath, or Lord of the Soil.

the Rajpoot to obtain favor by volunteering it; but both parties are quite agreed that is not a right, and it happens frequently that, when a Mahratta State attacks a Rajpoot Prince, the Bhaee Bundee, or bond of kindred, makes those who pay him tribute send aid to the Chief he is attacking, if they owe him allegiance, nor would it be deemed a just act of power to punish* a man for granting such aid.

46. The Thakoors or Lords of the Rajpoot States, like ancient Barons, claim a right of advising their Prince, and, when his measures are in their opinion ruinous, they often assemble and endeavour through their union to sway him to a contrary course, or in extremes to oppose him. There is indeed an equality of birth and tribe with their Princes, which, when combined with the possession of a strong hold, gives a character of rude independance to these Chiefs, which keeps them in a state of constant warfare with the Ruler to whom they profess allegiance.

47. The eldest son of a Rajpoot Prince is called Kowur, and is very frequently employed as a Viceg[illegible]† by his father.

48. The principal Rajpoot Princes have for the conduct of their Government a Kamdar or Minister, whose duties correspond with those of the Dewan of the Mahratta States. They have also Dufturree, or keeper of records, whose office is similar to that of Phurnavees. There is also a Moonshee, or Secretary for writing letters. The States of any rank have

* The Rajah of Rutlam, when threatened in A. D. 1818 by an attack from Bappoo Scindiah, was joined by numerous younger brethren of his family, which included several subjects of Scindiah Holkar and the Poar Rajah of Dhar. I remonstrated, and was told that there was no power of preventing the persons in question acting as their fealty dictated. I next called upon two of these (the Rajahs of Kutch, Beroude and Moultan, tributaries of Dhar) to return to their homes; their answer was, "they would obey every order but one, that condemned them to the disgrace of deserting their elder brother when in danger."

† This is at present the case in the Raj of Pertaubghur, Baglee, and of Nursinghur. In the former two the Princes employed have the entire confidence of their respective fathers; in the latter Soobah Singh, having disqualified himself by constant intoxication for the functions of rule has been compelled to resign them to his son, but he still preserves the name of Rajah, with a liberal provision.

have also an officer for Toshukhanah, or valuables. Many of these Officers hold their situationss among the Rajpoots, as in Mahratta States, on hereditary claims, but this is not in the cases of Dewan and other offices of high trust ever recognized, as of itself constituting a right to employment.

49. The Officer who has charge of the pay and disbursements of their Troops is called Bukshee, but, much of the revenue of such States being paid in kind, the office of Kottaree or keeper, of the public granaries, (which is a trifling one in the Mahratta Government) is, with many of the Rajpoot States, one of primary importance, and it is not unusual in the petty States to combine the offices of Kamdar and Kottaree in the same individual. Kottaree.

50. The territories of the Rajpoot Princes in Malwa, with the exception of Kotah, are chiefly managed by the Thakoors or Lords, among whom they are distributed. What there is of Khalsa or Government lands, is generally kept in the hands of the Kamdar or Minister, who commonly manages such parts as he does not re[illegible] rough the heads of the villages, and deputes petty officers to receive and collect, as occasion requires.

51. In the territories of Kotah very nearly the same system of rule and the same gradations of rank exist among the Government Officers* as in the Mahratta States of India, and while all the Officers of the other Rajpoot States in Malwa are paid by shares of grain and Bheit, or fees from the villages of the principality, the wisdom of ZALIM SINGH has in some degrees banished from his prosperous country these ill-defined exactions, and a regular salary in money is given from the treasury to all Officers in his employ.

52. The

* The names of several of these Officers are changed; for instance, Komisdars are called Bil ahdars in the Kotah country, but there is no essential difference in their functions.

52. The Rajpoot Chiefs employ their own tribe in the Army,* but seldom, if ever, in Civil stations. When the authority of a Prince of this tribe devolves on a Thakoor, which is sometimes the case, the person so elevated is termed Foujdar or Commander, but this is only a temporary office, created generally for a particular service which the Prince cannot conduct in person. When a Thakoor or Lord is raised by his favor to power, but without distinct office, he is termed Bhanjgurree, which may be translated a counsellor or intermediator; such person being generally deemed a medium between the Prince and his subjects.

53. The reason for not employing Rajpoots in the Civil offices of these petty Governments is, in the first place, their unfitness from want of education; and in the second, their insubordinate and ambitious spirit. These stations (but particularly that of Kamdar or Minister) are generally filled by Brahmins, Bunneahs, or persons of the Kait tribe.

54. The lowest Grassiah, or plundering Chief in Malwa, has his Kamdar and other officers proportionate to his lands or followers, and his authority over his adherents is in theory as absolute as that of the highest Prince, but in the exercise of it he is more restrained, from being weaker, and therefore in more danger from defection or opposition, or from those feuds which any attack upon life among the Military tribes (particularly the Rajpoots) never cease to engender.

55. The principal Bheel Chiefs in Malwa, who are usually termed Bhomeahs, are almost all of the Bheelalah † tribe, exercise the most absolute power, and their orders to commit the most atrocious crimes are obeyed

* In the Army they hold the first commands. Rajpoot Rulers, who, though of the small revenue, have high rank, like the Rajah of Rutlam, have a hereditary leader of the Herawul or van-guard, (the first rank in the Army) as well as one of the Chundawul or rear guard.

† The Bheelalah claim a descent by their father from the Rajpoots, their mother being of the Bheel tribe.

obeyed by their ignorant but attached subjects, without a conception on the part of the latter that they have an option, when he, whom they term their Dhunnee or Lord, gives the mandate.*

56. The Chiefs have also a power over the lives and property of their own subjects; but this the construction of the community compels them to exercise with caution, and the rights of the different tribes or families, of which the force of the principal Chiefs are formed, are defended by a hereditary Turwee, or head, to whom they owe obedience, and who, though he may become the subject of a Bheel Chief, maintains an independance proportionate to the strength and attachment of his followers. There is seldom much revenue, except plunder, in one of these Bheel Chiefships, but even for this they have a rude species of Government, for which there are officers distinct from those Turwees, or heads of families, who with certain number of men are bound to attend him.

57. NADIR SINGH, the principal Bheel Chief of the Vindhya range, had the following officers.

Officers of Bheel Chief NADIR SINGH.

58. A Dewan or Minister, who kept the few records of this barbarous State.

59. A

* When I was conducting the examination into the guilt of NADIR SINGH (vide page 295,) and taking the evidence of some female prisoners, it appeared that the father and husband of one of them, a girl about 14 years of age, had been the instruments to commit the murder of which he was accused. I asked her if they put the deceased to death; certainly they did, was her firm reply; " but they acted by the Dhunnee's (Lord) order." That may be true, I said, but it does not clear them, for it was not an affray, it was a deed perpetrated in cold blood. " Still, (said the girl,) they had the Dhunnee's order." I shook my head, implying it would not be received in justification. The child (for she was hardly more) rose from the ground where she was sitting, and, pointing to two sentries who guarded them and were standing at the door of the room, exclaimed with all the animation of strong feeling. " These are your Soldiers, you are their Dhunnee, (Lord) your words are their laws; if you order them " this moment to advance and put me, my mother, and cousin, who are now before you, to death " would they hesitate in slaying three female Bheels? If we are innocent, would you be guilty of our " blood, or these faithful Men?" I was too much struck with her manner and expression to make an immediate reply, and she reseated herself, saying my father and husband are NADIR's soldiers.

59. A Collector of dues from Hamlets. This Officer also received all cattle and plunder that were stolen, and distributed the shares according to established usage; he also served out grain, &c. from the Chief's stores to men proceeding on plundering expeditions.

60. A Havildar, or Commander of Horse, whose duty, independant of his Military command, was to take charge of cattle at the time they were plundered, and make them over to the Collector, who never went on such expeditions.

61. A Head Executioner. This man always attended the Chief.

62. A Keeper of Prisoners.

63. An Intelligencer and Road-Watcher, whose duty was to obtain information of unprotected villages and travellers. This was an office of much trust.

64. All the Officers of this plundering Chief had their pay in established shares of the scanty produce of the few fields they cultivate, or of the booty taken.

65. The form of Government of every community in Malwa having been generally described, it is next necessary to notice the shape of the judicial and military systems of the various Rulers and Chiefs who exercise power in that Province.

Administration of Justice.

66. India, like other Nations, has from the most early period enjoyed certain municipal and village institutions competent, from the power given them by the common assent of the country, to maintain order and peace within their respective circles. As society advanced, these local authorities were improved and used, or deteriorated and neglected, according to the disposition of the Ruler. But, as far as we can trace the History of Malwa, the rights and authorities of these institutions have never been contested, even by the tyrants and oppressors who slighted them, while, on the other hand, all just Rulers have founded their chief reputation and their claim to popularity on attention to them.

67. The

67. The Police now existing in Malwa merits but a short notice. It is solely regulated by the Komisdar, or manager of the district, who entrusts it to petty officers termed Tannahdars, who are posted in different parts with small parties, and whose duty is the apprehension of murderers, thieves and other delinquents. These report direct to the Komisdar. In large and populous towns, where a good Police is of most consequence, it is placed under an officer called the Kutwal, who has an establishment of armed men for the apprehension of malefactors and offenders of every description. A discretionary power of fine, imprisonment, and slight punishment is vested in this person. The character of the Police in the principal towns of Malwa, under the Mahratta Government, may be judged when it is stated, that the office of Kutwal is publicly rented, and that the Police is considered as a source of profit, not of expenditure to the State. It would be useless to say more of a system, the authority of which must be more directed to private gain than to public good. It is proper, however, to state, that this shameless traffic in justice is of late introduction even among Mahratta Rulers, and is chiefly limited to them.* In the territories of ZALIM SINGH, the Ruler of Kotah, a good and efficient Police† has been established, but this extraordinary personage has for more than forty years added to his other functions that of Chief Magistrate of his own territories. Police.

68. In each of the towns of Malwa, as in those of every province of India, there are a Zemindar, who is considered as the head of the landholders and cultivators, a Choudry, or head of the Bunniah or mercantile tribes, and a Mehtur, or head of every other class of the inhabitants down

* It still exists in the petty Rajpoot States of Bagur, but a change for the better in all these Governments is in progress.

† ZALIM SINGH has formed a very extended system of espionage throughout his territories by the means of a large and well-educated corps of Brahmin Hirkarrahs. There is a most remarkable connection both in the formation and employment of his corps of spies with that formed by the Mysore Rulers, which is fully described by Colonel WILKS in his Report of that Country.

down to the lowest: these are hereditary offices, and, though instances frequently occur where bad conduct causes the party to be superseded, it is always by one of the same family, and the act is generally that of the class of whom they are the head, not of the Government.*

69. These persons, who are paid by a share in the land, or by dues or fees from their tribe, exercise a jurisdiction in their different classes, and settle by their own decision, or by the aid of a Punjayet, all disputes they can, without reference to the officers of Government. In all cases of serious disputes or crimes, just Rulers and Komisdars of Purgunnahs, or Hakims of towns, invariably call to their aid the heads of the class to whom either the complainants or defendants belong, and it may be stated that, in proportion as justice is administered through this channel or otherwise, it is popular or the reverse with the people. The Zemindars, Choudries, and Mehturs, though they are deemed the natural protectors and advocates of their tribes, are also the supporters of order and authority, and as such bound to prosecute and punish offenders.

70. Criminal cases, under the Mahratta Rulers of Malwa, are referred to the chief power of the country, unless under circumstances where prompt military execution is deemed necessary. No officer under the rank of a Sir Soubah, or Governor or Commander of a province, (who has always had specific power delegated to him) can inflict the punishment of death.

71. If a murder or robbery is committed, the party or parties suspected are apprehended and examined by the manager of the town or Pergunnah, who either hears the case himself, or calls in the aid of a Punjayet,

* The interference of Government is regarded with great jealousy, and is never exercised without causing much discontent; besides, the object is not answered, for it is the confidence of those under him that gives weight and influence to the head of the tribe, and that confidence will never be given to the creature of authority.

Punjayet, or tribunal of not less than five of the principal public officers or inhabitants, to enquire into and report upon it. One of the principal Durruckdars, or officers of Government, (usually the Phurnavees of the district) the Zemindar and the Kanoongo, or keeper of the records of the land, are invariably members of this Court of Investigation, for so it may be called.

72. An abstract of the evidence and opinion of the Punjayet, which conducts its proceedings in the presence, and generally under the protection, of the manager, is transmitted to the Dewan, who gives orders to have the prisoner released, punished, or sent to Court, as he sees proper. These Punjayets are called by petty Mahratta Komisdars, more perhaps for their own safety, than from any regard for either the forms or substance of justice. Such a proceeding is chiefly resorted to by persons who desire to avoid the complaints and accusations to which they would be exposed, if they decided or even reported on criminal* cases without having recourse to it. More powerful managers are not so guarded, and often decide upon criminal cases without resorting to any such aid; the same feeling occasions these Punjayets being seldom formally resorted to in criminal cases by the Ruler or his Dewan, when the

* A report was made to me that murder was imputed to a Faquier at Nolye. I stated that, as it had occurred in SCINDIAH's country, I could have no concern with it, and requested the Komisdar should proceed in the usual course. A Punjayet was, I heard, appointed, and on my expressing the wish, the following copy of the proceedings (as sent to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH) was sent to me.

Turjumah or abstract of the proceedings of a Punjayet held at Nolye, as registered in the Komisdar's Office at that place.

" A Faquier, called GOOL SHAH, inhabitant of Nolye, gave his daughter in marriage to EMAM " KHAN, a young Patan of Bhopal, having stipulated that the youth was to turn mendicant: this he " agreed to, and both drank sherbet from the same cup, one of the ceremonies of initiation; it " appears some garden ground and a well were given as the bride's portion.

" GOOL SHAH had three *Chelahs* or disciples, EMAM SHAH, MADOO SHAH, and GOOLZAR SHAH; " these people being envious that EMAM KHAN should be preferred to them, determined to take his " life, but failed in the first attempt by his refusing to eat some poisoned sweetmeats. Upon this they " attacked and wounded him so severely with a sword that he died ten days after. The *Chelahs* fled, " and

the offence is committed at the capital or the vicinity; but even in such cases they are at times assembled, and when the Turjumah, or abstract of proceedings, is submitted to the Prince, he takes the opinion of a Shastree, or any person learned in the law, regarding the punishment that should be awarded, and the sentence is always in such cases made in conformity with the Hindu Law.

73. In offences of a spiritual nature, when the case is clear and the facts undeniable, the most learned Brahmins are called to aid by their advice the judgment of their Ruler; but where the facts are disputed, there must, if justice is not disregarded, be a Punjayet; and though that is in such cases chiefly composed of Brahmins, a Government officer, the Zemindar and Kanoongo of the town or district (whether Brahmins or not) attend the trial.

74. The same rules apply in all Cast disputes; when the case is clear the heads of the Cast decide, but, when doubtful, a Punjayet is assembled with the usual officiating officers, aided by a Punj, formed by the heads and most respectable men of the class to whom the accusers and accused belong. Cases of debt are usually settled among the parties, but, when referred to Government, Punjayets sit upon them as on other offences, and in such cases the power of Government is often used to

"and all search for them proved ineffectual; but the Faquier was confined six months, when a Punjayet "was assembled, consisting of the heads of tribes and people of respectability in Nolye, who came to "the following decision:

"That as no proof had been obtained of Gool Shah being concerned in the murder of Emaum "Khan, he should be released from confinement, but should the Chelahs who have absconded be "hereafter laid hold of and confess that they acted by order of Gool Shah, then he is to pay the "price of blood." This is the literal translation of the expression used.

"Dated 23d Mohurrum 1223 Fussilee, 9th Kartick 1878, Sumbhut.

(Signed) Kazee Mahomed Fuzil U Deen.

Bin Mahomed Omar, on the part of the Mahomedans.

Luckmee Chund, Chowdree, on the part of the Bunniahs.

Letchmun Doss, Chowdree on the part of the Zemindars.

Oukir Mul, Chowdree of Zemindars."

to compel* a reluctant party to submit to arbitration. On these occasions, instead of the creditor having to besiege his debtor with importunities and all species of attacks upon his prejudices and sometimes person, Government becomes an agent of justice, and by threats and force compels him not only to trial, but to submit to the award, which, if he is found guilty, is sometimes imprisonment, but more frequently the seizure and sale of his property to satisfy the demands against him.

75. The Poteyls, or heads of the villages in the country, act in aid of the Police in seizing criminals, and they have a limited jurisdiction of a similar character to that exercised by the heads of Casts in towns. It is their duty to punish slight offences, to settle all trifling disputes, and, where they conceive their personal decision will not be satisfactory, to call a Punjayet, which is composed of the most respectable inhabitants, who are often, if the case be of any consequence, aided by the Punjayets and old men of neighbouring villages.

76. The general object of these village Punjayets is to accommodate matters between the parties, as it is their interest to prevent the interference of the Government officers as much as possible. Where, however, the dispute is serious, the Putwarrie or accountant of the village notes the particulars, and a copy is sent to the manager of the country. In all cases where the interests of the State are at all concerned, it is deemed a punishable crime in the Poteyl to suppress them, nor are disputes about boundaries † ever settled by the village authorities;

* This is done by a process called Tuckaza, a word which in its literal sense is dispute, but which in law signification means, that can without violation of usage be adopted, to force a defendant to meet the appeal of a plaintiff.

† The most common cases of litigation among villagers are about boundaries and claims to lands. Upon these they are too violent to settle them among each other, and they are invariably the subject of the longest and most intricate investigation by Punjayets; but as such must always include men who have some interest in the question, their decisions are seldom satisfactory. Oaths, ordeals, and every mode are resorted to, to accommodate or decide upon these disputes. But the following account

authorities; but in all differences between individuals, debts, and petty thefts, their decision is sufficient, and in these trivial cases there is an appeal; but this, when the Poteyl's judgment is supported by a Punjayet, is seldom made, except in cases of disputes regarding very glaring partiality or oppression.

77. Jaghiredars

count of a boundary settlement made by my Assistant, Captain A. MacDonald, will best explain the extraordinary manner in which these are sometimes adjusted.

"Himmut Singh and Sheo Singh, Thakoors of Gorbeylee and Burkairee, had a dispute regarding a tract of ground, part of which had been long cultivated by the latter, and who during the last year farther encroached on it by ploughing up more of the land in question.

"At the instigation of the Komisdar of Narrainghur, Himmut Singh, whose remonstrances entirely failed with Sheo Singh, caused cattle to be driven into the fields of the disputed tract, with a view to injure the crops. The latter however resorted to precisely the same means for retaliation, and the crops both of Burkairee and Gorbeylee suffered slightly from the cattle grazing upon them.

"The Komisdar of Narrainghur, ostensibly to settle the quarrel, but most probably to aid Himmut Singh, sent some Paugah Horse, who, advancing with a shew of attack, received some shots from the matchlockmen of Sheo Singh, and had two men wounded for their audacity.

"A stony ridge, of easy ascent from the west and abrupt from the east, nearly equi-distant from the two villages, would seem to mark their natural boundaries. This ridge runs about three coss nearly north and south; on the west is Burkairee, on the east Gorbeylee. On the Burkairee side also is the small disputed tract separated from the other fields of the village by a narrow, stony, barren stripe of land, and from those of Gorbeylee by a broader stripe of the same nature.

"Along each of these barren spots are shewn small heaps of stones piled up running nearly parallel with the ridge, and denoting lines of demarcation; that of the two lines chosen by each Chief as the true boundary, being the one most distant from his own village, in order that the disputed lands might be brought within his own limits. It was agreed therefore that each party should produce five men acquainted with the local merits of the question, who should decide upon the true line by taking a solemn oath. The first five that were brought by the Gorbeylee Chief, on being questioned, denied all knowledge of the subject which they were to swear to illustrate. But an equal number were soon forthcoming from Gorbeylee and neighbouring villages. The oaths were administered, and each party sworn to the identity of that line which was in favor of their Chief. Thus failed the first attempt at adjustment.

"Both parties were now asked, if they would acknowledge that to be the true line which should be traced by a respectable man wearing the hide of a newly-killed buffalo. To this proposition both willingly assented. Dullah, Poteyl of Burkairee, having been approved, a buffalo was killed and its head placed on a heap of stones, which Sheo Singh declared to be his northern boundary; when the skin was stripped off Dullah covered himself with it, and proceeded, followed by the parties from the spot where the head of the animal was placed, in a direction nearly south, and taking a new line a few yards nearer to Bukairee, but to the east of the disputed tract, thus giving up the cultivated lands to the Burkairee Chief."

It

77. Jaghiredars under the principal Mahratta rulers, who have the exclusive administration of their own lordships or lands, can decide in all cases that are not capital; and even in these they have the power of putting to death the offender, if he is of a tribe of noted and avowed thieves (of which there are many in Malwa); but not if he belongs to any industrious class, and above all they cannot punish capitally any Wuttundar, or hereditary landholder.

78. The above observations shew that the Mahratta Rulers, when their possessions in Malwa were in a tranquil and settled state, observed (both in substance and form) the same system of administration of criminal and civil justice as was established in the territories of the PAISHWAH and other Hindu Rulers. The integrity or corruption of the system has, and always must depend much on the character of the Ruler, and the forms even of justice have for the last twenty years been almost wholly neglected by the different States of this province. Within the last two years, however, the Punjayets have been generally revived in the States of HOLKAR, of the Puars of Dhar and Dewass, and in several of the districts of SCINDIAH. Indeed, there are some of the latter, in which these established and respected courts have never been wholly disused* or neglected.

79. The

It is curious to observe, that the local officers of HOLKAR and GHUFFOOR KHAN, who were present at the settlement of this dispute, were, as well as all the other parties, perfectly satisfied with the result of this last and most solemn appeal, which can be made by Hindus in such cases.

Vide Captain MACDONALD's letter to G. WELLESLEY, Esq. 25th October, 1820.

Major HENLEY, in his Notes, observes upon this practice, which is as common in the eastern as the western parts of Malwa, "That after the Poteyl or other respectable man has walked the boundary, "his family and cattle are watched for several days, and if any thing that has life, and was in health "when the ceremony was performed, dies before the fixed period of probation (which is generally "written) it is deemed a judgment upon falsehood; the man is disgraced and the settlement rendered "null and invalid."

* The rich districts of Mundissore and Katchrode have, under a family of hereditary renters, enjoyed comparative quiet, and in them, as well as Nolye and other provinces, Punjayets have always sat for the settlement of disputes and the aid of the manager.

79. The most respectable of the Rajahs of Malwa have, when their territories were in a state of peace, pursued much the same system of justice that has been described. With them, however, as with the Mahrattas, the punishment of the most heinous crimes in men of high rank, such as Thakoors and Nobles, was seldom carried further than a confiscation of their lands. This lenity, which usually proceeds from fear, or from political motives in punishing capital crimes, has conduced much to the continuation of those feuds which pervade the whole Rajpoot country, in which murders in retaliation are very common occurrences.

80. The Police of ZALIM SINGH, the Regent of Kotah, has been noticed. He is himself the head criminal and civil judge of his country, and, though always stern and rigid, his decisions, (where policy does not interfere) are remarkable for their wisdom and justice.

81. He substitutes at his court (to which he brings all cases, except the most trifling) a few men of high character and knowledge in the place of Punjayets. To these persons, who are in his employ, he usually commits the investigation of every case of consequence, and, after receiving their report, is aided by their knowledge and experience in giving his judgment.

82. A mode of having fixed persons, who form a permanent Punjayet to aid the Ruler, prevails in several large towns of Malwa. In Rutlam* this duty is deemed hereditary in some of the principal families, and is considered a high distinction, and those enjoying it are greatly regarded and looked up to by the people.

83. In

* Particular persons, who enjoy high characters, are always as a matter of course members of Punjayet Courts in the large towns of Malwa. The names of men, who in better times performed this duty in the town, of Oujein and Indore, are still cherished, and at present there are in Rutlam some of the principal inhabitants who have in the revered character of Punj, or belonging to the Punjayet, gained much celebrity. The Punj of Rutlam may in fact be said to form a constituent part of its government, and they exercise a right of defending its Ryuts from oppression as well as of adjusting it

83. In the administration of criminal justice among the Rajpoots of Malwa, the Ruler or lord is deemed absolute; but in certain cases of murder, theft, burglary, or going into a house secretly with any design against the honor of the females of the family, the master of the house may slay or murder the party without being accountable to his Chief. In all other cases the murderer is seized and brought for examination before the Ruler, or his minister, who acts sometimes from his own judgment, but often with the aid of a Punjayet, consisting of Government officers and heads of classes, as has been described under the Mahratta systems of rule. Punjayets are employed in the Rajpoot States in all civil cases of importance, nor would a decision, where property was concerned, be deemed satisfactory or just, without the Ruler had resort to the aid of a Punj, and that must be composed of the most respectable of the inhabitants of the country.

84. The Punjayet Courts are, in the Rajpoot States, as in those under Mahratta Rulers, resorted to by disputants as Courts of arbitration, and in such cases they take penalty bonds from the parties, binding themselves to abide by the decision. In most cases of arbitration, where two persons

its disputes. This is in some degree to be referred to a considerable part of its population being formed of settlers from the neighbouring towns of Toudli and Peeplawud, who forty-six years ago fled from violence and oppression to Rutlam, then ruled by the virtuous Rannee AMRUT BAE, from whom they obtained a kind of charter, in which their immunities were specified; the heads were as follows:

1st. That no dispute among themselves should be carried out of their own society to the Sircar for inquiry or decision.

2d. That they should be exempt from the power of any officer of the Government or of any sepoy coming to their houses to summons them as delinquents or Sircar criminals.

3d. That their women, in having illicit intercourse, (with men not their husbands or protectors) should not be held as having committed any offence against the Government, and that they should not be punishable in any manner by the Sircar for such crimes.

The chief persons of this colony became the Punj or Magistrate of their own people, and as disputes occurred between them and others of the inhabitants, heads of the latter were nominated to sit in Punjayet with them to adjust these differences. This office of judge has become hereditary in several families, and the Punjayet Court of Rutlam has and still maintains a just fame for its integrity and wise decisions. The principal persons are called Mokhs or Presidents, and one of these is so respected that his house is a sanctuary for criminals.

persons willingly appeal, the arbitrators are selected by the parties, with one person or umpire, (who is supposed impartial) named generally by the Government.

85. The nearest relations of a murdered person, or the man who has suffered loss in cases of theft, are at once the complainants and accusers. In all cases the prisoner is allowed the aid, if he desires it, of a relation or friend; in civil cases both the plaintiff and defendant may have persons to aid them, should they be unequal to advocate their own cause; but there are never any Vakeels* or Lawyers in these Punjayets, or Courts. The aid of Shastrees and men learned in the law is called for, if he requires it, by the Chief or Ruler, when he pronounces judgment; and in cases, where the Punjayet has to award, the members are chosen from men who have sufficient knowledge both of Hindu law and usage to decide; and if those require aid, they can always have it by calling in a learned Pundit or Shastree.

86. Evidences are not sworn by Punjayets, unless doubts are entertained of their credibility; they are cross-questioned and threatened, but seldom, if ever, punished. A prisoner's confession is invariably received as the best and most positive proof that can be obtained of his guilt.

87. The regular and, what are deemed, just punishments in Malwa, both under Mahratta and Rajpoot Rulers, are the same as laid down in the Hindu books of law. In every case a person tried by a Punjayet, may appeal to the Rajah or Chief, who can reverse the decision and order another Punjayet; such instances are however rare, but the accused or condemned person may, even after the Chief's decision, appeal to the ordeal,

* There is no part of our administration that is regarded with more alarm by natives than that branch of our system of justice which establishes Vakeels, or renders them necessary. They argue, and not without reason, that this artful class prevent justice, and that their being necessary is a proof of the too great length and perplexity of our regulations.

deal, which is generally hot water, a jar of boiling oil, or a ball or bar of red hot iron laid across his hands, over which a thin leaf of the sacred Peepul* is tied. If his hand is scalded in the liquid, or burnt by the iron, he is guilty, and the sentence is carried into execution. If unhurt, the miracle is received in testimony of his innocence; the man is considered a favorite of the Divinity, and not only released, but generally receives presents. These appeals are not unfrequent, and culprits aided by art, or the collusion of those who have the conduct of the ordeal, sometimes escape.

88. In both the territories of the Mahratta and Rajpoot Rulers of Malwa, the suppositious crime of witchcraft is punished with more severity than any other; but the punishment is almost always inflicted by the Ruler, by individuals, or by the rabble, and there is seldom any reference to a Punjayet, for even the forms of justice are in such cases neglected. This subject, however, belongs more to the superstitious usages than to the institutions of the country, and will be fully noticed hereafter.

89. The forms of Punjayets differ in many places, but the principles by which they are regulated are every where the same. These Courts, as they now exist in Malwa, may be divided into two. The first, (composed of government officers and heads of classes) who aid the Prince or his chief officers in enquiring into civil and criminal cases; and the second, Punjayets of arbitration. The former are mere Courts of investigation, and have little, if any fixed, character; and as they depend, both in their formation and proceedings, on the will of the Ruler and his delegated officers, they can hardly be deemed an established and recognized part of the Government: certainly not so much as the second, or Courts of arbitration. These are of two kinds, which may be termed private and public, where the parties (not delinquents) are at issue on any case, and

* Ficus Religiuso.

and appeal to the ruling authority. A Punjayet sits, in which they have a right to name an equal number, and the Government appoints an officer as umpire to preside. The parties concerned have, however, a right to object to this person if they deem him partial; and, as this Court is one which cannot be constituted but through their assent, the objection, if persevered in, compels the nomination of another. In private arbitration the Government is not appealed to, but in all cases, where the parties refer by mutual consent to a court of arbitration, they bind themselves (as has been stated) to abide by its award.

90. When one party complains to a Ruler or the local officer against a debtor, or a man that has injured him, a Punjayet (should his complaint be deemed just) is generally ordered, and in such cases the Sirkar's interposition to force the defendant* to answer is incumbent.

91. The members of the Punjayet are expected to be unanimous in their judgment; days and days are often consumed in reconciling jarring opinions, witnesses re-examined, new ones called, and these means seldom, if ever, fail in reducing the dissentients to one or two, which in a large Punjayet does not affect its proceedings.

92. The members of the Punjayet Court are selected, less by the Ruler than the general suffrage of their fellow citizens; and, whether in the lower or higher ranks, a person, who has once established a name for talent and integrity in these Courts, is deemed a continual member of them. It is a popular distinction, and becomes therefore a point of fame. A person is estimated in proportion as he is free of all suspicion of being actuated by influence or corruption, and to have fame as a Punj† becomes

* This is done by the Tuckaza, as before explained.

† To be an established member of the Punj or Court gives distinction, but to be the Mookh or President of the Court of Punjayet is the highest distinction a citizen can have. Madhoo Seit, the opium merchant, was long Mookh of the Punjayet Courts of Ougein, and had great fame. Those who now preside over this Court in Rutlam have been mentioned.

comes a point of ambition from the poorest inhabitant of the hamlet to the highest and wealthiest citizen. To sit upon these Courts is conceived a duty which every man is bound to perform. The members receive no pay,* their attendance is regulated with attention to general convenience, but after consenting to sit it is not to be evaded, and Government sometimes interferes to supersede by its authority frivolous excuses for absence.

93. There must be five persons, who are the heads of a Punjayet; the other members are indefinite, being less or more according to the case and the convenience of the parties. The junior members come and go during the examination, and sometimes, if the trial is long, absent themselves for days or weeks; but the principal persons originally nominated give an undivided attention to what is before them; their authority among the other members is proportionate to their reputation, and in cases of arbitration, relative to land or property, they may be deemed judges among the rest. The award of a Punjayet is (as has been before stated) expected to be unanimous, but it is not indispensable (in Malwa at least) that there should be no difference of opinion. A very large majority† is however required to make its opinion or award respected, and the power

* Major HENLEY, who has had recourse to these Courts at Shujahalpore, makes in his Notes the following observations upon these points:

"At first the persons summoned as members of these Courts noticed the expence they incurred by being called from their families and homes, and a small per diem allowance for subsistence was in consequence granted for a short time; afterwards it occurred that the persons employed had been without an exception either Poteyls or Putwarries, which classes of village officers being liberally endowed by the State in both Pergunnahs, it would seem Government had a right to claim their occasional services under such circumstances as those here stated. This was explained to them, and the allowance rescinded. The decisions of a Punjayet thus composed have invariably proved satisfactory.

† Major HENLEY, speaking of these Courts, states in reference to usage in the eastern parts of Malwa: "The decision is, prima facie, required to be unanimous, but should one member of the Court persist in objecting, his protest is to be recorded. In the event of two members dissenting, the proceedings are nullified. The decree passed is subscribed by the Court, the Government Officers in attendance, and lastly by the parties themselves; its execution is then ordered by the appropriate authority, and the document recorded in the office as a bar to renewed litigation on the same subject."

power it has, with the concurrence of the Government Officer, to expel any obstinate or contumacious member, generally secures the object of unanimity, which is very essential to the continuance of an Institution of its character.

94. Government has in Malwa a settled fine and fee upon all cases brought before a Punjayet, which varies according to the nature of the case and the wealth of the parties. The fine which is levied under the name of Goonagiree, or penalty, from the person who loses the cause, is always heaviest, while the fee of Shukaranna, or offering of gratitude from the party who gains it, is proportionably light. This practice, combined with delays and the shame of being found with a bad cause by the most respectable men of their own tribe, aids to check every spirit of litigation, and that would not appear to have ever been prevalent.

95. Fees were never given as a matter of course to the members of Punjayets in Malwa; such gifts would, according to the answer of many old and respectable inhabitants, (who have been referred to) have soiled their proceedings; but it is here necessary to state that the natives of this province have been for the last twenty years so exposed to an arbitrary military power, under which every form of justice was contemned, that they may be disposed to exaggerate the merits of a system, which was, in many districts, like a tale of other times : but it cannot be against the character of such an Institution,* that its merits are overrated,

* Nothing can exceed the feelings which the natives both of high and low rank express regarding Courts of Punjayet. I was appealed to in a case of some consequence from one of Dowlut Row Scindiah's civil officers to allow such a Court to sit at Mhow, which I declined. Indore was next proposed I desired the parties to go there, and directed his Agent with me to write to Tantiah Jogh, the Minister of Holkar, that I hoped the proceedings of the Punjayet would be just and impartial. The following is his answer :

"The General has sent Kurreem Borah and Adam Borah here, that there may be a Punjayet in the Management of Puinghur and Dohud. Here every thing of the kind is and must be correct. Besides, in a Punjayet, partiality to father or son is quite impossible. How can it be evinced towards others?"

This, it may be said, is mere profession, but it shews the respect and veneration in which even those who exercise almost absolute power hold or pretend to hold this Institution.

rated, and that it is cherished in the memory of those for whose benefit it has been established.

96. Punishments beyond those awarded by Punjayets were entirely at the discretion of Government, and in Malwa, with rare exceptions, this power has been exercised for the benefit of the Ruler and his officers. Murders are commonly commuted for heavy fines, when the criminal can pay. Of late years not only crimes, but disputes between any two parties, have been openly regarded at the principal Mahratta Courts in Malwa as sources of revenue. On any one party engaged in such disputes applying for justice, the quarrel is considered not as to its merits, but as to what it is likely to produce, and shamelessly given or sold to a person* who is nominated by the Ruler to examine and decide upon the contested cause. A favorite Huzooriah is sometimes deputed, and in such instances, whether the case be decided by the local manager or a Punjayet, the fees and claims to remuneration of the "servant† of the presence" are distinctly specified, and

* A Huzooriah of SCINDIAH's brought me a letter three months ago from the Acting Resident and one from HINDEE ROW GHATKEA, begging my support to the son of BABJUG ROW YESWUNT, formerly a Subadar of part of Malwa, in an affair with which my knowledge of circumstances made me know his interference could not be admitted without creating dissention in a family. On my stating facts and asking if this was not known at Gwalior, the Huzooriah replied, certainly they knew it very well, but this *Tunta Punta* (dispute) has been given to YESWUNT ROW's son, and beyond such jobs he has only one poor village to subsist himself and adherents. I prevented, however, any profit upon this occasion, as such could only be obtained by throwing a family, that had been reconciled with much trouble, into disorder again; and SCINDIAH's right to interfere in their affairs rested on very slight grounds.

Vide private letter to Captain J STEWART, 12th September, 1820.

† The following is a literal translation of an order, with the seal of D. R. SCINDIAH, brought by one of his Huzooriahs, who was sent to aid in establishing claims of a complainant. It specified all his fees.

(SEAL OF D. R. SCINDIAH).

Soubah Rajioree DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH to [illegible], inhabitant of Rutlam (Arabic year Sooreun 1231)

HURCHUND SEIT of Ougein has claims against you, of which you decline coming to a fair arrangement, so it is represented. This order is in consequence given, that on receiving it you may come to a fair adjustment; for this purpose the Sirkar has deputed [illegible], Huzooriah, whose Mussalla (Douceur) at Rupees 500, and a Kummer Kolah of Rupees 100, besides his daily subsistence at 5 Rupees in Money. The maintenance of him, a Jawos (Hirkarah) who attends him, and his Horse is also to be given—A daily payment is also to be made to him as a further house expence of Rs. 2½. Given in the Month of Zilkad 7, 1228, (MYHREL SHOOD)

N. B.

and must be defrayed. This practice was, during the disturbed times of the province, very general, but is now much limited to the Government of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.

97. The Bheels and other classes of noted thieves, being unable to redeem their lives, generally suffer for capital crimes. They are usually hung or decapitated. Imprisonment is common, and State prisoners, who it is desired should not live, are sent to an unhealthy hill fort, where either climate or starvation, or slow poison, terminates their existence. Hindu rulers, though often cruel, are seldom sanguinary. There are among those States in Malwa few executions, but torture is a common expedient, sometimes to discover the guilt, but oftener to compel men or women to reveal wealth. Neither rank nor cast have guarded individuals from its infliction, as is fully shewn in several parts of the History of this Province.

98. Capital punishment among the petty Rajpoot States are unfrequent in the ratio of the weakness and poverty of these Princes; a fear (particularly when the culprit is a man of rank, or belongs to a strong family or tribe) to incur by an act of power, however just, the resentment of the friends and relations of the criminal, combined with a desire of obtaining money, makes them in most cases commute the punishment (however atrocious the guilt) for a fine.

99. When petty Rajpoot Princes desire the death of either a guilty or innocent individual, they have resort to secret assassination more usually than to public execution. Robberies are, like murders, seldom openly punished with death, except the robbers are poor and hardened offenders; restoration of property almost always obtains pardon. The character of the different classes of the inhabitants of Malwa will be hereafter given, and it will be found that the commission of crimes of a capital nature is nearly limited to particular tribes.

100. The

N. B. Mussalah is literally a compound of spices.—It is here used metaphorically for Douceur. Kummer Kolah means ungirding the loins, which the Huzooriah will not do till this first fee is paid.

100. The Bheels of Malwa have a rude system of justice. Their Chiefs punish, more or less, according as their power renders them indifferent as to the opinion of their adherents; but the first among them are too dependant on the attachment of the Turvees, or heads of families, who support them, to venture often on arbitrary acts of violence with their own people. If a murder, robbery or theft is committed, the chief, or family of the sufferer, demands reparation. If refused, immediate resort is had to acts of retaliation or reprisal, and, as this provokes further violence, it often happens that several lives are lost to avenge a single murder, or fifty head of cattle plundered in consequence of one having been stolen. These proceedings are, however, only the effusions of sudden rage, and the elders of the tribes, when that is cooled, interfere, and in all quarrels or disputes great or trifling, they have resort to Punjayets. These often consist of several hundred members, all persons of the different tribes connected with the plaintiff or defendant sitting upon them; they generally assemble under the shade of a tree, and settle the terms of which the murder, robbery, or theft is to be compounded; fines in cattle, or money are high upon murders, but Bheel Punjayets never inflict death. If the crime committed be of so atrocious a nature as not to be compounded or forgiven, the culprit is pursued and destroyed by those whom this act has made his enemies, but he must be put to death in what they term a Juggra or affray, that is, in warm blood; to take the life of each other coolly appears to be revolting to their usages.

101. With regard, however, to the more civilized classes near whom they dwell, and with whom they are usually in a state of warfare, they treat them, when in their power, with no consideration, and any number of citizens would be executed by a Bheel Chief on a calculation that taking their lives would lessen the chance of discovery of the most trifling robbery he had committed.

102. The

102. The proceedings of Punjayets of the Bheels are not written, but the memory of the most remarkable of the awards of these rude Courts is long preserved in the tradition of the tribes concerned, and quoted on the authority of their elders as precedents for future decision. To promote the steady and amicable settlement of all disputes and references, a buffalo and a large quantity of liquor is usually prepared, and the moment the ceremony of breaking a stick, or throwing a stone into a revered stream, announces that the feud is staunched, or the dispute settled, the buffalo is slain, and copious draughts of liquor, interchanged between the parties, make them soon forget they were ever enemies.

103. The military branch of the Government of the Mahratta Chiefs in Malwa has been described. It differs in no degree from that established by that nation in the Deckan and every other quarter. Their Horse are divided into the usual classes. First, Pagah or household, which means Horses belonging to the Chief, rode by his relations, hereditary servants, or hired men, called Bargheers: Secondly, Sillahdars, or persons who find their own Horses, and serve at a certain sum as an average pay per month. There has hitherto been, as described in the Historical Part of the Report, a third class with these Mahratta Armies, who served for booty, but they are now almost extinct, and can never be revived but by the return of those times of anarchy and general plunder to which they belonged. All those bodies are governed by a very loose discipline, and the demands they have against their leaders (for they are always in arrears) create recurring mutinies, which weaken the little subordination that exists. The consequence is, that, unless in very extreme cases, any punishment beyond discharge from the service is very unfrequent, but when these do occur, they are quite arbitrary, depending upon the will of a commander, who seldom or ever has even the form of a trial.

104. The Infantry of the Mahratta Governments in Malwa are of two descriptions; the first (which was for a long period the only kind in the service of the Chiefs) are the common irregular Matchlockmen, either of the country or foreigners;—Mewattees, Patans, Mekranees, Scindies, and Arabs, who are hired on higher pay, on account of their supposed superior courage, particularly the Arabs, who have a just reputation for their valor and skill in defending forts and walled towns. The control of these loose bodies of irregular infantry is left to their respective leaders, who manage them agreeably to the established usages of their tribe, and offenders are punished according to the custom of the class to which they belong.

105. Besides these troops, the Mahratta Chiefs of Malwa had numerous corps of regular Infantry and parks of Cannon, which have been before described; these, which were long under European Officers, were clothed, disciplined, and governed, as far as the constant interference of the Mahratta superiors with the Officers, and the want of regular pay would admit, upon the same principles as an European army.

106. The army of the Nabob of Bhopal has been noticed: the troops maintained by the Rajpoot Princes and Chiefs of Malwa (with the exception of Zalim Singh, who has a Military establishment not unsimilar to that of the Mahratta Chiefs) were in common times their relations and personal retainers, who generally served on horseback for the lands they enjoyed. On emergency these petty rulers hired foreign mercenaries; the former were ruled by the usages of the tribe to which they belonged, the latter were under their respective leaders; but the want of ability of the Princes (who entertained these bodies at a moment of necessity) to pay them, generally subverted all order, and in many cases led to these professed Soldiers of the State becoming its real Rulers, and the cruel oppressors both of the Chief and his subjects.—

In

In such cases it is superfluous to add, that little of subordination or Military discipline remained, beyond what the concurrent voice of the Officers, who became a species of Military aristocracy, thought essential for self-preservation. These bodies of irregular and turbulent foreign mercenaries have been all expelled from Malwa, and the Military branch of the Government of the Rajpoot Chiefs is now (with few exceptions) entrusted solely to their own tribe and immediate dependants.

PART

[illegible]

PART THE ELEVENTH.

ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

1. Before entering on this subject, it will be useful to examine to whom that soil, from which the revenue is produced, belongs, and under what tenure it is held by its occupants.

2. The tenures in Malwa differ in no essential degree from those of other parts of India, either as they relate to the rights of Sovereigns or his subjects.

3. There are two parts of this question;—the theoretical, and actual usage. The former has received more consideration than it merits,—the latter perhaps less.

4. In the theory even of this subject we must recollect, that, according to the Hindu sacred writers, the soil first belonged to him by whom it was occupied and tilled; for Kings, we are informed by these authors, were instituted subsequent to the cultivation of the soils, and the possession of property; and we find in their most revered texts, that at the commencement of Monarchy a due or tax of ten* per cent. upon the land was assigned to Monarchs for their support. This, no doubt, increased like other taxes, as their expenditure required, or as their power enabled them to infringe upon the rights and property of their subjects; and the Mahomedan conquerors of India, though they came from

* Their other dues are stated. Vide part 10th.
There is a remarkable coincidence in the share of produce of land allotted for the first Hindu Rulers, and the tithes fixed for the Ministers of the Christian Church, which were borrowed from the Jewish Code.

from countries where (in defiance of tyranny) property of land, belonging to individuals, is tenaciously guarded, had (particularly on their first invasions) little respect for any claims or rights of infidels. But still neither their violence or bigotry had the effect of changing the rooted institutions of a country like India, and they were therefore satisfied with encreasing the land tax, or Sovereign's share of the produce, and this constituted what they gave in Jagheers, Enams, and other grants of land, to their dependants. The rights of the proprietors of the soil continued the same, though the numbers of this class were diminished by death or expulsion from their native districts. Still under all this violence, the right of the subject, having property in the soil, was respected over most of the provinces of India; and in those where it was almost wholly obliterated, and a new population introduced (as appears to have been nearly the case in Malwa, the cultivated parts of which are peopled down to the lowest classes by foreign colonies) the mere fact of occupation for two or three generations gave rights to the cultivator, which made him claim the field as his own, and as an inheritance to his children, as long as he tilled and paid Government its rent, and his claim was reqognized by the worst of oppressors. The cultivators of this province have not, however, obtained to any extent that right, which belongs to a great proportion of the Ryots of the more southern parts of India, of selling their land.

5. In Malwa, the tenures upon which the soil is held, have been greatly disturbed by a succession of revolutions. This province was amongst the most early subjected to Mahomedan power, and it would appear from its present population, that a great proportion of Hindus, of all tribes and classes, followed the conquerors from Hindostan. Subsequent invasions from Guzerat appear to have poured another tide over its plains, on which (as has been stated) almost all traces of its original inhabitants

inhabitants are lost, [illegible] has been subject to numerous petty usurpers, who have maintained authority over its districts from the fall of the Empire of the Moghuls, and the rise of the predatory power of the Mahrattas; and has consequently been exposed to changes and oppressions, far beyond what a country ever knew under one tyrannical ruler, who, however he may abuse his own power, limits and controls that of others. But, fortunately, the bigotry of the Mahomedans, and the rapacity of the Mahrattas, alike understood and valued those ancient institutions which render every village in India an independent and distinct community, ruled by its own officers, within its own limits. These were respected when found, and when lost, through death or desertion of the inhabitants, were recreated; and we may, after the scenes which these establishments have survived in Malwa during the last thirty years, presume them to be indestructible, unless the hand of power is actually exerted to put an end to an establishment, which has for ages formed the very base of all Governments in India.

6. The lands in Malwa are divided into Sirkars* (or governments), containing from ten to forty Mahals (districts), each district or Pergunnah† having from fifty to upwards of three hundred villages. The next subdivision is the Talook, or (as it is more usually termed in Malwa) the

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* The large division of Sirkar, though not in common use, still exists in the registers of the different States. Their limits are in these archives the same as when Malwa was under Delhi. So averse are the Mahrattas to any change of this nature, that I find from several pottahs, or leases, granted this year, which I have examined, villages described in the Pergunnah of Indore and Sirkar of Oujein. The former belongs to Holkar, and is the chief place of his family; but it is still, according to usage, registered as, in the Sirkar of Ougein, belonging to the rival state of Scindiah.

† The Pergunnah of Peeplowda has only ten villages, and a few others in Malwa have not more than twenty; but these are exceptions: from seventy to eighty is the common number. Indore has 362 villages. Bhilsah no less than 750; but this is an extraordinary instance. It was formerly a Sirkar, and has still the title, or record, of Sirkaree Alumgheer.

the Tuppah,* which generally includes from five or six to twenty or thirty villages. The latter have often two, three and four hamlets belonging to them, which are called, in the revenue account, dependencies.†

7. The above are, in fact, the ancient divisions established by the Moghul Emperors, and though events have broken much of that uniformity‡ of division, which prevailed in these divisions, the names are still preserved, and used in all accounts and official records.

8. In Malwa, as in other provinces, all ground, be it ever so waste or hilly, is included in the divisions, which are marked by natural or artificial boundaries, such as rivers, nullahs, ranges of hills, trees, rocks, ridges, or lines between any two remarkable objects. The whole of the lands of Malwa were measured, including the space occupied by tanks, wells, houses, &c. in the time of the Moghul Government: and this Rukba, or record of measurement, was lodged in the office of every Zemindar of a Pergunnah, as well as the Furnavces's office. Several of these records have been saved; but where they are lost, the care with which the memory of the respective limits is preserved by those hereditary officers of the district, and village, to whom this duty belongs, is very extraordinary. In Malwa, where many large tracts have been desolated for twenty and thirty years, the inhabitants (in many cases the descendants of former occupants) have returned to their homes and

* In several parts of Malwa, as well as in the petty states of Baugur, the word Tuppah is used to designate the larger divisions. In Dongerpore the largest Tuppah contains 191 villages, the smallest 19. And in Banswarra the largest comprizes 250 villages, the smallest 59. In Dongerpore there are no subdivisions, but in Banswarra *two* of the Tuppas are subdivided into *Zillahs*, which include from 4 to 34 Villages.

† The large village is called in the accounts Usilla, or "the original;" the smaller ones, dependencies, Dokhilla or, "the incorporate."

‡ According to the Institutes of Akbar, a Soubah, or large Government, should consist of twenty-two Sirkars, or petty Governments; a Sirkar of twenty-two Pergunnahs; a Pergunnah of twenty-two Tuppahs; and a Tuppah of twenty-two villages: but we cannot suppose this exact division of ever existed except in the Institutions.

and fields, and taken possession of their respective property, (with very rare cases of dispute or difference) as if they had only left it for a few days. This could only have happened where such institutions exist; and as these are the foundations of that Revenue System, on which, in despotic Governments, the happiness or misery of its subjects chiefly depends, it will be necessary to take a short notice of the various links of which the district and village administration is constructed.

The Zemindar or Mundlooee.

9. In Malwa the first in rank and consequence of those native* or local hereditary Officers are indiscriminately called Mundlooee, Chowdry or Zemindar. The former terms are usually given in the Mahratta† Governments of Malwa. The latter almost always designates this Officer among the Rajpoot States.

10. In all Asiatic countries, and, amongst others, India, every class and tribe of men have their superior. That of landholders and cultivators is the Zemindar,‡ a term which literally means landholder, and is (particularly

* The term Wuttundar, so fondly cherished by this class of hereditary officers as their distinctive appellation, means a holder of native or home rights.

† The principal Zemindar, MADHOO ROW, at Indore, is termed Mundlooee. Thakoor PUDDUN SING at Ougein is however termed *Zemindar*, and at Bhopal the officer holding this station is styled Chowdry.

‡ The Zemindar, Chowdry, or Mundlooee, was hereditary, like almost all officers of a *Hindu Government*, and the employment is probably coeval with the Barah Bulowtee, or *village community*. The following definition in several languages of the same, or nearly similar, offices, is much in favor of this Institution, being long prior to the Mahomedan Conquests.

IN MAHRATTA.

DESS-MOOKH.—The Chief of the Country.

DESS-AYE.—The Landlord.

IN CANARA.

NAT-GOWD. The Head of the Land.

IN TAMOOL.

NAT-AM.—Ditto Ditto.

IN TELOOGOO.

NAT-I-WAROO.—Ditto Ditto.

IN CEYLON,

DESS-AYE.—Ditto ditto.

IN HINDOSTAN.

MUNDUL-OOE. } MUNDUL signifying a tract of country, containing a certain number of villages.
MUNDUL-EEK. }

(particularly in Malwa) constantly used to designate a proprietor of soil: but the Zemindar of a Pergunnah, though originally raised by the rank and estimation in which he was held by his class, has always combined with his duties those of an officer of Government. His station is hereditary, he is supported by a grant of land termed Nankar, which differs in amount* according to the size of the Pergunnah and other circumstances; and he has, besides lesser dues, a Damee or per centage upon the collections, which in Malwa varies from four to eight per cent. He pays no revenue to the Government, but usually gives at the Dussera, a Nuzzur, or offering, to the Komisdar; and is subject, like others, to those demands† which, under the head of extraordinaries, are imposed in an arbitrary manner by distressed or oppressive

* Some of the Zemindaries in Malwa are very high. That of Nolaye is estimated at upwards of 60,000 rupees per annum. PORTEE SINGH, the Mundlooee of Budnawar, a Pergunnah of the Dhar Government, is a Rajpoot Thakoor, or Chief, and besides his Damee, or right on the Pergunnah, possesses the principality of Bucketghur. It has been the policy of the Mahrattas to reduce the power of these Zemindars. The old family of Indore Zemindars, though still affluent, are greatly reduced from that influence and power which they enjoyed under the Moghul Government.

† The succession of a person to one of these offices was usually the pretext for a heavy fine, particularly *when there are disputes in the family, and the renewal of the Sunnud or commission is desired. Among the number of papers brought me by the representative of a family who claim the inheritance* of half the office of Kanoongo, of half the districts dependant on the Sirkar of Beejaghur in the Soubah of Candeish, and half both of the offices of the Mundlooee and Kanoongo in the Purgunnah of Julalabad in Nemar, I find a Sunnud from ALUMGEER dated the 15th of his reign, confirming these Offices to MOKUND DOSS as the lineal heir; but accepting from him a Peishkush, or offering, of 15,001 rupees. There is also a Sunnud from AZUM SHAH (Son of ALUMGEER) renewing this grant to SUDDUR RAM, the son of SECAM DOSS (the nephew of MOKUND) and in the memorandum annexed to this Sunnud, which is dated the 17th Shaban 44th year of ALUMGEER, it is stated that SUDDUR RAM holds his office in succession to his father. SECAM DOSS, who had received Sunnuds in the 28th year of the reign, which set aside the claim of his younger brother GORDHUN DOSS, who is represented as a dissolute character, and as having in the 25th year of ALUMGEER's reign sold by registered deed, and with consent of Government, for the sum of 15,500 rupees, all those rights to profit and interference which he possessed by birth in the hereditary Offices of his family. The lands and rights of the Kanoongo and Chowdry are detailed in this memorandum, and though no notice is taken of a further fine there can be little doubt that one was levied. There is a remarkable passage in AURUNGZEBE's Sunnud, which states: "The above Kanoongo shall not, presuming on his Peishkush being received, oppress the Ryots," and the bond which MAHOMED DOSS gave into the Treasury, for payment by instalments of the amount he had agreed to present to the Emperor, repeats the obligation imposed upon him.

pressive Rulers. The Zemindar (as has been mentioned) has a Bheit, a due (generally one, or two rupees) from every village in the Pergunnah. He has also a trifling claim on each cast and trade, as a Kummul or blanket from weavers; oil from oilmen; a pair of shoes from shoemakers, and so forth.

11. The duties of the Zemindar are to preserve order and peace, (he is expected to maintain a body of armed adherents) and by the influence of his station and character he is, where there is difficulty in collecting the revenue, usually the medium through which it is realized; and while Government employs his services, he is the person to whom the Ryots look up as their protector against any acts or power that are in violation of established usage.

12 The duties of this officer in the government of the country have been before noticed. He has still more in the revenue department; and his office, kept by the Kanoongo or register, which contains all records of grants of past and actual revenue, is the place of appeal both of Government Officers and Ryots. Zemindars* are expected to be men of education; and, indeed, their duties require efficiency in a degree, that compels the inheritor of this office, when not competent to devolve them upon a member of his family, equal to their fulfilment.

13. The Zemindars in Malwa are of all tribes, except the lowest. They, in general, can boast of having held their offices for a number of generations. Many have Sunnuds from the Emperors of Delhi, and some from the Patan Sovereigns of Malwa. Several distinctly trace their rise to

* In Bhopal and Eastern Malwa the word Chowdry always designated the Office of Mundlooee or Zemindar, and the title is taken, as elsewhere, by different branches of the family; amongst which the dues are also generally subdivided. The Office of Chowdry of Bausiah is held by two families of distinct classes of Rajpoots, with separate endowments.

to local services, such as the restoration of waste lands,* some to the seizure or defeat of robbers who infested the country to which they were appointed, while others have the more legitimate titles of being the heads of clans and tribes by whom the tract was settled and cultivated.

14. From there being no instance in Malwa of any of this class possessing records, or even traditions of any member of their family having power previous to the Mahomedan invasion, it may be conjectured, that the Zemindars of the Pergunnahs in this province owe their establishment on

* The following is the translation of a Sunnud dated A. D. 1751, from BALAJEE PAISHWA to RAMCHUNDER BOSCOTTA, granting the Sir Mundlooee rights in Nemar, which he still holds for a service of this description.

" The Sirkar of Beejaghur, in the Zillah of Nemaur and Soubah of Candeish, having been for a long period back a prey to the inroads of the Bheels, and having fallen into a ruined and depopulated state, jungles having overgrown the once-cultivated fields, I therefore ordered you to restore these Mahals to cultivation and inhabitants. Your exertions to fulfil my orders have been unremitting, and have been attended with success. You came to Poona, and petitioned the presence to this effect: " I am an old servant of your Highness, and my family is numerous. I trust your Highness will afford me a suitable maintenance?" I have enquired, and find that you are an old and faithful servant of the Government and have rendered it many useful services, and I am satisfied that your exertions will continue to be employed for its welfare. With these favorable impressions towards you I confer upon you, from this day, the right of Sir Mundlooee upon the revenue of the above mentioned Sirkar. The following are the Pergunnahs comprehended in the gift of Sir Mundlooee (*then follow the names of 32 Pergunnahs*); the nature of the Sir Mundlooee, what I have now conferred upon you, is four per cent. upon the revenue arising from these Mahals, after the Sirdesmooky and Wuttundaree rights have been deducted from it. I also constitute you the chief authority over these Mahals, and all agreements, accounts and papers of every description, relating to these Mahals bearing your seal and signature, shall be considered valid, and the annual accounts must be authenticated by your signature; and I direct that all Officers, Zemindars, and others, belonging to these Mahals, shall pay to you the respect and obedience due to the Chief Authority, and all plans and arrangements that in any way regard the affairs of these Mahals shall be considered and adopted with your advice and consent. Besides the Sir Mundlooee of 4 per cent. I also confer upon you all the other rights comprehended in this appointment, such as Padry, Mottarh, Sayer, Rahdaree, Taphozow, and Mau, &c. &c.

1st. Padry is a sort of capitation tax upon the different tribes and professions; sixty-six are enumerated in this Sunnud, of which the oil-sellers, toddy gatherers, iron smelters, distillers, refiners of sugar, and Dhers, bear the highest tax, being one rupee on each family, while bow-makers, gun-powder manufacturers, perfumers and gram sifters, are among the lowest, being two annas:—others were assessed at an average of four and six annas annually.

2d. Mottarh. An assessment on trees yielding fruit, and intoxicating juices, half an anna was levied on the Mangoe, on the Tamarind ¼, and on the Mhow-tree ½ an anna annually.

3d. Rahdaree, a duty collected on cattle loaded with drugs; and

4th. Tahbazaree, an assessment on grain of ¼ seer from a bullock load, and a handfull from the common sized baskets used by the Bunyahs.

on their present footing to the Moghul Monarchs. It is quite conformable to the usage of the country from which the conquerors came; and, while they appointed their own class to the management of the different districts they subdivided, it must have been necessary, to inspire confidence in the inhabitants, (particularly the cultivators,) that a person they knew and trusted should be nominated as the medium of all communication with them.

15. In some of the large Pergunnahs of Malwa the Zemindar has an assistant, who acts by his orders, and occasionally as his substitute. His office is also hereditary, and he is paid as the Zemindars, but with less land and smaller dues, and an allowance (generally two per cent.) on collections.

16. The Kanoongo, or register of the Pergunnah, though under the Zemindar, is a Wuttundar, or hereditary native officer of importance. His records contain every account relative to the revenue, measurement, and allotment of the land. He also enjoys a per-centage (generally two per cent.) on collections, and Bheit or due from every village, with small claims upon cultivators and tradesmen.

17. The Mirdah, or land-measurer of the Pergunnah, is also a Wuttundar, but of lower rank. His duties, which consist in knowing boundaries, measuring and allotting lands, and settling disputes of cultivators regarding their respective fields, are paid by a small portion of land, and a Bheit or due, generally of one rupee, upon each village. It is a remarkable fact, that in Malwa, where there is but a small proportion of Mahomedan inhabitants, the Mirdah or land-measurer is almost invariably of that tribe; perhaps this may be accounted for, if it be the fact, as has been asserted, that land-measurement was first introduced by the Mahomedans; and there are good grounds of belief, that the ancient Hindu

The Mirdah.

Hindu land-tax was estimated by the seed grain, the crops on the ground, or by the number of ploughs employed, and not by any calculation of the quantity of soil in cultivation.

The Putteil.

18. The Wuttundars, or hereditary village officers, in the greatest part of Malwa, differ little from the same description of officers in other quarters. The Putteil, or chief of the village, is in almost every district of Malwa deemed hereditary. There have been in that province such frequent violent changes of rule, that it is surprizing to find so many of this class, who can support their claim to the rights and lands they enjoy for eight, nine, and ten generations. Where they are of more recent date, it is always found, on enquiry, either to proceed from the village being new, or of an old one having been so long desolate, that all traces of its former Putteils were lost. In such cases some person is made Putteil* on agreeing to restore or create a village; and the Pottah, or grant constituting him Putteil, fixes the quantity of ground he is to enjoy rent free, and specifies his dues and those of his successors in this hereditary office.

19. The quantity of land enjoyed by a Putteil is proportionate to the size of the village, and varies from ten to two hundred beegahs. The Putteil has also a fee or due (generally in kind) from every field of grain, varying from two to eight seers the beegah of cultivated ground. He has also a small share on the sugar and opium produce of the lands of the village.

20. If

* This may be instanced in the recent settlement in Bhopal of upwards of thirty villages, by Pindarries, whose Chiefs were regularly constituted Putteils. But the descendants, in some cases, of the original Putteils have appeared, and been admitted as Co-sharers in the rights and endowments of the office.

In cases where the rights of Putteil are shared by more than one family, a managing Putteil will always be found, who is usually raised to the executive duties of the office by the influence of the local Officers of Government.

20. If a woman make a second marriage after her husband's death,* she pays a small amount (generally a rupee) to the Putteil; and that officer has, in many cases, a right to collect a small duty, termed Khoout, on loaded bullocks that pass or encamp near his village. This duty† varies from one-eighth to the half of a pice,‡ according to the size of the village, its situation, and power of affording protection. During the late period of anarchy, however, when village officers were unable to give efficient protection, this tax became a vexatious exaction, which was aggravated by its payment giving no title to recompence for loss by robbery or plunder. The Putteil has various other legitimate dues, both from the petty Bunniahs and tradesmen,§ and different tribes settled in his village; and his power and influence often give him an opportunity of realizing much more than his dues. Besides the enjoyment of his Nankar, or free lands, which he usually tills himself, he is a cultivator of some of the best lands of the village; and his situation gives him, beyond others, the means of reclaiming waste lands, which he can always obtain on a favorable lease or grant.

21. In Malwa it is very usual for the Putteil to rent the whole of his village from Government; and this arrangement is deemed one of the

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* This marriage is called Nuttera, and is, strictly speaking, forbidden by the Hindu Law, for the infraction of which the fine is levied. Besides the rupee, the Putteil has a right on this occasion to a Cocoa-nut, or Sooparee nut, and five leaves of Beetle. In some villages of Malwa the Putteil has a right to a due on a Beeah, or first marriage.

In Pertabghur the Nuttera duty is one rupee, four annas, and it is levied by the Government, not by the Putteils.

In Bhopaul and Birseeah this fine has been often levied according to the means of the parties, and 20, 50, 80, 100, 200, and even 500 rupees have been exacted.

† There are in general 32 pice in the rupee.

‡ In Bhopaul the term Koouteah is frequently found attached to the office of Managing Putteil, from the duty of Khoout being exclusively levied by him.

§ He has a right to a Kumlee from the weavers, if there are any; Shoes from the Chumars or shoe-makers; Pots from the pot-makers, &c. &c.

the best that can be made, both for the State and the Ryots. The Putteils never offer more than the lands can produce, and they seldom become renters, except when the Government is just and moderate.

22. There are many Putteils in Malwa, who in prosperous times make, besides supporting themselves and family, from 500 to 1000 rupees profit from their free land and dues, and more than double that from cultivating their own or Government lands.

23. The Wuttundar lands and dues are highly prized by all natives, and in prosperous times in Malwa used to sell (in the rare* cases that the party in possession consented to part with them) for ten, twelve, and fifteen years' purchase.† Latterly, there have been almost no sales, though there are continual instances of both lands and dues of Putteils, being mortgaged to their creditors, generally Soukars, and the bonds of mortgage for such property, signed by respectable witnesses, are among the most common securities in Malwa. In such cases an agent of the creditor remains in the village, and collects the revenue or dues that have been made over to his employer.

24. The Putteil, being the medium between the Officers of Government and the inhabitants of his village, usually collects the Sirkar dues; and it is his duty to enforce payment by such means as he may deem proper, and are sanctioned by usage. The Putteils of Malwa are of

* Their attachment to their rights is indescribable. A Hindu zemindar in presence of all his tribe said to me that it preceded his sense of religion. "I would turn Mahomedan," he added, "twenty times, before I would sell my Wuttunee."

† The following is a case of the sale of lands as taken from the records of the HOLKAR Government.

BHOPAL SINGH, LAL SINGH and GUMMAN SINGH, Putteils of Indore, did in the year 1195, Fuzlee, A. D. 1788, of their own free will, sell to BUKUL GHUR Gossain about sixteen or seventeen beegahs of land, possessed by them in Enam, after having duly registered the same in the Kutchery of the Komisdar of Indore.

of all casts. There are not only Mahomedans* and Brahmins, but many Meewatties, Gossains, and other tribes from Hindostan, by whom the villages, of which these persons are the head, were no doubt originally peopled.

25. The Putwaree, or Registrar of the village, is not in Malwa, as in most other Provinces in India, deemed as a matter of course to be a Wuttundar or hereditary officer; he is in general considered as a Sirkar or Government servant, enjoying land and dues under the Putteil; who, if respectable, in most cases when this situation is vacant, recommends an efficient person in the village for the office; and an accusation by the Putteil, or villagers, of abuse of office or malversation, frequently suffices for his ejection. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, and some of the Putwaries in Malwa are not only Wuttundars, but can boast very old tenures for their office. The Putwaree.

26. The Bullaye or Dher of the village, though of low tribe, is in Malwa considered as one of the most ancient and important Wuttundars. He is paid by a free grant of ground, and some small dues on the produce of the village, from the cultivators of which, when the lands are not rented, he collects the revenue, and gives it to the Putteil. The duty of the Bullaye is not only to know the name and quality of every inhabitant, but his occupations and exact possessions. In short, he is, from his office, considered the Putteil's spy, and his duty is to report all improper transactions in the community. The Bullaye is expected to be informed minutely of every house, tank, well, tree and field, appertaining to his village. He notes every land-mark and boundary, which he is expected to know either from tradition or observation. His evidence in all disputes The Bullaye.

* There are in the vicinity of Mandoo many Mahomedan Putteils, and some few villages entirely inhabited by that tribe. In the Pergunnah of Dhar, twenty-five small villages are equally divided, twelve and a half each, between Mahomedan cultivators and bricklayers; and the hereditary officers of these villages are of the same class.

putes about land is the most essential: he is the appointed guide of travellers through his limits, and must also carry all burdens that the Putteil directs; but this is, if frequent, generally performed by persons of his family or tribe, who are settled in the village, and work also as labourers in cultivation.

The Pursae.

27. The Pursae, or Priest of the village, has in Malwa sometimes a few beegahs of land, and always small dues and petty fees at marriages, naming of children, births and funerals, where he officiates. He is also an Astrologer, has an almanack, and some old Potahs, or books, with the aid of which he foretels good and bad seasons, fixes the hour for sowing, and so forth. In Malwa this class of Wuttundars seem little respected, are very poor, and partly support their families by travelling in the vicinity of their villages as mendicants.

The Choukeedar.

28. The Choukeedar, or watchman in Malwa, is of consequence, or not, as the village happens to be situated. In some towns they are Wuttundars of importance, and have their Cowrie,* or trifling money-right upon travellers and cattle; which the Putteil collects when there are no regular Choukeedars or watchmen, or when the latter is paid, as is often the case, by the Putteil in money.

The Carpenter, &c.

29. The Carpenter, the Blacksmith, the Barber, and the Washerman, of the village have in Malwa the same duties† and the same rights as in other Provinces of India. They have often, but not always, small lots of land assigned them; but are all paid by dues, or exclusive rights. There

* This, though called a Cowrie, is, at the lowest, twelve of that shell Coin, for every bullock pays twelve Cowries or a Dunnee, which is the eighth of a large pice, and the 256th part of a rupee.—In some places the Choukeedar's rights are two Dunnees, or the 128th part of a rupee, for each bullock.

† The Carpenter and Blacksmith have to maintain and keep in order the different implements of husbandry. Those in Malwa are as follows: Plough, Drill and plain Harrow Hoes, &c. the same as in Hindostan. The only implement which differs is the Kompuee, which is a species of rude paring Plough, used to weed between the furrows; it is usually drawn by bullocks.

There are in some of the districts of Malwa (as in Goojerat*) Puggees, who have small fees on the village, and whose business is to trace thieves by the print of their feet. † To these may be added the village Paidhee, or destroyer of wild animals and game, who is also generally endowed with a small grant of land. This office seldom exists but in villages surrounded by wild uncultivated tracts.

30. The rights of the Wuttundars, or native hereditary offices of a village, are much respected in Malwa; and never was there a Province that afforded such proofs, as that, of the imperishable nature of this admirable institution. After the late war, every encouragement was held out for the inhabitants to return to their desolate homes. In several districts, particularly those near the Nerbuddah, many of the villages had been waste for more than thirty years. The inhabitants, who had been scattered, followed all occupations; many Putteils, who had been obliged to leave their lands, had become plunderers, ‡ and remained at, or near, the waste lands of their villages. Some of their village friends followed their example; others cultivated grounds at a distance of several hundred miles from their homes, while a great majority went to the large towns, where they found a temporary asylum, and obtained subsistence by laboring in gardens or fields. But there is no people in whose hearts the love of the spot where they were born seems more deeply implanted than the natives

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* Puggees exist also in Marwar, and are reputed to possess even more skill than those of Goojerat.

† This is only the case in villages among the Bheels. The skill of many of these Puggees in Goojerat is very remarkable: they measure with a string every trace of the impression of the foot, and make observations with a sense which practice renders very acute. The moment the object of their pursuit is traced to a village, the string and all the remarks are given and communicated to its Puggee, who pursues the chace till he finds the thief or murderer, or till he lodges him in another village. The numerous instances of extraordinary discoveries of criminals through this mode almost stagger belief.

‡ This was particularly the case in Nimaur and on the banks of the Nerbuddah, where both zemindars and Putteils became plunderers, and found refuge in the jungles that were spread over the fields their fathers had cultivated. Rotton Singh and Mundroop Singh of Seyfanee, Goolab Singh of Raenghur, and Devy Singh of Dewry, who have lately been the principal freebooters of these wild tracts, are now, as the lands are beginning to be cultivated, coming forward to establish their claims as ancient zemindars of particular districts.

tives of India; and those of Malwa, under all their miseries and dispersion, appear never for a moment to have given up the hope of being restored to their homes. The inhabitants of each village kept up, though in distant quarters, a constant communication,—intermarriages were made, and the links that bound them together were only strengthened by adversity. When convinced that tranquility was established, they flocked to their roofless homes. Infant Putteils* (in some cases the third in descent from the emigrator) were carried at the head of these parties, and when they reached their villages, every wall of a house, every field was taken possession of by the owner or cultivator, without dispute or litigation amongst themselves or with Government: in a few days every thing was in progress, as if it had never been disturbed: local authorities, which hesitated at no other means that promised profit, rejected the most advantageous offers of re-peopling villages, while a hope† remained that a Wuttundar or Kursau, (hereditary officer and cultivator) that had claims to the management and cultivation of its lands, were likely to return. The worst of these rulers are not insensible to the necessity of preserving from injury this admirable and well-constructed foundation of their civil government, and revenue system.

31. There

* I had conversations with several of these communities, both when on the road, and after they reached their villages, and gave during the year 1818, as a mark of approbation, turbans to more than a hundred Putteils who returned to restore desolate villages.

† I was very anxious that the village of Basaee, which is situated between Burgoondah and Jaum, and which had been abandoned for 36 years, should be re-peopled. I brought the principal Bheel Teza Tuawee of Myaya (a village near it) to consent to cultivate the lands on a favorable lease,—and Nattoo Ram, the Putwaree of Main, was to have the management. The local importance of the object was considerable, as Teza was a noted freebooter, and it ensured his reform and that of his adherents; but Tantiah Jogh, Holkar's minister, though he acknowledged all this, and was most anxious to put the plan in execution, told me he was compelled not only to consult the zemindars of the Pergunnah, but to institute every search to discover whether the descendant of the Putteil, or any Wuttundar of the village of Basaee, existed, for if they did,' he added smiling, "even we Mahrattas, bad as we are, cannot do any thing that interferes with their rights." The search was made, but no one found, and my recommendation was adopted, but with a reservation, that, if the heir of the former Putteil was discovered, he should be reinstated. There are, it has been discovered, some traces of the family in Soandwarra, from whence they originally came.

31. There is, in many of the countries adjoining Malwa, particularly some of the hilly tracts on its eastern* boundary, and the western province of Baugur, a very considerable difference in the constitution of the village government. The petty officers, who form it, have seldom either those appellations or rights, which they have in more settled districts; but this is to be accounted for from the character and condition of the population, and the violent changes to which they have been subject. In Baugur, for instance, there can be little doubt that, before the invasion of the Rajpoots, who are its present masters, the great majority of its inhabitants were Bheels, and the conquerors appear neither to have perpetuated the institutions of that tribe, nor to have desired to trust their new subjects with that influence and weight, which belong to the district and village community where permanently established.

32. The

* Mr. Molony, speaking of the lately Ceded Territories of Nagpore, states, that in Gurrah Mundlah, in particular, there are no hereditary Pergunnah officers, called *Zemindars*; that appellation being given only to the descendants of the Jagheerdars of the old native Government,—and these have a stronger hereditary connection with the land than any other class. Many of them are Goands, who are considered the only indigenous part of the population, and some have large Talooks, while others have only single villages. They may be regarded as proprietors of their own estates, but have no office or station similar to that of the Chowdries or Desmooks. The only hereditary Pergunnah officer is the Registrar or Accountant, and is called Beohar, and sometimes Goomashta, and is always of the Kait tribe. The heads of villages are called Putteil or Gurtul, the use of the one term or the other depending on cast. But amongst the Goands the term is Bhow, and their villages seem to be much on the same footing as those of Baugur, and probably the cause of their Wuttunnee rights may be the same in both cases, viz. that the Bheels in the latter and the Goands in the former form the indigenous population. But, again, the Goand Kursaus (Mr. Molony adds) have no more Wuttunnee rights than their Putteils, while the Bheels in Baugur are tenaciously attached to their hereditary rights.

Agreeably to Captain M'Donald, in Kauntel, which borders in Malwa, no officer similar to the Zemindar or Mundlooe exists. In Baugur the Putteils have no land rent free: no fees, dues, or shares of any portion of the land produce; but they are free from exactions, and when rents are collected a small remission of rent is made in their favor. In Kauntel the Putwarees have only a fixed monthly salary paid by Government. In the Ijarah villages this officer is nominated and paid by the renter.

In the villages of Dongerpore, Bullawa is the term given to the person exercising the duty of Bullye. He is always a Bheel taken from the wilder hordes that dwell in the Jungles—and he unites with the duties of Bullye those of watchman or choukeedar. He is not supposed to be acquainted with land marks, but he escorts all merchandize or property to the boundaries of his village. He is subsisted by a small spot of land rent free. The Pursaie is termed Ganmete in Pertabghur, and Josee in Dongerpore.

32. The settled and more respectable Kursaus, or hereditary cultivators of Malwa, have still many privileges, and enjoy much consideration; their title to the fields their forefathers cultivated is never disputed, while they pay the Government share. If they are unable from age, or want of means, to till their field, they may hire labourers, or make it over to another Ryot, bargaining with him, as they like, about the produce; but still the field is in the Government book in the name of its original cultivator. In general a fixed known rent, and established and understood dues, or fees, are taken from such persons, beyond which all demands are deemed violence and injustice. These, however, have been of late so universal in Malwa, that the condition of the hereditary cultivators, as compared with others, has been little enviable. Still their attachment to the fields their forefathers tilled, and the trees they planted, lead them to endure much; and, when they are compelled by extreme oppression to move, they are generally brought back, as it is considered the greatest misfortune that can befal a country to lose its hereditary Kursaus. Many of this class of cultivators in Malwa, notwithstanding changes and oppressions, arrive at very considerable wealth, and employ as far as forty and fifty ploughs,* after renting villages and speculating in waste lands, which, like the Wuttundars, they take, when they possess the means of reclaiming them, on leases for a certain number of years.

33. Rich Kursaus often take on mortgage part of the Nankar, or Enam lands of the village. It is also common for them to expend money in making a well, on a previous agreement, by which they receive in Moaffee, or free grant, a quantity of good and waste land, proportionate to an expenditure, which is at once beneficial to Government and to them, as it doubles and trebles the revenue of a number of fields, by converting them from Bunjin, or dry, to Arran or lands capable of irrigation.

34. The

* This implies cultivation of land from 1000 to 1250 beegahs, as one pair of oxen can till 25 beegahs.

34. The above description of Ryots are generally in Malwa called Junnee or Wuttunee Kursau, that is, old or native cultivators, but this term only applies when they cultivate the soil they have inhabited: If they cultivate, as they often do, lands of another village, they are called Pyakushti Kursau, or travelling cultivators.

35. When Ryots cultivate lands upon the latter terms, they possess no rights beyond their Pottah or agreement, which seldom extends to more than five years. In countries like Malwa, where for many years the population has been thin, and a great quantity of ground uncultivated, this description of Ryots had very advantageous terms; and have, in general, received much more liberal treatment in their settlement as Pyakusht, than as Wuttunee Ryots. The fact is, that with oppressive rulers, the pressure upon the Ryot is proportionate to what he will bear: nothing but the extreme of hardship could drive the native cultivator from the fields of his father; but to make him labour in other lands, he requires to be tempted with a prospect of greater profit. Pyakusht Ryots.

36. The next class of Kursaus, or cultivators in Malwa, are termed Sookwassee, or seekers of protection: These are cultivating labourers, who settle, as the name implies, for one, two, and three or more years, where they expect to be best treated. This class consists of men who have been driven from their homes by war, pestilence, or tyranny, quarrels with their relations, or from any serious misfortune. They enter into any engagements with the managers or renters of the country, in which they settle, taking such proportion of the produce as it suits his interest to give; but they have no immunities or rights, and are much at the mercy of those by whom they are employed. They, however, obtain rights through Pottahs, or written agreements; and, after two or three generations, the descendant of the original Sookwassee Kursau becomes one of the Wuttunee or native cultivators of the village which Sookwassee Ryots.

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he inhabits. It is a melancholy comment upon the past condition of Malwa, that a great proportion of its present cultivators are of this class; but the competition which now exists over this province for cultivators, though it makes numbers leave their condition of settled hereditary Kursaus to become Sookwassee Ryots, must terminate in the restoration of many waste tracts; and, finally, to the better settlement of these cultivators, with all the immunities which they are now induced, by oppression on one hand and interest on the other, to renounce.

Khasagee, or Royalty Villages, Jaghires, &c. &c.

37. Khasagee Gaon, or Royalty villages in Malwa, belong personally to the Prince and his family. These are generally managed by officers quite distinct from those of Government, and the accounts kept in the private office of the Ruler. The revenues of Jaghire (assignment either feudal or allodial to Princes or Nobles,) or Serinjam (temporary grants for the support of troops,) Enam or Nankar (free gifts,) generally hereditary, to dependent favorites, and to district and village officers, Khyraut or charitable grants (in perpetuity) to holy persons, or in endowments of religious establishments, are either collected by their respective proprietors, or rented to any person, native or foreigner, who agrees to give the sum demanded.

38. The alienation of land in Malwa, on account of Wuttundar rights, petty engagements, and for charitable purposes, is often very considerable. The village of Belloda, near Dhar, was measured at my desire; I found that it contained three thousand two hundred and seventy-nine begahs, of which seven hundred and seventy-seven begahs fourteen beeswas* were waste, occupied by the village and nullahs, or allotted for grass and pasture, and no less than five hundred and fifty-three begahs were alienated, leaving only one thousand eight hundred and forty-

* Beeswa, as the name implies, is the 20th part of a Begah.

ty-five begahs which pay rent, and of that amount, three hundred and twenty-eight begahs were fallow; so that the alienations,* which are stated in the margin, amounted to more than one third of the soil that is productive to the State. The only grants in this village, that appear excessive, are those to Brahmins, of one hundred and seventy-two begahs, and one hundred and fifty begahs to two Jemadars and five Choukedars; but the latter is the pay of these men, who are in fact the hereditary Sebundies, or soldiers of the village.

29. Though

* The following is the exact distribution of the lands of Belloda.

Nankar land given to 4 Putteils at 12½ Begahs each ...	5[illegible]	0
Free grant of land to PADEM SINGH ...	2[illegible]	0
Endhe to SEO LOL for service performed ...	1[illegible]	0
Charity land to Brahmins ...	1[illegible]	4
P[illegible], Jemadar of the Village, (Nankar) ...	[illegible]0	0
K[illegible], Jemadar ...	45	0
5 Choukedars for protection of the Village, 15 each ...	[illegible]5	0
Village Musician ...	15	0
Village Carpenter, Smith, Barber, Shoe-maker, Potter, &c. ...	86	10
2 Men who water the village cattle when water is scarce ...	20	0
Land attached to Houses and excused ...	24	15
Begahs	553	9

Major H[illegible] gives the particulars of the appropriation of the lands of four villages under his management, which are as follows:

SHUJAH[illegible]LPOOR BAROWUL.

No. of cultivated Beegahs ...	63[illegible]
Assessed by the Sirkar ...	516
Allowed in Enamee ...	120

ACCOUNT OF THE ENAM LANDS.

H[illegible] Pursye, or Gaonmote ...	3
G[illegible] Brahmin ...	3½
R[illegible], attendant at the Shrine of Kanhya ...	4½
J[illegible] Doss BYRAGEE ...	5¼
[illegible] Faquir ...	5¾
P[illegible] of the Village ...	[illegible]
Chummars ...	7½
[illegible] ...	[illegible]
Putteils, 3 Sharers ...	[illegible]
	120

IOLA.

39. Though the lands were assessed differently by the Mahratta governments in Malwa, according to the character of the person who exercised power, the mode of realizing the revenue varied little, as far as it related to the collections from the Kursaus, or cultivators. Buttye, or payment in kind, is very unusual, except with the Rajpoot principalities, and almost all the Ryots of the Mahratta rulers pay in money. The basis on

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POLA.

No of Cultivated Beghas,		989
Assessed by the Sirkar,	81[illegible]	
Allowed in Enamee,	177	

ACCOUNT OF THE ENAM LANDS.

Sunker Pursye or Gaonmote,	3½
Nagul Brahmin,	2
Balcund Brahmin,	2½
Narroo Poory Gossain,	3½
Toolsee Doss Byragee,	5
Lalla Gharpagarse,	5
Putwaree of the Village,	12½
Nana Gossain	[illegible]
Golab Shah Faquir,	4½
Balluck Doss Byragee,	4½
Mukesnee Raur Byragee,	4½
Pensioned family of a Grubtee murdered by Pindarries,	8
Bullyes,	12½
Chumars,	12½
Putteils, 3 Sharers	94
	177

BAIRSEAH.

BABACHKEA.

No. of Cultivated Beghas,		2650
Assessed by the Sirkar,	2434	
Allowed in Enamee,	216	

ACCOUNT OF ENAM LANDS.

Khoontrah, or managing Putteil,	42
Other Putteils,	32½
Putwaries,	38½
Chentamun Brahmin,	4½
Faquir attending the Durgah,	5¾
Ma[illegible]n Bhut Gossain,	26

on which settlements of revenue were generally founded,* was the Jureeb measurement. This is made of the Khureef crop when it is cut down, and of the Rubbee when it is about half a foot high, and is renewed every third year. The Merdah of the Pergunnah makes this measurement by begahs, with a coarse rope divided into yards†. The common begah of Malwa is sixty Guz Shahee, or royal yards long, and sixty in breadth. This measurement is seldom now made, except of lands that

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Attendant at the Shrine of Keenhya,	11¾
Bullyes,	10½
Ram Doss Byragee,	2½
Goolsee Brahmin, Pursye or Goanmote,	5¼
Mya Gheer Gossain,	5
Saad Baba Byragee,	3
Garh Pugaree, 2 Sharers,	5¼
Makund Jasle,	1¼
Bhopah, or attendant at the Shrine of the tutelary deity of the Village,	2
Moolee Bhasti Gossain,	¾
Chumars,	11
Gahties,	12½
	216

SOHAYA.

No. of cultivated Beegahs,	964
Assessed by the Sirkar,	854
Allowed in Enamee,	110

ACCOUNT OF ENAM LANDS.

Bugwan Doss Byragee,	21
Khootcah or managing Putteil, 2 Sharers,	25
Other Putteil,	12½
Faqeir attending the Durgah,	13
Ferra Doss Byragee,	6¾
Acabar Gheer Gossain,	5¼
Khumghire,	5
Rewa Brahmin,	¾
Nundram Brahmin,	¾
Bullyes	10
Chumars,	6½
Putwary Nernun Singh,	3
	110

* There are exceptions, as will be hereafter shewn, many tracts being assessed by the *yoke of oxen*, and some by the field, according to its usage rate in the book of the Registrar.

† He must measure with a standard yard, with the seal of the principal town of the Pergunnah affixed to each end.

are cultivated. The cultivated fields, included in this measurement,* have each of them a name, generally from some natural or artificial land-mark; as the mango-tree field, the five-tree field, the sweet-well field, the brackish-well field, the sheep-field, and they are often called by the name of the person who first brought them into cultivation, Ramjee's field, Omeid Singh's field. This latter appellation is more common, as it marks the ancestor of a cultivator; and, on the loss of Pottahs or leases, forms part of that claim to the land, which the Ryots in Malwa term, emphatically Jeeta Sunnud, or a living title-deed, implying thereby, that their right to the fields they till is living in the knowledge, or the memory, or in the traditions of the old inhabitants of their village.

40. When the lands are managed by the Government Officers, and usage is attended to, a village settlement is in general made through the Putteil. When rented, the renter, or rather those † to whom he under-rents the different districts and villages, trust for their profit to more minute

* It has been before stated, that under the Moghul Government every spot of soil, as well as the mountains, rivers, tanks and wells, were measured; a partial commencement of this excellent system has been made in Malwa, as preparatory to the allotment of lands for cultivation.

In almost all the Pergunnahs of Nimaur, there has been no measurement of land, except of Enam land, for the last century. The fields which are registered, and named, are rented and tilled according to usage, and former produce.

The occurrence of some disputes in our districts led me to direct a partial measurement, which created great uneasiness among the inhabitants; who treated it as an innovation, and claimed as a privilege their right to their fields as they stood in the books of the Kanoongoe, or Registrar of the district.

In the districts of Kantapore, Teeacâor and Nimâwar on the Nerbuddah, immediately west of Nimaur, the same usage regarding the assessment of fields prevails. When small dry grains, such as Jowar, Tillee, &c &c are sown, but if wheat or Chunna are cultivated, the cultivators are assessed according to the seed: a Maunee, which is calculated as enough for [illegible] beghas, is assessed, if the land is very good, at 35 Rupees, if poor at 30. The Maunee in this part of Goandwarrah is 12 maunds, of 32 seers each maund; this assessment amounts on common land to 1½ Rupee per begah.

† It is a common usage in Malwa, as in other Provinces of India, for a man of property to rent large countries, which he under-rents in districts and villages to others.

minute interference; and, though they may not be able to go on without the aid of the Putteil, they frequently make separate agreements with almost every Kursau; or, in other words, what is termed a Ryotwar settlement.

41. Neither the produce of land is in Malwa, the seasons (Khurreef and Rubbee), or the mode of cultivation, and the wells * by which the land is irrigated, differ in any considerable degree from those of other provinces of India.

42. The 1st of Bysack (April), which is the commencement of the agricultural year, is among the cultivators of Malwa, as in other parts, a day of rejoicing. They then commence their labors. The seed is usually sown by a drill plough, early in June, after the first fall of rain. This employs them for more than a month, and is a time of incessant labor. The busy occupations of the village community are encreased at this period, from its being the one for persons interested in the crops giving seed, making advances for purchases of bullocks, and settling for the rent of each field. When the grain has risen six or eight inches high, women

* The Persian wheel, with appended buckets or pots, is very common in Malwa; and sometimes large wide-mouthed leathern bags, terminating in a species of hose fastened by a string. Both these wheels are drawn by bullocks. The Persian wheel is worked by a second horizontal wheel, which has cogs that turn the vertical one, on which the buckets are suspended by ropes, that are sufficiently long to admit of their dipping into the water.

The leathern bag is worked by a pair of bullocks. The mound, or ramp, is built on one side of the well about six or seven feet above it (the elevation is according to that of the ground to be watered). There are two ropes to this bag, one of which is fastened to a stick across its mouth for drawing it up, and the other, fastened to the hose, empties the water. They are drawn over a pully and roller by the bullocks descending the slope from the ramp, and the draft, continuing upon the string attached to the hose after the top has been stopped by the pully, the former empties the water into the prepared channel, which is nearly on a level with the top of the ramp. After this bullocks are taught to trace back till the bag is again immersed in the water, in which it is partially sunk by a stone attached to one side of the top. A bag of this description, worked by a common pair of Malwa bullocks and a lad, draws the water for my garden from a well 44 feet deep. The bag contains 45 gallons, and is raised in a minute and a half; this gives 1,800 gallons an hour: and the bullocks work nearly 8 hours a day. A little grease must be occasionally applied to the pully; and the bucket and ropes, which cost about 10 rupees, requires to be renewed yearly.

women and children are employed in weeding, and a rude harrow is passed over the field three or four times.

Kist or Payments.

43. In the beginning of September, when the numerous grains planted at this season are all (except three or four) quite ripe, the Komisdar, or ruler of the district, sends for the persons who have had the management, or have rented the different lands, to make payment of the Punj

1st Kist.

Buree,* or first of the four kists or payments, in which the revenue is paid. A request of fifteen or twenty days' grace is generally made; and this, usage in Malwa has entitled them to receive. They proceed, or send agents, to the different villages, to collect from the cultivators. If the Ryot is able to pay his rent in cash, he takes the chance of the market for his grain; and this cause is the most profitable for him, otherwise he must have recourse to the common process of borrowing at high interest, or selling at low prices. In October the cultivators are busy with rearing the remaining crops of the preced-

2d Kist.

ing season. The same description of settlement is made in this month, as in September, for the payment of the second Kist.

44. In some of the Districts of Malwa, where Jowarree is the chief produce, the Khurreef crop is the principal, and the only one; and in these, instead of the collection of four Kists, the whole revenue is paid in November at the end of this harvest.

45. In the month of November the ground is prepared for the Rubbee crops; the opium, the sugar cane, and the grains of the Rubbee crop, are planted in December. They are reaped, except the sugar cane, (which takes a complete year to ripen) in three or four months.

3d Kist.

46. In the month of February the third Kist, or payment for the Rubbee harvest, is made, and by the end of March, the lease (which closes the Jummabundee

* This signifies five grains, which are at this period ripe.

Jumma-bundee for the year) is completed. The above applies to a great part of Malwa, but the number, as well as the dates of the payment of Kists, vary in different districts. In Pertabghur there are only three Kists: the first in November, the second in January, and the last in May. In Baugur there are two Kists only: the first in November, the second in March. 4th Kist.

47. In Malwa there are, speaking comparatively, few tanks or wells: nor are those streams, with which it abounds, used as much, as in most other Provinces of India, for purposes of irrigation. The consequence is, that rice, which is not much used, (seldom, if ever, by the lower classes) is not abundant, excepting in the countries of Dongerpore and Bhopal. The chief grains of the Khurreef are Jowarec and Mukhee, or Indian corn; in the Rubbee, wheat and gram. The soil is, throughout this Province, very rich, and manure not much used, except for tobacco, sugar cane, and opium; for all which it is requisite in great quantities.* Fields of Indian corn, barley and turmerick, when near villages, are sometimes manured to increase and improve the produce.

48. The rents of land in Malwa vary in almost every district. The revenue, as has been said, is usually paid in money; and, though the dues of the Zemindar, Kanoongo, and Putteil, and all Wuttundars, are in kind, it is clearly understood, that neither a manager or renter has a right, unless a previous agreement is made, to demand a Buttye, or grain settlement, which, however, is in some cases the only one the Ryot can make; but this can only occur in the poorest districts. When a Buttye settlement is agreed upon, the common usage is, after setting apart the seed and pay for labourers

Rents of Lands.

Buttye Settlement.

* The usual estimate for manure for a begah of opium, or sugar cane, is two rupees.

bourers,* to divide the produce into two, five, or four shares: sometimes the Government takes one half, at others two-fifths, and if moderate and just, as in the time of ALEA BABE, only one fourth; leaving, in all cases to the cultivator, the payment of duest† to the Putteil, and all the Wuttundars of his village.—These settlements are most common in the petty Rajpoot States west of the Chumbul.

Money Settlements. 49. In the money settlements, which are those principally in usage in Malwa, the assessments fixed by the first Mahratta Rulers in that province are represented as having been uncommonly moderate. This assessment varied according to the soil and the produce in every district. Aran, or irrigated lands in Malwa, which produced good crops of opium and sugar cane, rented from five and six to eight, and even ten, rupees per begah; garden grounds were nearly as high.‡ These rich lands, which, when divided into fields, are in Malwa generally hedged in, are watched with great care: their rents are in many parts nearly double to what they formerly were, but this is not more than the encreased price of the produce, from comparative scarcity, will bear. The same may be said of more of the grains in Malwa. The Maleet, or black soil land, of that Province, was in ALEA BABE's time, seldom reckoned as producing more to Government than one rupee; or when cultivated with the best crops, and near to a good market, at one rupee eight annas per begah.

* This is called K[illegible]ad. It is the grain given for the support of the cultivator, and the families and labourers employed during the harvest. The amount is settled according to the usage of the village; and a certain proportion of the coarser grain is served out to each individual.

† This varies. In some countries not only the Zemindar's, the Kanoongo's, but the Putteil's and all other shares are taken out of the gross amount before the division between the Government and cultivators.

‡ Among the other causes which produce a difference, water is one, some springs and streams being by the Natives considered more favorable to successful irrigation than others. This is particularly the case in the cultivation of opium. Some water, they affirm, gives a high flavor to that drug, while that from other wells (though apparently as good) does not.

begah. It is now rented, or settlements have been made with villages, at two rupees and two rupees eight annas; but the price of grain is more than doubled, so that the present rents may be considered almost as moderate as the former. The fact is, that neither the Mahratta or any other Hindu Government, have ever been immoderate or heavy in their assessments. Twenty-five, or, at the utmost, forty per cent. of the produce (after deduction of seed and labor) is as much as they consider it just to levy directly as revenue: but this is a small part of what, even in good times, falls upon the cultivators. They have to pay Zemindars' dues; Bheit, or contribution to Government officers; dues of Putteils, and other Wuttundars; village expences,* *for religious purposes*; and at feasts, money in lieu of forage; support of Government servants, who proceed to the village, or through it, on any duty; and the last of all, that dreaded head of Tuffreck, or contingencies, which is open to almost every species of charge, and is trifling or large, as the Government is just or oppressive. The following Table, framed from the village accounts at Naulcha, will shew pretty accurately the agricultural details of twenty-five begahs of different kinds of soil, and the various charges to which a cultivator is subject.

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* The heads of Ghur Khuruch, or village charges, to which all contribute, often vary. It includes alms to mendicants and devotees, offerings at the Temple, expences at the Dusserah, Hoolee and other Feasts, pay to Douars, &c.

KHUREEF CROP—10 BEGAHS.

EXPENCES.

	Rs.	As.
12½ Seer of Juar Seed for 5 Beghs.	1	4
7½ ditto Ourud ditto, 1 ditto...	0	12
7½ ditto Moong ditto, 1 ditto...	0	12
1¼ ditto Til ditto, ½ ditto...	0	2
1½ ditto Toowur ditto, ½ ditto...	0	4
3 ditto Chowrah ditto, ½ ditto...	0	2
30 ditto Flax ditto, 1 ditto...	1	0
10 ditto Cotton ditto, ½ ditto...	0	4
Weeding...	8	8
Hackery hire for harvest home and labor...	3	8
Village Expences and Establishment; viz.		
The Putteil, Putwarie, Bullye, Carpenter, Lohar, Barber, Washerman, Shoe-maker and Havildar, who, though always paid in kind, are here calculated to receive equal to..	12	12
Iron for Ploughs, Ropes & Labor,	8	0
Government Tax, at 2 Rupees per Begah...	20	0
Total Expence....	57	4

RECEIPTS.

	Rs.	As.
Sale of 2¼ Maunds of Juar.....	35	0
Ditto 3 ditto Ourud... ...	6	0
Ditto 3 ditto Moong... ...	6	12
Ditto 1 ditto Oil, &c. of Til.	3	0
Ditto 1½ ditto Toowur... ...	3	0
Ditto 1 ditto Chowrah.....	2	0
Ditto 3 ditto Flax..	7	8
Ditto 3 ditto Seed of ditto...	3	0
Ditto 1 ditto Cotton... ...	6	0
Nett Produce...	72	4
Deduct Charges...	57	4
Nett profit of the Ryot...	15	0

RUBBEE CROP—10 BEGAHS.

EXPENCES.

	Rs.	As.
1½ Maunds of Gram for 2 Beghs.	4	10
3 ditto & 30 seers of Wheat 5 do.	11	8
7½ ditto Barley, ½ ditto...	0	8
7½ ditto Musoor, ½ ditto...	0	10
7½ ditto Peas, ½ ditto..	0	9
3¼ ditto Linseed, ½ ditto..	0	5
15 ditto Koosm, 1 ditto..	1	4
Village expences and establishment, calculated at....	22	13
Harvest home and Washing. ...	2	12
Government Land Tax, at 2 Rupees per Begah...	20	0
Total Expence...	64	15

RECEIPTS.

	Rs.	As.
Sale of 6 Maunds of Gram....	16	0
Ditto 15 ditto Wheat... ...	40	0
Ditto 4 ditto Barley..	15	0
Ditto 2 ditto Musoor... ...	4	0
Ditto 2 ditto Peas...	4	0
Ditto 1½ ditto Linseed... ..	4	8
Ditto 7½ ditto Koosm...	7	8
Nett Produce...	91	0
Deduct Expences...	64	15
Nett profit...	26	1

GARDEN

GARDEN LANDS—5 BEGAHS.

EXPENCES.	Rs.	As.
OPIUM.		
1¼ Seer of Poppy Seed, for 1 Begah...	0	9
Weeding...	6	0
Manure... ... -- ...	2	0
Hire of 4 men for watching, &c.	12	0
Extracting the Opium... --	4	0
Village Establishment	1	8
Government Land Tax, at 7½ Rupees per Begah, ...	7	8
	33	9
SUGAR CANE.		
Canes sufficient for 1 Begah,	24	0
Leathern Bucket for drawing water, ...	5	0
Rope, ...	1	0
Iron, ...	0	8
Two men for watching Fields,	6	0
Hemp Ropes, ...	0	8
Manure, ...	2	0
Hire of Men, Weeding and Planting, ...	9	0
Fences, ...	2	0
Labor for pressing Juice, ...	2	8
Cutting Canes for planting, ...	1	0
Clearing ditto of leaves, ...	3	0
Iron pot for boiling Juice, ...	2	8
Fire-wood, -- ...	1	0
Hakery hire, ...	1	0
Watering the field, ...	6	0
Village dues, ...	6	9
Government Land Tax, at 7½ Rupees per Begah, ...	7	8
Total	81	1
RICE.		
4¼ Seers of Rice for 1 Begah,	2	0
Watering 3, Weeding 4, Manure 2-8, ...	9	8
Village Establishment, ...	1	8
Government Land Tax, ...	4	0
Total,	17	0
INDIAN CORN.		
20 seers of Indian Corn, for 2 Begahs, ... -- ...	2	0
Watering and Cutting, ...	6	0
Weeding 6, and Manure 4 Rs.	10	0
Village Establishment, ...	3	0
Government Land Tax, ...	10	0
Total	31	0
Total expence,	162	10

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	As.
* Sale of 2½ seer of Opium, at 16 each, - - -	40	0
Ditto Poppy Seed, - -	4	0
Ditto 4½ maunds of coarse Sugar, - - -	84	8
Ditto 9 ditto Rice, -	24	0
Ditto 24 maunds of Indian Corn, - - -	48	0
Nett Produce,	200	8
Deduct Expences,	162	10
Nett profit for the Ryot,	37	14

* Opium has attained this extravagant price within the last three years: Its usual rate was 5 and 6 Rupees the seer.

Total profit to the Ryot during the whole year, ... 78 15

50. From

50. From the above statement it would appear, that the Ryot only gains three rupees per begah, and has about six rupees and a half to live upon per month; but there are a variety of incidental advantages not taken into this account: for instance, if the Ryot has any family, they will of course be employed in performing many duties, which in this calculation are charged as labor; there is also nothing carried to account for the sale of Boossa, and other dry forage, which often sells, particularly in the vicinity of a town, at a good price.

51. The terms given to Kursaus in Malwa, who have recently agreed to take waste land, have been regulated by the soil, and the time it has been *fallow*:—some lands, that have been only a short time out of cultivation, are calculated to recover in one or two years; while others require a much longer period.

52. The inhabitants of the district of Naulcha, which has been desolate only eighteen years, and the soil of which is remarkably good, are quite content with receiving the lands from the Dhar State rent free for the first year; four annas for the second; eight the third; twelve the fourth; and one rupee the fifth; after which the lands become liable to the Kumal Jummah, or full assessment.

53. The waste district of Maunpore, belonging to Dowlut Row Scindiah (twelve miles S. W. of Mhow,) which has been desolate for upwards of thirty years, and is much overgrown with jungle, has been re-inhabited in consequence of the Government* agreeing to give to its former cultivators, or rather (with few exceptions) their descendants, the lands free for three years, and after that the same progressive rise, as at Naulcha, till the seventh year.

54. In

* I obtained Dowlut Row Scindiah's authority to settle Maunpore, and have paid great attention to it; its restoration being an object very essential to the plans in progress for civilizing the Bheel tribes in its vicinity, and who, till lately, have found shelter in its jungles.

54. In some Pottahs* or assignments, granted for countries recently brought into cultivation, the settlement is only for the actual land rent, leaving all other taxes, ordinary and extraordinary, to be fixed, when prosperity is restored, according to the usage of the Pergunnah.

55. The lands of the Mahrattah Rulers in Malwa are usually rented; and as many of the renters are Sahocars, and all are supported by that class, these

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* The following is the translation of a Pottah or grant of this nature, granted for some desolate villages close to the cantonment of Mhow.

Grant from Mulhar Row Holkar, through Suddee Udeen Havildar, Kominder of the Pergunnah of Indore in the Sirkar of Oujein, to the renter *Kooshal Singh*, the *relative of Lalla Khealee Ram.*

The village of S[illegible]a, and other villages, are by the advice of the Mundloee and Kanoongo given to you this year 1228 Fuzlee, and to the year 1232, that is five years, with the exception however of the Bheit and Damee charges, and dues of Zemindars, and all others who have rights, and those who have free lands, and the dues of Government officers, and all other claims of this nature.

	Year of the Fuzlee.	Rups.
The Village of Seoda A. F.	1228	5
" "	1229	30
" "	1230	70
" "	1231	125
" "	1232	201
Village of Kaloba A. F.	1228	1
" "	1229	12
" "	1230	25
" "	1231	45
" "	1232	91
Ditto Jumlee A. F.	1228	5
" "	1229	25
" "	1230	61
" "	1261	106
" "	1232	161
Total 3 villages for 5 years,		963

This amount for three villages, 963 rupees Revenue for five years, must annually (according to the dates and rates fixed in the district) be paid into the Government Treasury, and the receipts taken. They will be liable to all taxes imposed generally in the Pergunnah; but the fruit trees and grass are given generally to the renter:—the Ryots must be well treated, and the village restored. If there is failure from want of exertion, or non-cultivation, it is at the sole risque of the renter. The Government will fulfil its engagements. N. B. This agreement is merely for what is called the Ayeen Jummah, or actual Revenue; all dues, rights, and extraordinaries, are left to be settled according to the usage of the Pergunnah.

these money-brokers have acquired and maintained an influence, both in the councils of the State and the local administration of the provinces, that gives them great power, which they solely direct to the object of accumulation.

56. The richest of this class mix in the petty revenue details of the smallest village: the advance they make for seed to cultivators, who are not of sufficient substance to keep a store of grain, is considered less a loan, than the subscription of a certain portion of stock, for a share in the profit. They claim, by usage, in good seasons, one and a half for one, or fifty per cent. in kind; but this claim is liable to deduction and partial failure. They sometimes deem themselves fortunate in obtaining an equal return, for what they advanced; and entire loss of that, even, is not unfrequent when the crops are destroyed, as the cultivators are too poor to give them hopes of any future recovery of the amount.—The grain, which Sahokars give for the support of the cultivators, their families, and labourers, with whom they have engagements, during the harvest months, is also returned in kind,—sometimes at one and a half, but more frequently one and a quarter seer, for the seer that had been advanced.

57. The reason given for the rate of interest being lower upon this advance than the one for seed is, that the seed includes opium, and the valuable grains, wheat, gram, &c. and that the hazard, both in the price and the keeping such in store for the year, is much more considerable than what is incurred on the small advances made of the low priced grain of Jowaree and Mukhee, which are those with which they supply the labourer for food. For money advanced to buy bullocks or implements of husbandry, the common charge of interest is two per cent. per mensem, which is not immoderate, considering the risk incurred by the Sahokar.—Major HENLEY states, that, on the failure of the

the crops for two successive years from frost, the Sahokars and grain merchants of Shujawalpore and Bairseeah voluntarily relinquished all profits and advances for seed grain. This connection between the most sordid* of all natives and the industrious cultivators has generally the effect of keeping the latter poor, but saves them from ruin: as that would involve a loss, if all the Sahokars had ventured on the produce of their labor.

58. The leases of countries under the Mahratta Governments in Malwa, were formerly often for a period of ten, twelve, and even twenty and thirty years; which gave the renter an interest in the improvement of the country, that he cannot have under short leases. The respect for some renters has been so great, that large districts have been, through the most troubled periods, rented to their families. Thus, the rich Pergunnahs of Mundisore and Katchwda have been held for nearly seventy years by APPAH GHUNGADHUR, his father WUTTOBAH, and his grand-father BALABAH.† Many

* Many of the Sahokars and Bunniahs of Malwa have departed from the cautious habits, which belong to their tribe; and, taking a character from the hazardous times in which they lived, have become desperate speculators and gamblers. The practice of Cowrie Sath Sowdah has been, and still is, very common. It consists of one Sahokar, or Bunneah, giving, before the harvest, another a Cowrie as a pledge, that he will give him a specific price, at a certain date, for a specific quantity of grain. No papers pass; but the grain is entered in the books of both as bought and sold. When the date comes, the parties settle. Sometimes the grain is given, but the difference is generally paid as in stock-jobbing concerns, which this nearly resembles as affecting the morals of the monied men. Respectable Rulers discountenance and forbid this species of gambling, which has a more pernicious form when it extends to the Zemindars and cultivators. When such are distressed by a demand of advances, or any other cause, they apply to one of these gambling money-bankers, who agrees to take their grain for the ensuing year at a fixed rate, and all kinds of frauds and arts are practised to make their concern ruinous to the landholders who often part with their crops for a little ready money, at half or two thirds of their value. This practice is called Jillulee, and prevails much in Malwa, though always reprobated as a disreputable transaction.

† They have been the real renters; though, till within a few years, the name of RAHIM BEG and his son were in the Pottahs, or leases, as nominal managers. This fine country was committed by MADAJEE SCINDIAH to ADIL BEG; and BALABAH, the grand-father of the present renter, from being the Dewan and sole manager of this Chief, was soon looked upon by the Durbar as the responsible man. He is known under the name of BALLOBAH MEERZA, from his relation to a Mahomedan superior.

Many of the under-renters in this province had leases for thirty, forty, and fifty years, of different villages; and it is to this system, that they have owed their singular prosperity. Noyle, a neighbouring District to Katchrode, has been rented by the Brahmin family of Boscottah for more than thirty years. These are, however, exceptions of the general system of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, whose other possessions in Malwa change masters every year, and sometimes oftener. * Under HOLKAR's Government

* There cannot be a stronger example than what has occurred at Oujein; since A. D. 1818, there have been no less than three managers appointed to that country, within that short time. The present MAUN SINGH PUTTANKUR has also the fine countries called the Punj Mahal of Gohud, Godree, Powagkur, &c. These he under-rents; and the following agreement, into which he entered with two Porahs, KUREEM and UDUM, men of bad character, will shew on what terms.

Grant of the Punj Mahal for the year Summut 1876 to 1880, both years inclusive.

"All expence of collection and Sebundy to be borne by the renters; a clear sum of two lacs thirty-two thousand rupees per annum to be paid, in Oujein rupees, to PUTTANKUR in six instalments. Two lacs and thirty-two thousand rupees per annum to be paid for two years, viz. 1876 and 1877; but for the remaining three years of the lease, 1878, 1879 and 1880, there will be an increase of seventeen thousand rupees, that is to say, the rent to be paid at Oujein will be two lacs and forty-nine thousand.

"The Borahs to pay fifteen thousand rupees annually *(in addition to the rent)* for the expences of the Fort of Powarghur. *The balance of collection of 1875, which may be in the hands of the cultivators, is given to the Borahs, excepting* such sums as PUTTANKUR may have disposed of by orders. *The* Borahs are permitted to make demands, according to former usage, from the Zemindars, Kanoongos, Wuttendars, &c. &c.

"As the grant was not given until after five months of the year 1876 had elapsed, and the Borahs pay for the whole of that year, they will receive the collection for those five months from the former manager KEYSOON RAM, paying him five months' salary at the rate of ten thousand rupees per annum, and his Sebundy expences for five months; and if KEYSOO PUNT has collected more than he ought, a deduction from the rent will be admitted.

"As the Ghassees (a tribe of Ryots) are considered guilty of offences;—as KEYSOO PUNT has profited by purchases he was entrusted to make for the Sirkar;—as LALLA DESSYE is charged with a defalcation, the Borahs, if they realize the Sirkar's demands from these individuals, will be allowed as follows: Half of what is received from the Ghassees, ten per cent. of what is realized from KEYSOO PUNT, twenty-five per cent. of what is recovered from LALLA DESSYE.

"A Karkoon of PUTTANKUR's to remain with the Borahs, but not to interfere. The Borahs are to pay him five hundred rupees annually, allow him the provision of two persons, provide two attendants for him, also a horse. All this expence to be borne by the Borahs. The Borahs to feed two elephants and twenty-five horse of PUTTANKUR.

"The Borahs will not be turned out; but they must not make any evasions or play any tricks. They must keep the Ryots in temper, and the Pergunnahs cultivated, &c."

This

ment the renting system prevailed; and it was the usage of Alea Bahe's time to grant long leases.* At present, the greatest proportion of the lands are in Amanee, or management of Government officers, and will probably remain so till they have regained that condition, at which a fair valuation of their revenue can be made. These remarks upon the usage of renting lands apply equally to Dhar and Dewass, as to those of Scindiah and Holkar.

59. The land in Malwa is perhaps as good as any in India, being almost all black rich soil. There is comparatively little rice in this province. The great produce is Jowaree, or millet; next to it are wheat and Chenna (gram). There are many rivers and small streams, but their water is less used* for the purposes of irrigation than in almost any country in India. There are four tanks, but many wells, which supply garden grounds, the opium and sugar-cane fields, as well as those of barley, Indian corn, and other grains that require it. Wheat, Jowaree, &c. are sometimes supplied with water, when that is convenient, and the produce is much increased; but the great proportion of these grains in Malwa grow without water, except from rain, which generally sets in early in June, and continues, with intermission, to the end of September.

60. It is a remarkable fact, attested by all I have spoken to, of the older and most respectable inhabitants, that though the crops have been diminished by too much or too little rain,—though they have often suffered more

This loose deed was for a rent beyond what the country could pay, but it gives, almost in express terms, a latitude for plunder; which was acted upon, as such, by the worthless men to whom it was granted. These, after every species of oppression, fled, owing to a large arrear of revenue, at the approach of another renter equally rapacious.

* I never saw a country with so few dams in its rivers. That there are none on the Chumbul may be in some degree accounted for by the general height of its banks above the water. But there seems to prevail a belief, that such an undertaking would not be fortunate. There are two wheels for drawing water from the Chumbul at Kotah, and the remains of one at Goojurdah near Rampoorah. At the Ahor Ghaut are the only remains to be found of a dam for irrigation; and its construction is attributed to supernatural power, and called Bheem's Bridge.

more severely (as within the last two years) from sharp cold winds and frost, which blight the grain, a complete failure is not within the memory of man; nor does any record of it exist. Grain, from incidental causes, has been at times dear, but, except when actually destroyed by armies, it has always been in sufficient quantity to support the inhabitants of the Province, who have never, except from the consequences of war, been exposed to that most dreadful of all human miseries, a famine.* This they impute to the great variety of the grains produced, to the comparative mildness of the climate, the richness of the soil, and their principal crops being raised without irrigation.

61. In examining a number of village records, the produce of grain appears to differ very much in different soils, and still more in particular grains. Wheat, when the fields are irrigated, produces nine fold; and when not, the calculation is, that it gives very little more than half. Jowaree† is very fruitful, returning from fifty to seventy-fold; and it is the usage in Malwa to sow small quantities of Toowur, Oorud, Moong, Mussoor, and other kinds of pulse, in the same field with the Jowaree; which they do not in the least degree injure. Chenna in Malwa usually yields from five to seven fold. Barley is not grown in any large quantities, as it requires irrigation; its return is calculated at seventy-fold. Bajirah is a scarce grain in this Province, though in fruitfulness of return it is nearly the same as Jowaree; giving, according to most calculations, about sixty-fold. The Mukhaw, or Indian corn, which is much grown in this Province, is most fruitful, giving from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-fold.‡ 62. By

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* This was the case A. D. 1803 and 1804, when the whole country was overrun by Horse; almost all cultivation had ceased; and the green crops, that were cultivated, were almost all destroyed; a failure (during which a great number perished) was the consequence.

† It is stated in one paper of notes, that the return is not more than thirty-six-fold, and this no doubt differs with the soil.

‡ These calculations are made upon the comparison of the seed necessary for a begah with the average

62. By a comparative table, made in 1817, of different grains in the Provinces to the north and south of the Nerbuddah, it appears that at the most western towns of the valley of the Nerbuddah (Seonee and Tomboornee) grain sold cheaper than in any part of Malwa or Nimaur.

63. The quarters in Malwa, where grain was at that period, and always is, most abundant, were the Punj Mahal of Ashta, Sehore, Dureah, Deapore, and Jehawur to the east, and Mundisore, Katchrode, Seeta Mow, Jowra, Rutlam, and Nolye to the west. Seventeen* years ago, wheat and Chenna were sold in the plentiful provinces of Malwa, at fifty and sixty seers the rupee; Oorud and Moong, at sixty; and Jowaree

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average return. The following is the calculation of an intelligent Putteil.

Jowar, ...	2½	Seers produce from to 6 to	9	maunds of 20	Seers,
Moong, ...	1½	5 —	7	ditto	ditto,
Mucka, ...	7½	36 —	48	ditto	ditto,
Tillee, ...	1½	4 —	6	ditto	ditto,
Kupas, (cotton) ...	7½	4 —	6	ditto	ditto,
Kusumb, ...	2½	12 —	17	Seers,	
Oorud, ...	7½	6 —	12	maunds	ditto,
Soleeah, ...	7½	2 —	6	ditto	ditto,
Choslee, ...	25	24 —	36	ditto	ditto,
Choped, ...	4	3[illegible] —	48	ditto	ditto,
Kolsa, ...	2½	24 —	36	ditto	ditto,
Sunn, ...	30	4 —	6	ditto	ditto,
Toowur, ...	2½	6 —	12	ditto	ditto.

Note.—There are two ways used in rice cultivation; the Choolic, when sown broad, cast like other seed, and the Cheopul when sown for transplanting.

DRY CROP.

Wheat, ...	30	seers produce from 6 to	12	maunds of 20	seers,
Chenna, ...	25	... ... 6 —	12	ditto	ditto,
Barley, ...	10	... ... 36 —	48	ditto	ditto,
Buttanee, ...	20	... ... 6 —	12	ditto	ditto,
Mussoor, ...	25	... ... 6 —	12	ditto	ditto,
Ulsee, ...	7½	... ... 3 —	6	ditto	ditto,
Uphoo, or Poppy seed,	2½	.... Opium, 2 —	4	seers.	
		Seed, 1 —	1½	maunds.	

* The price of grain is already much below what it was last year. The annexed Nerukhs taken from the Indore books will shew the Bazar prices in Alla Bace's time and at present.

Average

Jowarce at one hundred and twenty seers the rupee. Twenty-four years ago, it is asserted that CHOTA KHAN, the Dewan of Bhopal, bought wheat and Chenna at the unheard-of price of one hundred and twenty seers the rupee; but this was less, perhaps, from abundant produce than his strict regulations to prevent exportation, in order to secure its being sold at such rates, as would enable him to combine the keeping up an army with a system of economy. These facts will shew that Malwa has been very abundant; and the soil in few parts requires much labor: its present want is cultivators, and many years must elapse before they are, in any proportion, to restore to prosperity the wide tracts of waste lands in this province.

64. The

Average Price Current at Indore of Grain and Goods sold by the Maunee of two hundred an forty pucka Seers, in the time of ALEA BAEE and in the year 1820.

Kind of Goods.	*Quality.*	*Each Maunee in Alea Bae's time.*			*Each Maunee in 1820.*		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Wheat, ...	1st kind,	0	0	0	15	4	0
Ditto, ...	Inferior,	5	8	0	13	10	0
Jowar, ...	——	2	14	6	11	0	0
Gram, ...	——	5	5	0	13	7	0
Indian Corn, ...	——	5	15	0	10	0	0
Toowur, . . .	——	7	0	0	very little or none grown.		
Bajerah, . . .	——	4	8	9	19	0	0
Mussoor, . .	——	3	14	9	12	0	0
Moong, . . .	——	4	13	9	12	0	0
Peas, . . .	——	4	3	6	11	0	0
Oorud, . . .	——	5	2	3	14	0	0
Rice in Husk, . .	——	6	11	0	14	8	0
Rice, . . .	Cleaned,	13	5	0	24	0	0
Toowur, . . .	Split,	12	11	0	23	5	0
Moong, . . .	Ditto,	6	1	0	15	0	0
Mussoor, . .	Ditto,	5	2	0	15	0	0
Gram, . . .	Ditto,	10	6	0	21	5	0
Wheat Flour, . .	——	4	14	0	22	15	0
Goor, or coarse Sugar, .	Better kind,	22	8	0	36	0	0
Ditto, . . .	Inferior,	18	8	0	26	0	0
Salt, . . .	——	8	12	0	14	0	0
Coriander Seed, . .	——	4	3	0	25	0	0
Tillee ditto, . .	——	10	4	0	27	0	0
Rumelly ditto, . .	——	6	3	8	22	0	0
Linseed, . .	——	6	7	0	22	12	0
Poppy Seed, . .	——	9	1	0	25	0	0
Cotton Seed, . .	——	3	5	6	8	0	0

N. B. A Maunee is twelve Maunds Kutcha, or 240 Seers.

TABLE

64. The rent of land is, in all the districts of Malwa, fixed accord-
ing

TABLE 2D.

Average Price Current at Indore of Goods sold by the Maunee of 40 Pucka Seers, in the time of Alea Baee, and in the present Year 1820.

Kind of Goods.	Quality of Goods.	Each Maunee in Alea Baee's time.			Each Maunee in 1820.		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Sugar, ...	... Benares, ...	11	15	0	17	8	0
Ditto, ...	... Rajhporee, ...	6	0	0	14	6	0
Ditto, ...	... Bhopal, ...	6	1	0	13	5	4
Ghee, (melted Butter),	... ...	8	13	0	19	8	0
Linseed Oil, ...	... ...	4	7	3	11	0	0
Sweet Oil of Till,	... ...	5	6	0	11	6	0
Mustard Oil,	... ...	9	5	0	None produced.		
Honey, ...	... ...	5	9	0	8	0	0
Almonds, ...	... Raguzee, ...	19	7	0	30	0	0
Ditto, ...	... Nooktee, ...	17	10	6	22	8	0
Ditto, ...	... Reshta, ...	16	5	8	20	0	0
Cinnamon, ...	... ...	60	6	0	67	8	0
Dates. ...	... Dried, ...	8	11	0	10	0	0
Chironjee Nut,	... ...	10	12	0	20	0	0
Lotus Seed, ...	... ...	13	6	8	20	0	0
Turmeric, ...	... Inferior, ...	3	8	0	4	7	4
Ditto, ...	... Superior, ...	6	14	0	7	4	6
Balawah Nut for dying,	... ...	2	6	0	3	0	0
Black Pepper, ...	... .	20	15	0	30	0	0
Ditto ditto, ...	... Boothampore, ...	31	0	0	None procurable		
Cotton, ...	... ...	11	5	0	26	8	0

TABLE 3D.

Average Price Current at Indore of Goods sold by the Seer in Alea Baee's time, and in 1820.

Pistacio Nuts,		1	1	9			
Dried Apricots,	Cutlgojah,	1	4	6	None procurable,		
Ditto Ditto, ...	Inferior, ...	0	15	4	0	12	0
Kushoo Nuts, .		0	8	0	0	8	0
Dried Figs,	...	0	15	0	0	12	0
Dried Plantains,	Dekanee,	0	7	6	0	8	0
Almonds shell'd,	Surat,	0	0	0	2	0	0
Cloves, ..	.. .	6	5	3	4	6	0
Cardamums,	Large,	6	6	0	4	4	0
Saffron, ..	... ..	63	8	0	86	10	0
Mace, ...		28	14	0	8	0	0
Nutmeg, ...		10	14	0	5	8	0
Cocoa Nut,	...	0	7	0	0	10	6
Sandal Wood, .	White,	0	15	0	0	11	0
Ditto Ditto,	Red,	0	5	0	0	8	0
Raisins, ...	Monukka, ...	0	15	0	0	8	0
Ditto, ..	Kismiss, ...	0	14	0	0	8	0
Rubibs, ..	...	0	14	6	2	8	0
Sugar Candy,	Of Indore,	0	6	0	0	7	0
Ditto, ..	Culpee,	0	8	6	0	9	6
Ditto, ...	Surat,	0	15	0	None procurable,		

It is curious to remark that *Spices* are the only articles which appear to have diminished in price since Alea Baee's time, and that in a most extraordinary degree. This must arise, either from there being a much greater facility in importing them, as well as an increase in the quantity; or else there are fewer people who can afford to consume these articles. The latter is the cause assigned by the most intelligent Natives.

ing to the soil and season. In Shujawalpore* cotton land varies in the rent paid to Government from four rupees eight annas to one rupee twelve annas according as it is low and well irrigated, or high and stony. The rent † of a begah of rich irrigated ground, for the common grain of Jowar, is four rupees; while light unwatered land only lets for one rupee and eight annas. Sugar-cane, which can only be produced in irrigated land, pays according to the description of the plant, from four to seven rupees the common begah. The expences of cultivating one begah of white sugar-cane, calculated for three seasons, one good, one tolerable, and one bad, are shewn by the annexed Table. ‡—A second crop from the old roots of the sugar-cane is assessed at half of what is paid for the first crop.

65. The

* Many of the minute facts relating to the institutions, soil, and produce of this district, and those of Bhopal, are from observations made on the spot by Lieut JOHNSON, a very intelligent Officer employed under Major HENLEY.

† I find it stated in answer to a query regarding the usual rent taken in the HOLKAR territories during the time of ALFA BAEE, that the best irrigated garden ground was seldom let for more than four or five rupees per begah; that good wheat land, but not watered, was from one rupee four annas to one eight per begah. The demand of the Government beyond this seldom exceeded one, or two annas per begah.

‡ EXPENCES.

	Rs.	A.	P.
3 Biswas of Bat or Sugar-cane cuttings, ...	3	0	0
Interest on 25 rs. at 24 per cent. per annum, ...	6	0	0
Hire of men for planting and scraping, ...	[illegible]	0	0
1 Man for watering 8 months, at 3 each, ...	24	0	0
Cutting and paring at the rate of 1 rupee for twelve thousand, on a calculation of thirty thousand canes to a begah, ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cutting Canes to pieces and giving fuel to furnace, two men for ten days, ...	4	0	0
Oil for working at night, ...	1	[illegible]	0
Hire of an iron vessel for 10 days, at 3 annas per day, ...	1	14	0
A suit of clothes for the man who puts the Canes into the Mill, ...	1	8	0
A pair of Shoes, ...	0	8	0
A Man for driving the Bullocks at the Mill, ...	1	0	0
Carpenter at 2½ Kutcha Seers for ten days, ...			
Koombar, Hukdars and village Chumar, Barber, village Carpenter, Iron Smith 2½ each for ten days. 3 Maunds 3 Seer. Proprietor of the wooden part of the Mill hire for ten days at 2½ Seers, 25 Seers dues to the Proprietor of the Stone Mill at 2½ Seers Kutcha for ten days, 25 Seers, ...	11		

5 Hakaries

65. The mode of preparing the ground and compressing the sugar is no way different from that so often described in other parts of India.

Opium

	Rs.	As.	P.
5 Hakories of wood for fire, ...	2	8	0
Dues of Sirkar, ...	4	4	0
Hire of Ploughs, ...	2	3	0
Total Expences,	93	2	0
RECEIPTS.			
5 Maunees or 60 Maunds Goor Kutcha. at 27 rs. per Maunee, ...	13[illegible]	0	0
Deduct Expences, ...	93	8	0
Total Profit of a begah,	41	14	0
If an indifferent year 4 Maunees of Goor at 27 rs. each, ...	108	0	0
Deduct Expences, ...	93	2	0
Total Profit,	14	14	0
If a very bad year 2½ Maunees at 27 Rs.	67	8	0
Expences, ...	93	2	0
Loss to the Ryot,	25	10	0

In the Punj Mahal of Godra, sugar-cane ground pays a much higher rent. The following Table exhibits the expences of cultivation in these fine provinces.

	Babashey Rs.	A.	P.
Canes sufficient for 1 Begah, ...	37	8	0
20 Cart Loads of Manure, ...	10	0	0
2½ Maunds of Khul,*	10	0	0
Leather Bucket and Rope, ...	10	0	0
Hire of Laborers for planting and weeding, ...	30	0	0
Two Men for laboring at the Well and afterwards at the Press, one at 4 rs. per month, and the other at three do. for 8 months, ...	56	0	0
Hukdars of the Village, altogether 3 Maunds of Goor, ...	9	0	0
Rent to the Sirkar, ...	22	0	0
Iron Boiler and Fire-wood, ...	5	0	0
Total Expence,	189	8	0
RECEIPTS.			
If a plentiful Harvest, 93 Maunds of Goor, at 3 per Maund, ...	279	0	0
If an indifferent Harvest, 83 ditto, ...	249	0	0
If a very bad Harvest, 63 ditto ditto, ...	189	0	0

The cultivator's profit is 90 rupees in a good season, sixty in an indifferent, and in a bad year the expences are just paid.

* The Khul above mentioned is the stalk of the oil plant, which after the oil has been expressed is used to line the bottom of the trench or channel through which the water passes from the well into the cane-field.

Opium is also irrigated, and produced in the same manner as in Behar and other Provinces. The juice is gathered from the poppy in a small brass pot, or cocoanut-shell, containing in general a little linseed oil: it is next pressed together in larger pots, and left in the linseed oil, till after the rainy season, when it is removed, and being formed into flat cakes of about three or four inches diameter, and one thick, and well sprinkled with the dried leaves of the poppy, is exposed, under shade, to the air till sufficiently dry for sale. It is seldom adulterated till it passes into the hands of the smaller merchants; the usual additions being, then, pounded leaves, Katechu, cow-dung, coarse sugar, &c., which are easily detected by incineration.—The average price, in Malwa, of prepared opium was from five to six rupees the pucka seer of eighty rupees weight. The rate paid to Government for each begah is regulated by the nature of the soil, the crop reaped before, the facility of irrigation, and whether only for opium or a mixed crop, the latter paying only from one and a half to three or four rupees, the former often from five to ten rupees the begah; but, though this is high, the culture of opium and sugar-

* Each begah, according to these circumstances, produces from one to five or six pucka seers of marketable opium, but the following estimate of expence and return of a begah of opium, made for three years, one good, one tolerable, and one bad season, will shew the profit and loss of its cultivation at the period when the price of the drug is usually high.

EXPENCES.

	Rs.	As.	Pie.
5 Seers of Opium Seed - - -	0	9	0
Manure, including conveyance - -	2	0	0
Expences of watching the crops, - -	4	0	0
Weeding, ploughing, sowing, &c. - -	6	0	0
Gathering the opium and expences of wounding the poppies, -	4	0	0
Watering the fields nine times, - -	6	0	0
Oil for putting the juice of the Poppy in when scraped -	1	0	0
Rent to the Sirkar, - - -	6	0	0
Total Expence,	29	9	0

Good

sugar-cane, which is never undertaken but by substantial Ryots, is deemed the most profitable of all the branches of husbandry.

66. Among the cultivators in Malwa, a rich Putteil may have one or two mares, from which he breeds, selling their produce; but this is rare. Cattle, cows, and buffaloes are kept by all who can afford them; they add to their means of living, and of paying their revenue, as they sell what they have beyond their wants of milk, butter and ghee. This, deducting the costs of the animals, is clear profit; for though they usually

GOOD YEAR.

RECEIPTS.

5 Seers Pucka	40	0	0
Sale of Seed, 3 Maunds,	4	0	0
	44	0	0
Deduct Expences,	29	9	0
	14	7	0
Deduct village dues	1	8	0
Nett profit to the Ryot, rupees	12	15	0

TOLERABLE YEAR.

7 and a half Seers Kutcha,	30	0	0
Sale of Seed,	2	11	0
	32	11	0
Deduct Expences,	31	1	0
Nett profit to the Ryot, rupees	1	10	0

BAD YEAR.

5 Seers Kutcha are sometimes the whole produce,	20	0	0
Seed sold for,	2	0	0
Loss to the Ryot,	9	1	0
Total Expences,	31	1	0

Opium, as well as other produce in a bad season, must sell dearer than in a tolerable one, and dearer in a tolerable than in a good one. The Ryot's profit and loss cannot, therefore, be correctly estimated in Tables where one price of sale has been adopted throughout, because it is difficult to calculate the fluctuation which arises from the state of crop and demand.

usually keep a small Bheer or reserve of pasture near their fields for their milch cows and buffaloes, and their plough oxen, these graze at large during the greatest part of the year, in the extensive waste pasture lands, without paying any duty to Government. Sheep are pastured near the village by the shepherds, who invariably form part of the inhabitants: upon these, when sold in flocks, as well as upon bullocks, a tax is paid*. This is never taken on cows. In Hindu Governments, like those of Malwa, it would be deemed sacrilege to take duty either upon the sale or transfer of that sacred animal. In the fields, forests, and jungles, belonging to the lands of a village, trees that produce fruit or intoxicating liquor, such as the Am (Mango) and Mowa (Bassia), are either the property of individuals or rented. In either case the Sirkar has a right to fruit and timber, though it is sold to all others. The intoxicating drink from the Mowa, and all spirituous liquors, pay a distinct tax to the Government, or the person who rents or manages the village. From the forests, where the wood is valuable, as in some parts of Malwa, a considerable tax is collected.

67. When the Mahrattas first established themselves in Malwa, they collected the Sic Desmooky, or ten per cent., and the Chout, or quarter, which amounted to thirty-five per cent. upon the Government share of the revenue. This amount was divided into the Babuttee, Sahootra, and Mookassa, as in other countries subject to that predatory nation. But, since they have become actual rulers of the country, these forms have been discontinued. The revenue is now collected, and carried

Collection of Revenue.

to account, under the usual heads of Ayeen Jummah, or fixed revenue; which

* An exception to this practice prevails in the Rajpoot principality of Dongerpore, where no taxes are levied on any cattle except camels; an inferior species of which is bred in some of its districts. This tax is paid by the buyer, and is three per cent. on the amount of his purchases. Of this sum the State receives one rupee; the Government Officers, who overlooks the cattle breeders, one rupee; and the Putteil of the breeders one rupee.

which consists of Mal and Abwab.* The former is what is collected on land and customs, including taxes on liquor, &c. The latter, which includes all claims of village, Pergunnah and Government officers, difference, or exchange,† in which the revenue is paid, casual aid, or support of Government officers or dependants, or minister, or manager, fees to the Potdar, or treasury servant, who examines the money; contributions to expences at the feasts, and marriages of the Rulers, or principal ministers. All extra and arbitrary charges, which the actual Ruler chooses to impose, come under the head of Sewaie Jummah, or extraordinaries. This includes Peishkush, or offering every third year from Enamdars; and Khanah Shumaree, a house or rather income tax, which is levied every second or third year from every house (Brahmins and cultivators excepted,) according to the real or supposed wealth of the owner; but it falls chiefly on shop-keepers. Under the head of extraordinaries, come also all fines, impositions, &c. Sewaie Jummah.

68. Among the dues, claims, fees and demands, that come upon villages under the head of Sewaie Jummah, or extraordinaries, there are some as remarkable in their origin as their character, but which, when once established, from whatever cause, become a regular annual charge. The following instances of this practice will suffice: In 1805, when JESWUNT RAO HOLKAR was in pursuit of Lieut. Colonel MONSON'S Corps, a mortality among his gun bullocks led him to adopt an expedient suggested by GUNGARAM KOTTAREE, one of his principal

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* The old Mahratta revenue term of Babuttee is commonly used for Abwab.

† This is usually at a fixed rate between the coin in which the revenue is paid, and that for which it is carried to account. This rate varies; for instance, in Mundissore and Katchrode the Salim Shahee rupee, which is intrinsically nineteen per cent. worse than the Oujein, is paid by the renter at a rate only twelve and a half to SCINDIAH'S Treasury,—while collections are made from Alote and other Pergunnahs at the rate of twenty five per cent. discount, which operates as a burthen of six per cent. on the cultivator, being the depreciation of the currency in which they pay their rent.

principal renters, to levy upon the Pergunnahs of Rampoora, Bampoora, Jowrah, Burronda, and some other districts, a contribution of one bullock each village: this was not discontinued when the emergency ceased; the bullock, however, was commuted for money, and ten rupees are still paid by each of these villages, under the head of Top-khanah Kurch, or charge for the train. A tax levied by MADAJEE SCINDIAH from the country of Mewar under the name of Ghorahberar, or horse tax, was first put on to defray the charge of one of his favorite horses that died within the limits of the country, which was long afterwards so assessed as a part of the revenue, though the amount was eventually somewhat decreased from the original heavy imposition. *

69. The favored classes escape those arbitrary taxes, while all others must depend chiefly (whatever nominal system of revenue they have) on the character of the Prince and his ministers; but the extent to which extraordinaries have been levied in the Province of Malwa, by what were deemed its best Rulers, is a strong proof of the great moderation of the original assessment, or Ayeen Jummah; and we find a still stronger in the general prosperity of the cultivators, which, in those districts in Malwa that are well managed, appears to be fully equal to that of the Ryots in the Company's countries, where the Government share is higher in a proportion that makes it probably equal to the total of the fixed revenue of the Mahratta

* The nature of such impositions is sometimes almost ludicrous.

In the time of CHOTA KHAN, Dewan of Bhopaul, a religious Hindu mendicant, who had traversed the country with a considerable retinue of attendants, elephants and horses, (all supported by gifts of charity which his character for sanctity inspired) arrived at Chynpoor Barree. Here he remained for some time, shewing no inclination to depart. But CHOTA KHAN, viewing as a visitation upon the country the presence of this man with his cavalcade, directed one of his Officers, LAL KISHEN CHUND, to raise upon Chynpoor Barree five thousand rupees extra to the fixed charges of revenue, for the purpose of purchasing the departure of this holy beggar. This was done: but the sum of five thousand rupees become a permanent item of revenue under the denomination of Lungot Putter, or "Tax for covering nakedness," in allusion to the state of nudity in which these travelling mendicants generally live.

Mahratta Government, and all its irregular exactions. One State draws the revenue in gross to its coffers, from whence it is distributed to its officers. The other has a system of subdivision of revenue, separate from that which Government receives, suited to its construction, and it is, in moderately good times, more favorable to the general distribution of wealth among the principal cultivators, the Zemindars, Wuttundars, and all connected with the agricultural classes.

70. The Komisdar, or renter of a Province or District, when he proceeds to take charge, has a schedule of all the known receipts and disbursements of the country to which he is nominated given him from the Phurnavees's office. Certain disbursements are authorized, and the balance of the revenue is to be remitted. It has been of late years the usage with the Mahratta Rulers in Malwa to demand, from those to whom they consign countries, one year's revenue in advance; and sometimes, if the latter are rich,* two years. An interest of one per cent. per month is admitted upon such advances; and the manager or renter, should he not have funds of his own, can easily borrow at the same or a lower rate, it being the advantage of the Sahokars to obtain, through such means, a power and influence in the country; and the support of the renter gives them an authority, which places the Ryots, with whom they have concern, much at their mercy: the fact is, that, in many cases, it is the Sahokars who make those advances direct, and receive in payment an assessment of the gross revenues of districts, which they under-rent, and this system, in many cases, as before noticed, had the effect of placing them at the head, not only of the Revenue, but the Councils of the State. GOPAL PARUK, SCINDIAH's Minister, and TANTIAH JOGH, who exercises, during the

Komisdars.

* APPAH GUNGADHUR, the renter of Mundissore, is usually two years in advance to DOWLUT RAO SCINDIAH.

the minority of MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, the power of Regent, are both of this class.

71. The most popular mode of realizing the revenue in Malwa, is by granting long leases of ten, twenty, and thirty years, to respectable men. The most dreaded is that, which now prevails, (particularly in many of SCINDIAH's districts) of annual changes of managers and renters:—such can take no interest in the prosperity of the country, and commit every excess to make up the sum they require; but there is still, except in very extreme cases, under all this mismanagement, not nearly so much ruin and general distress, as might be supposed. This can only result from the Sirkar, with all its arbitrary acts, being defrauded by a combination, which extends from the Prime Minister down to the Putteil and cultivator of the smallest village. The uncertainty of station makes all tremble at the prospect of proved guilt; and hence, that union between Putteils, renters, managers and Government officers, which enables the lowest to keep the highest in check. The balance against a village has often been wiped off, by a Komisdar in Malwa, to prevent the Putteil and head cultivators preferring a complaint, or exposing some concealed items of revenue; and the Komisdar, in his turn, secures his office for years, by being able to prove fabricated accounts in the office of the Phurnavees, or some authorized bribe given to a Dewan. The abuses of such a system become, in time, understood; and are, even when detected, treated with indulgence; they belong, in fact, to a loose despotic Government, like those of the Native Princes in India; and when they are within limits, and the administration is conducted with vigilance, and upon tolerably just principles, a considerable degree of happiness and comfort is diffused. So much is enjoyed of what is deemed fair emolument, by

those

those who have a share in the management, or the collections of the revenue, that they hesitate to hazard their situation by any oppressive act. Instead of their interests being promoted, as that of collectors under a stricter Government often are, by devising means to increase the public revenue, their advantage lies in the power of those under them to satisfy their comparatively light personal claims, even to the prejudice of the claims of Government, against which they, in fact, often combine; and, once associated in guilt, the manager and renter has no power of extracting from the cultivators, beyond the fair price of the benefit he has conferred upon them.

72. The villages in Malwa, like individuals, seek a patron or protector; and a link, once established with any person who possesses power, is a great shield against the oppression of the manager or renter. So much of the revenue of the Mahratta Rulers and their principal ministers is drawn from the crimes, real or pretended, of the officers employed in the provinces, who are fined when opportunity offers (more with consideration to their ability to pay than their proved misdemeanors,) that the latter dread all who have the power of preferring a complaint against them; and this makes them very guarded, when they know a village enjoys such protection, which is established sometimes from its having a place of worship frequented by the minister or any of his family, or any high officer of State; his having some Enam land, or a garden within its limits, an inhabitant being in his service, or one of his chief domestics having intermarried into one of its families. The slightest tie is readily improved into a strong bond, in a Government where interference in the concerns of others is to men in office a source of increase of income.

73. The system of imposing fines was extended by Kamisdars and renters, when they were sufficiently powerful, over all the villages under Revenue from Fines.

der their management; and no demands fall so heavy, in times of trouble, as those impositions or fines called Gonahgaree, or crimes. These are imposed sometimes on individuals, but more generally on the whole village. The common plea is a murder or theft within their limits, or some act of an individual or the community, that is assumed to have caused loss to Government or the manager. Adultery, second marriages, broils, and all irregularities are subject to these fines.* The excess to which the abuse of this source of revenue has been carried in some of the large towns of Malwa (above all in Oujein),† is almost incredible.‡ From the comparative facility of concealment, such fines have often

* The following is a list of arbitrary fines usually levied on offences and crimes, as given by the Meekranee Chief Moozaffia, the present manager of that State. For adultery, a third of what the person is worth. For theft, the fine is proportioned to the means of the guilty person, who must also restore the property or an equivalent.

In the petty state of Allee

Murder is punished by a fine of sixty rupees to the relatives of the person murdered, and a sum of money to the Sirkar equal to the means of the offender.

Petty offences of every kind are fined at the option of the Ruler, whose principle is to extort as much from the guilty as he can.

† *In the city of Oujein the fines arising from irregularities are rented, and the renter employs men and women in every quarter of the city to allure persons into situations where they can be accused: affrays are contrived, when respectable or wealthy persons are present; and, while the agents of the renter fly, they are seized and hurried into a confinement, from which they can only be released by payment of a fine.* But women are the instruments through whom the largest sums are extorted. The most profligate are tutored to act the part of virtuous heads of families, assignations are made and the unwary deluded into the hands of the Police, from which they can only escape by paying a sum, which is always more proportioned to their means than their offence. Innocent persons are continually accused, from the hope of their paying some money to avoid the scandal, which always attaches to such accusations. It is not two months ago since an oil merchant of Oujein, who was confined and ill-used upon a fabricated charge of adultery, emasculated himself in the public Choultry to prove, as he said, not only his innocence of past crime, but his resolution not to afford his tyrants a future opportunity of oppressing him. This is stated by Captain Borthwick to have occurred when he was at Oujein; and it was, he says, the talk of that city for some days, and instanced as a proof of the oppressive character of this system of taxation.

‡ In Pertabghur and Dongerpore, the fines are not fixed for particular offences, and the amount is levied according to the will of the ruling power; but in the cities of Saugwanah and Guneeakote, the offence of adultery is punished by an established fine. In Saugwanah the amount is fifty-one rupees, and in Guneakote thirty-one ditto.

often been perquisities of renters and managers. But they have been in general, an open, shameless pretext for plunder; and during the last twenty years, such has been the practice of the Mahratta Rulers and their officers in Malwa, that they may be almost said to have collected as much revenue from the vices as from the industry of their subjects. Inhabitants of villages, however, pay in bad times on this head, to the Putteil, the Zemindar, or manager, or renter, a trifle to what these in their turn, and every officer connected with the collection of revenue, are forced to give to the Ruler, or his principal ministers and favorites. Independant of those heavy bribes, by which they in general purchase their offices, and which they were compelled to renew every two or three years, all complaints, however trivial, are heard and recorded, while the commission of serious acts of violence or aggression, if not noticed at the moment, is sure to be remembered, and to form on the day of reckoning, a serious item of the account that is carefully kept of their offences. The fines extorted on such occasions are particularly valued by the Mahratta Rulers in Malwa, as they form, with the produce of the Khasgy or Royalty lands, their privy purse; and are never considered applicable to the expences of the Government. These Rulers also permit favored branches of their family, particularly their Baees or wives, to enjoy a share in this species of revenue; and these are often the open sellers* of appointments, as well as the supporters of corrupt managers of countries, who make them adequate return. This corruption still exists, but in a less degree than it did a few years ago; and it must, when the country is in a tranquil state, generally decrease. In the States of Malwa, immediately under the control of the British

* Baize Baee, the daughter of the late Sirgee Rao Ghatkeea, is the principal wife of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and being a woman of intelligence and spirit she has a power over the mind of that good-natured, but weak ruler, which gives her great influence and control in the administration of affairs, particularly in the revenue department; which she uses exclusively for her personal advantage, and that of her family and favorites.

British Government, those entrusted with the administration appear already, to have discerned, that it is by encouraging, not oppressing, the cultivators, by employing efficient, instead of corrupt and arbitrary managers, that they will consult their true interests, gratify the State by which they are protected, and encrease the revenue from their territories.

Alienation of Revenue and Lands.

74. Permanent alienation of the revenue is very uncommon among the Mahratta Rulers in Malwa:—these have not forgotten that their own titles originated in mere temporary grants, and they have great reluctance to give Sunnuds of a contrary nature. There were numerous Jagheers, (a term which in general implies little more than land in possession) but hardly one of these assignments was a free grant, or enjoyed under deed of inheritance.

75. Enam, or Nankar lands, were confirmed or given to Zemindars, to Wuttundars, and sometimes, but not often, to others.—Istumrar grants, which gave grounds at a fixed moderate assessment, (sometimes far below the revenue) were only given or confirmed, to Rajpoot Thakoors or *Bheel** Chiefs, whom it was desired to conciliate and to induce to cultivate the soil; or who engaged to give protection to certain

* The following is a copy of an Istumrar grant of the village of Tirlah from the Puar State of Dhar to Sheo Singh and Beeman Singh, Boomiahs of Nimkeush, agreeably to a settlement mediated by me, dated 6th June, 1820. "Whereas it appears that the village of Tirlah was granted and secured in Istumrar by the ancient Kings, and by the ancestors of the Rajahs of the Puwar State, to the ancestors of Sheo Singh and Beeman Singh, Boomiahs, on condition that they were to protect the villages situated between Sooltanpore and Dhar, as well as the cattle and property of the inhabitants of those places, from the depredations of the Bheels, and were to pay annually a Tonka of 350 rupees to the State. And whereas the present Boomiah Sheo Singh and Beeman Singh being unable, during the unsettled times of Malwa, to repress the predatory attacks of the Bheels, by which the Ryots were ruined; it became necessary to resume the village of Tirlah from the said Boomiahs, and to build a fort and take other measures for the protection of the inhabitants.

Now, that all disturbances have been quelled and the country restored to peace and tranquility through the influence of the British Government, the aforesaid Boomiahs have in a suppliant manner intreated the State to listen to their request, that the village of Tirlah may be restored to them on the

certain limits, on condition of this favor. No Mahratta Chief had a large grant, except on Serinjam, for service. Some villages were given for their personal support; but, even these were not made heritable:—small permanent grants were alone given by these governments to favored priests, or as endowments of religious institutions. Little respect has been shewn by the descendants of the first Mahratta Rulers of Malwa to the Sunnuds of the Emperors of Delhi, except to those granted to Zemindars, and the hereditary officers, with whose services, in the internal management of the country, they could not dispense. But though the small grants of free land, and immunities of these officers, were preserved, their authority has been, in many parts of this province, much limited; and in the disputes which continually occur regarding the division of their property,* in the families of these Wuttundars, the Mahrattas have found a constant opportunity of interference

terms on which it was formerly held, and they agree, on the part of themselves and their successors, that they will be answerable for any depredations that may be henceforth committed by Bheels between Dhar and Sooltanpore, as also for any injury sustained by travellers or by the inhabitants of Dhar, and that they will zealously employ themselves in the service of the State: The Sirkar, therefore, on the faith and in consideration of these promises, grants, through the medium of General Sir J. Malcolm, the said village of Tirlah to the said Boomiahs on the following terms: Five hundred Halee rupees of Indore or Oujein to be paid annually to the Dhar State by three instalments, commencing from 24th Shâbân of the year 1877, of Bekermajeet, corresponding with 6th June, 1820."

* The Enam lands of Wuttundars are subject to the Hindu law, and consequently are divided among the sons of Zemindars or Putteils, but his dues and fees are always the right of the elder of the family, who performs the duty. On minute enquiry I find that, when the operation of the law subdivides the land in a degree that makes it unequal to the support of individuals, their distress or emigration enables the elder branch, who continues possessed of influence and means, to regain it. But the consequence is frequent and violent disputes, which are always a source of profit to the rulers, and often ruin to a divided family. As an instance of the subdivison of such rights, we may take the Wuttundar claims, which the family of Holkar brought forward on Candeish, (independant of the Desmookee of Chandore); not one of these was for a full share of this right, the highest being for three-fourths of the Desmook of Galnah, and the lowest for one-sixteenth of the Putteilee of the Kusba of Wulsee, in the district of Dongrish Mindurbar; As great an anxiety was shewn to establish these petty claims, as if provinces had been in dispute. This originated partly from an attachment to old rights, and partly from a wish to hold the patronage such claims include: there is also a spirit, inherent in Mahrattas, of establishing, whenever practicable, an interference with the affairs of other States.

interference, which enabled them not only to weaken the power and influence of these native officers, but to derive revenue from their recurring disputes.

76. Zemindars and hereditary officers, who have rights and dues, never receive pay. Komisdars or managers, and the officers under them, do. The principals of this class in HOLKAR's Government do not now receive more than thirty thousand rupees per annum; but they have all very considerable admitted fees and advantages. In SCINDIAH's provinces in Malwa, some of his great revenue managers have as high as twenty-five thousand rupees per annum; the other persons in this department are paid in proportion to their duties;* but the expences of collection are not calculated to exceed twenty per cent. on the gross revenue.

77. The revenues from capitals and large towns in Malwa are collected on the same principles as those of villages. The superior opulence of the inhabitants is more inviting to oppressive rulers, but these are checked by the collective influence and strength of the wealthy citizens, particularly the Sahokars, who in Malwa are very powerful; and who can only be objects of open plunder, in times of extreme violence, such as those with which Malwa was afflicted from the rise of JESWUNT RAO HOLKAR till the peace of Mundissore. Besides duties, and property taxes collected in capitals, a revenue is derived from the mint, which is usually

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* Captain CAULFIELD, when he took charge of Jawud and Neemutch in A. D. 1818, found the expences of the administration established over the possessions of JESWUNT RAO BHOW, as follows:—

ESTABLISHMENT FOR JAWUD.

Collector, or Chief Man called Komisdar, NANAH BALKISHEN, per mensem,		Rs. 550
6 Assistants,	1st assistant,	50
	2d ditto,	42
	3d ditto,	35
	4th ditto,	25
	5th ditto,	15
	6th ditto,	15
		732

200 Hurkarrahs,

usually farmed. The principal bankers (not the Government) supply it with bullion, and derive profit from it, on the recoinage of foreign rupees, after paying all mint charges, which are not however high.

78. Independent

200 Hurkarrahs, Peons, Sebundees, Mussalgees, Ferashees, Durwaun	900	0	0
Mootferrakat, a summary charge on account of Government,	200	0	0
Expences of tax collections at the different Chowbootries through the Towns and Villages in the Pergunnah of Jawud,	617	12	9
Total for Jawud,	2449	12	9

FOR NEEMUTCH.

Rosnath Dada, Komisdar,		100	0	0
Four Assistants,	1st Assistant,	42	0	0
	2nd Ditto,	28	0	0
	3d Ditto,	20	0	0
	4th Ditto,	15	0	0
12 Sebundees, Hurkarrahs, &c. &c.		547	8	0
Mootferrakaut,		47	8	0
	Total for Neemutch,	900	0	0

NAGOOM AND MUNDEPIAH.

Komisdar per mensem,	[illegible]	0	0
2 Assistants, 15 rupees each,	30	0	0
5 Sebundees,	337	8	0
Mootferrakaut,	12	8	0
Total	440	0	0

RAWUN.

[illegible], per month,	70	0	0
Assistant,	15	0	0
[illegible]0 Sebundees,	70	0	0
Mootferrakaut,	10	0	0
Total	165	0	0

[illegible] KAIRA.

[illegible], per month,	50	0	0
Assistant,	10	0	0
[illegible] Sebundees,	200	0	0
Mootferrakaut,	10	0	0
Total	270	0	0

CHOTA

78. Independent of the extraordinary contributions, fines, and other occasional impositions, laid upon the inhabitants of towns, the sale of public lands is, when a town or capital increases in magnitude, a source of considerable* profit; ground for building, eligibly situated, selling for four and five rupees the square foot. The Government frequently builds large bazars or markets, and derives a great profit from the shop-keepers to whom they are let.

Paishkush or Tribute.

79. A considerable part of the revenue of the Mahratta Governments in Malwa is in tribute, or Paishkush, from great and petty Rajpoot Princes;—the mode of collecting this, is through an agent with the tributary, who usually receives and remits the amount in money, or, when

CHOTA SADREE.

Komisdar, per month,	70	0	0
2 Assistants,	50	0	0
75 Sebundees,	300	0	0
Mootferrakaut,	17	0	0
GUNPUT RAO's provision,	500	0	0
Total	937	0	0
Grand Total of the monthly charge of the provincial Government,	5161	12	9

This forms an annual amount of 61,941 9, which upon the revenue of those places for the year A. D. 1818 makes the charge on collection more than 35 per cent.

The establishment in better times, when the revenue was at least three lacs, would not require increase, and be about 20 per cent. on the produce. In most other parts of the country it is rather less. In the Pergunnah of Jawud, the gross revenue is estimated at one lac and twenty thousand. Expences on collections are fixed at twenty thousand, below 20 per cent In Mulhargurh the revenue is eighty thousand, expences on collections fourteen thousand, which is seventeen and a half per cent. Peeplowud is twenty-seven thousand. Expences fixed five thousand, or eighteen and a half Baroda forty-five thousand. Fixed expences nine thousand, which is near twenty per cent And in common times that may be taken rather over than under the expences of collection in Malwa.

TANTIAH JOGH, HOLKAR's Minister, informs me that the revenue charges of the State this year do not exceed ten per cent.; but this is owing to the presence every where of English troops enabling him to dispense with Sebundy and other expences.

* In villages no profit is derived from this source by Government; on the contrary, a small allotment of land (generally from a half to one and two bigahs) is given to the most respectable inhabitants.

when that cannot be raised, part is sent in cloths, horses, &c. No part of the revenue of these States has been more continually fluctuating than this. Imposed by the strong hand of power, on a reduced and degenerate, but warlike and turbulent race of chiefs, it has generally been resisted, whenever there was the slightest hope, even of delaying its payment. Arrears have been swelled into a large amount, and a day of settlement has often been one of ruin* to the weaker party. No branch of the revenue has been liable to such gross abuses as this, and their title to it may be said to have formed the pretext, if not the real ground, of the greatest excesses and enormities, which the Mahratta Governments have committed in Malwa.

Peculiarities in the Revenue System of Bhopaul.

80. The revenue system of the Nabobs of Bhopaul differs little, either in the mode of settlement or collection, from that of the Mahratta Governments, except that it has been liable to less fluctuation, and regulated by more consideration for the cultivators, who have suffered much from foreign enemies, (particularly the Pindarries) but have always been kindly and well used by the Ruler of this petty State. Its other subjects have also been in general well treated;† one law or usage alone is much complained of: the property of any man of rank, high or low, dying within the limits of the principality without a son is seized, as that of Government. The Hindu widow has not the privilege of adoption to avert the

* The following are among the principal of the Rajpoot Chiefs, whom DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH has succeeded in destroying (since the peace of 1805 with the English Government) on the plea of arrears of tribute.

Rajahs of Nurwar, Sheopoor, Chandeiree, Ragoghur, Gurrahkotah and Ratghur.

† The collections of this State from their districts in Malwa are in money and on the begah. In the district of Goandwarrah, such as Gonoor, Cheynpore,) Beirah, they collect on the ploughs and in kind In some parts the Government share of the grain is one half, in others two-fifths; the reason of such difference refers to the usage of the Pergunnah or district.

the misery to which she is reduced. In Mahratta* countries, such an usage is partial, but the family can in most cases compound by a present or a fine. In Bhopaul it has been more severely exacted, and has been a very productive source of revenue to its rulers.

Peculiarities in the Revenue System of Zalim Singh.

81. The principal of the Rajpoot Rulers of Malwa, ZALIM SINGH, has a Revenue system, which, like that of his government, is entirely suited to his personal character. He manages a kingdom like a farm: he is the Sahokar, who makes the advances to the cultivators, as well as the Ruler, to whom they pay revenue, and his terms of interest are as high as the most sordid money brokers. This places the cultivators completely in his power; and to be more independent of their pretensions, he maintains to cultivate waste lands, and those fields which the Ryots deem too high in rent, several thousand ploughs, which are distributed throughout the country, and worked by men to whom he gives a small pay, generally three rupees per mensem. This system has spread cultivation, and increased the revenues: it is however severe upon the cultivators, but these suffer from none but the Ruler; and there has been, for thirty years, complete security in his country; men were ready to pay any price for this blessing, and consequently flocked from all quarters to the territories of Kotah.

82. The former settlements in most of the countries of ZALIM SINGH, were

* ZALIM SINGH, the Regent of Kotah, on an impression that a complaint had been made to me by the relative of a deceased small renter in the district of Barod, wrote on the 8th July, 1820, to his agent with me as follows: "Tell the General, if the complaint is made, that the usage of this country, when a man dies without children, is to give his estate to his wife, who enjoys it for her natural life. It goes after that to the sons whom she has regularly adopted. In failure of such heir, to the nephew of the deceased, and on their failure to the nearest relation."

I asked the Vakeel, if, by the usage of Kotah, the Government had no right, when a man died without children.—His reply was none, that it was usual to exercise beyond expressing a desire, that part of the property, if large, should be expended for charitable purposes.

were in Buttaye* or kind; but he has, within a few years, adopted money payments; and is said to be more indulgent to the cultivators than he was before. This, no doubt, arises from his conviction, that he should (now the territories around him are reclaimed) lose many of the most useful of all his subjects, unless he attached them by kindness and liberality. Few of his districts are rented, and his managers, and those under them, are all servants of Government. They are seldom allowed to remain long at one place, lest they should make connections, and acquire influence; but the abuses of his rule are in this, as in other departments, comparatively few; all are checked by a dread of the Ruler, and a knowledge that by the complete espionage (as before explained†) established throughout his territories, nothing remains long concealed from him.

83. Zalim Singh levies a revenue from the inhabitants of his principal towns, in much the same manner as the Mahratta States; some of these, particularly Jalra Putan, have been peopled from the desolate countries of Holkar, and the numerous Sahokars and merchants who fled to them, though they have found security, have all become dependants upon Zalim Singh, who not only mixes in their family affairs, but is, (if the assertion of many creditable men can be believed) a partner in the concerns of almost every merchant and large trader in his country; and it is by such means, and seizing for the State a great proportion of the lands that were held by different

* This settlement was, after a separation of the seed, a division of half with the Ryot, leaving the latter to pay dues. Zalim Singh had, when he followed this practice, few items under the head of Extraordinaries.

One, however, was inflicted fifteen years ago, which made up in weight for this numerical deficiency. was termed Seeta, or the invention of Zalim Singh, and consisted of a tax of one rupee on every maunee (or twelve maunds) of grain, which was sold by the cultivator, or wholesale merchant. This tax pursued the grain till it was retailed; it has recently been discontinued.

† Vide Part the Tenth.

different Rajpoot Thakoors or lords, that he has so much* encreased the public revenue of the principality, and his own personal wealth, which is reported to be very great.

Peculiarities in the Revenue System of Rutlam, Silanah, Amjerah, &c.

84. In the principalities of Rutlam, Silanah, Amjerah, and several other petty Rajpoot States, the collections, with the exception of irrigated lands, on which opium, sugar, tobacco, &c. are produced, are in kind, or according to what is termed the Buttaye settlement. The principle is moderate; the dues of the Zemindar, Putteil, and other Wuttundars being given, the grain is divided into five shares, of which the Government have usually two, and the Ryots three. At Amjerah the usage is somewhat different. The Government receives one third of the Khurreef, and seven twenty-fourths of the Rubbee crops. These proportions are of the gross estimated produce, and before any allowance is made for dues to the Zemindars and other officers. It is not uncommon, also, to levy in that district a small money tax, on each begah of land, in addition to the settlement in kind: but this, it must be considered, is an extraordinary tax, or exaction. The Rajahs of Pertabghur, Seeta Mow, Narsinghur, Rajghur, Baglee and others, collect their revenue in money, and with little difference in system from the Mahratta States, to which they are tributary, and by whose provinces they are surrounded. The country of Rat,h, including Ally Mohun, Jobut, Jabooah, Barriah, and other tracts west of the Mhye River, is principally peopled by cultivating Bheels; and it is remarkable, that in these countries the Turwees, or heads of the Parrahs or clusters of Bheel hamlets, take rank above the Putteils of villages inhabited by other tribes. The latter are deemed strangers; while the Bheels, who are most numerous, claim the soil, paying the Government share. This class are, however, little attached

* The accession of territories to Kotah, by conquest or policy, has not been great, since Zalim Singh has been its Ruler.

tached to particular fields; and the population bearing no proportion to the extent of country, they change their residence from the slightest cause. This is facilitated by the character of their dwellings, the numerous streams, and the abundant fertility of many parts of the soil. If the son of a Turwee is discontented, he persuades some adherents to follow him to a favorite spot, some miles from that where he was born:—a few huts are built on small eminences apart from the Parrah, and the neighbouring fields are cleared and cultivated, being often manured and enriched by the ashes of the wood burnt upon them.

85. These partial emigrations, or rather changes of residence, are encouraged by the Ruler, to whom they bring encrease of revenue, and are seldom discountenanced by the heads of the family; for, though the founder of the new colony is styled and obeyed as Turwee by his followers, he is only deemed a Teerah, or branch of the superior of his tribe, whose wealth and consequence (for he has dues as well as allegiance) are encreased by the multiplication of such separate establishments.

86. The mode of collection in the principal towns of these Rajahs, among the few possessions they have inhabited by regular Kursaus or cultivators, is in money, and according to a system not dissimilar to that of the Mahrattas. With their cultivating Bheels their settlements are made chiefly in kind;* they assess these by the pair of oxen employed, or rather the plough. The latter pay from two to five rupees the plough in money; † the remainder in grain. From three to five maunds of grain

* In Dongerpore the cultivating Bheels give one fourth of their crop. The wilder classes pay a tribute in money, or "Kurnee," through their Chief, who generally assumes the title of Rawoot.

† In the Pergunnah of K[illegible]osa-barah, which belongs to the Rajah of Allee Mohun, and is inhabited by Bheels only, each plough pays to the State annually eight rupees, one seer of ghee, and one maund of grain. These two articles must be rated however at half as much more, as the weight which the Sirkar requires is one half greater than that in common use.

grain, and two or three seers of ghee, are collected on each yoke. This, calculating the yoke capable of ploughing twenty-five begahs, will in common times bring the Government demand considerably below one rupee the begah upon the grain crops, which is generally Indian-corn, millit, Toowur, and gram.

87. The Turwees have their rights, the same as the Putteils,—and the Rajah collects a revenue under the head of Bheit, or dues, to himself and officers, from every Parrah. * A tax is also imposed for the use of wells, constructed by Government, or within the limits of Khalsa lands; and duties are levied upon the Bunniahs settled in the Parrahs and villages. Taxes in kind are also levied upon different tribes, consisting of wood and bricks for public buildings, pots and different articles, particularly forage. All these are at times commuted for payments.

88. The most common settlement in these countries is with the Turwees, who agree to pay the Government so much for the Parrah, which seldom exceeds in revenue one hundred or one hundred and fifty rupees. This system prevails in Jabooah, † and other countries in Rat,h, in proportion as the local situation of the Turwees makes them independent. It is an usage with the Government to reconcile these petty heads of Parrahs, by excusing their payment for one pair of bullocks; and from the wilder Bheels, who kept to their fastnesses, and are quite separate in their habits from the cultivating class, little if any revenue is collected, beyond one or two rupees, a cucumber, and a few seers of the Cheraumcha † nut, which their Chief presents at the Dusserah

* In Allee Mohun each Parrah pays two rupees, which being demanded in kind does not average less than three times that sum.

† The principal Turwees in Jabooah, and other countries where the Bheels are civilized, receive, even when they pay in money, the revenue in kind from the cultivators, and employ Sahokars to sell it. They are, in fact, rulers of their Parrahs, in which their authority is very great, and their dues often higher than Putteils.

† A small nut.

serah to the Rajah or Ruler, to whom they profess a nominal allegiance.

89. The Rajahs of Jabooah, Barriah, and all these petty principalities, draw a portion of their revenue, in the shape of tribute and aids, from their dependant Thakoors or lords; who are, in general, branches of the family. These are usually ready with their Military service, but pay or withhold the revenue of the State, according to the power of the superior to enforce it.

90. The country of Baugur, including the principalities of Banswarrah and Dongerpore, is said to have once enjoyed, under an ancestor of its present Ruler, a good system of revenue, as well as of government; but all traces of it are now gone, and the reduced produce of these distracted countries has been, for a long period, given or withheld with less consideration to the right, than to the power of the Ruler of coercing them. Returning tranquillity has given a little more of moderation to their proceedings, but their system of revenue still partakes of the character it has received from half a century of continued scenes of trouble and violence; in which all these relations, that keep communities together, were either lost or forgotten. Revenue of Baugur and Dongerpore.

91. The first remarkable difference between the Province of Baugur and others in its vicinity is, that there is no hereditary Zemindars and Kanoongoes in the country; and though there are Puttels and other village officers, who have the same functions as in Malwa, they are not Wuttundars, and their offices are not deemed hereditary, nor do they, as a matter of course, enjoy free lands in remuneration for their services. The reason for this seems plain; the greater part of their principalities were entirely possessed by Bheels before the ancestors of their Rajpoot Chiefs established themselves; and the successors of these Princes, though they have not been able to dispense with the services of these village functionaries, have not chosen

to alienate lands, or to constitute any authority of sufficient responsibility to stand as a shield between them and that minute oppression of their subjects, which these Rulers appear, from almost their first establishment, to have practised.

92. The country of Baugur is divided into Tuppahs, or districts and villages; the lands are divided into Khalsa, (or Government) Jaghire, (or allowed for the support of Thakoors or lords, who pay a small Paish-kush and military service), and Khyrat or charitable grants.

93. The Khalsa or Government lands are seldom rented: First, because for the last thirty or forty years there has been no security of property to induce persons of wealth and character to engage in such a concern; and, secondly, because keeping such lands in his own hands is more profitable to the Karbar or minister, who is enabled, beyond the profit he derives from the management of the revenue, to make his gains, as Kotaree or grain-keeper, upon that part of it which is paid in kind.

94. The collections made on Khalsa land vary in different parts of Baugur; but every where there appears one principle, to exact from the cultivator as much as can be taken, without total ruin. There are, in various villages of Dongerpore, no less than twenty-two heads of collection, or rather of exaction, as stated in the margin.* Some of these were partial,

* 1st. Buraur (or Ayen Jumah,) a fixed sum paid by the cultivators for their land, and which may by denominated ground-rent.

2d. Jeyt, an assessment for the payment of the salaries of Tuhseeldars and the Rawuls, retainers.

3d. Kowur Sookrie, for the expences of the Koowur or Rawul's eldest son. Sookrie means the first or morning meal.

4th. Ramdar Sookree, a per centage (ten per cent) for the expences of the Kamdars.

5th. Lawgut Karkoon, for the payment of the Government officers.

6th. Oodhra, a collection originally intended for the payment of certain Khandaharee troops in the service of the State.

7th. Rhatil

patible, many were deemed arbitrary, and put on towns and villages according to the opinion entertained of the power of bearing them; but from the first to the sixth, the eighth, and the last of these burthens, no place in the principality is exempt. The mode of assessment in Banswarrah, though the same in principle, is on the whole more simple, and less burthensome.

95. The most oppressive of all the burthens laid upon the villages of Baugur by their Rulers was that of inflicting a favorite of the day upon

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7th. Rhatil Ghore, for the feeding of the Rawul's horses.

8th. Bhattee Rhulal, a trifling tax on liquor shops.

9th. Pandur Tukkah, for the expences of the great Nowbut Beater, &c. &c.

10th. Paurah Burar, for the provision of a buffaloe for sacrifice at the Dusserah.

11th. Sheeraati for defraying the charges of the festival in honor of Sheevah in the month Magh.

12th. Sereephul, for the supply of cocoanuts during the Hooly, it being usual for the Rawul at that time to distribute that fruit to the Thakoors, Zemindars of villages, and people more immediately attached to himself, who may visit him on that festival.

13th. Waugah, for the maintenance of the Rawul's wardrobe.

14th. Sir Putora, for the maintenance of the Ranee's wardrobe.

15th. Paindoo, for the wages of the attendants of the Rawul's horses.

16th. Ghora Chursbee, a tax levied under the head of extra charges, for men who may have been sent to bring home the Rawul's horses from the villages where they were occasionally sent out to graze when out of condition.

17th. Chara, for the supply of grass for the Rawul's horses.

18th. Dulaulee, a tax paid by the Dulauls, a description of people who derive a livelihood in commercial towns from acting as agents between purchasers and sellers.

19th. Kusseia, a tax paid by the workmen in brass and copper.

20th. Dup-Ghur, a tax paid by the manufacturers of leather for oil vessels, shields, &c.

21st. Bhurawet, a tax on the preparers of the coarser ornaments worn on the legs and arms of the women of the lower orders.

To all the above, which are said to have been established by PENJAB RAWUL, was added on the invasion of the Mahratta Armies, at a subsequent period, the following, under the head,

22nd. Kurnee; this was an assessment levied for the payment of tribute to a foreign power, to which all description of inhabitants were obliged to contribute. In the towns of Saugwarra, Gurreah, Kote, and Dongerpore, the cultivators were exempted from this tax; but in all other places, without exception, neither they or any other individuals enjoyed any immunity.

upon *it* as a temporary Ruler, (termed Gomeytee), and they are not only obliged to support that person with a party of retainers, but to give him whatever they can afford, or he has the power of coercing, beyond their revenue, ordinary and extraordinary. These petty governments were usually changed every year, and the abuse of their authority had not even that connection which the ties of acquaintance and residence establish.

96. Assignments to the Thakoors or Nobles of the principalities of Dongerpore and Banswarra are made in two modes.* One called Thakoor ka Reet, or the Thakoor's share, which is little more than the allotment† of

* The heads of the collections are in the greater part of the villages of Banswarrah no more than three, viz.

1st. Buraur, or ground rent, the collection is adjusted at the period of the Khureef Harvest, as above detailed.

2d Dungah. The levy made at the Rubbee Harvest, which may be denominated exaction.

3d. Kamdar Sookree. Assessment of ten per cent. on the total of the annual produce, for the benefit of the Kamdar.

The above charges are levied from all towns and villages, without exception, of which the revenues are received by the State. *The Jaghirdars and religious classes make their own collections in a similar manner.*

Additional assessments are made on some other towns and villages, under the following denominations:

1. Koowur Sookree. For the expences of the Koowur or Rawul's eldest son.

2. Ghora C[illegible]naee. For the feeding of the Rawul's horses.

3 P[illegible]h B[illegible]aur. For the provision of a buffaloe for the sacrifice of the Dussera.

4. Sere phul. For the supply of cocoanuts during the Hooly.

5. Garee Beraur. For the supply of wheel carriages for the use of the State.

6 Doorea Beraur. This is the head under which collections are made from the Brahmins, who may be cultivators In those villages where this class hold lands, they are exempted from the payment of every other demand but this, which is not a fluctuating charge, liable to be increased or diminished every year like the rest, but a fixed sum, the same as first established.

7. Kurnee. An assessment from all descriptions of inhabitants, except Brahmins and cultivators.

† In Banswarrah the collection is made by the Jaghirdar, and the Government share paid by him. In Dongerpore the Kamdar collects it.

In the former-mentioned State the appellation Thakoor ka Reet is not used.

of a share of the revenue for payment of service. In such cases the Thakoor's share is usually the fixed rent, all other dues (before enumerated) being collected by the Government officers. The other grants are free of all interference of Government; and the territory, so assigned, is under the sole management of the Thakoor, who collects his revenues on much the same system as his Lord Paramount: such grants imply obligations and claims, both of service and money aid; but these are (particularly the latter) dependant on the relative power of the parties to coerce or resist.

97. None of the Thakoors' land are held on hereditary Sunnuds, or deeds; such are, indeed, uncommon in Malwa and the adjoining provinces, except to Wuttundars, and for religious purposes; but it is not fair to argue from this, that all possessions, for which no such deeds exist, are held at the pleasure of the Prince. Usage has rendered them hereditary; and they are only alleged to be resumable in extreme cases of guilt, or rebellion, where estates held under any tenure would be deemed forfeit.

98. The Khyrat, or charitable grants to establishments or individuals, are the only lands in Baugur that are given in perpetuity. The deeds for those are often engraved* on copper, and it is usually written, that the

* Charitable grants are given by every Rajah and Chief in Malwa, it being supposed an act of piety to alienate the soil for such purposes: I have copies of nine deeds made by the petty Rajahs of Narsinghur and Rajghur in Oomutwarrah. The following will serve as a specimen of the style and substance of such deeds, as well as the spirit in which they are granted.

" I PURSERAM (Dewan of Nursinghur) grant in charity to PERAUT and ROOPRAU, Brahmins, the " village of Kundoor, and I have inscribed this deed on a plate of copper, as follows:

" That my Heirs and Successors shall not make any assessment on the above mentioned village; " and I have taken an oath that neither I nor they shall *ever drink the water*, thereby leaving the free " management and control of this village to PERAUT and ROOPRAU, and the full enjoyment of all " advantage arising from it. Written on the 12th of Jeyt, in the Summit 1779."

The Rajah's vow, never to drink the water, is metaphorical, and meant to imply the village granted being free from all demands whatever.

the land specified is to remain as an endowment to the charity, as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

99. The soil of many parts of the country of Baugur is rich, and a great proportion of the small part of it now cultivated is irrigated by wells, numerous tanks, and cuts from the rivers, particularly the Mhye, that give proof of the former fertility of its beautiful vallies, which will under the protection this country now enjoys, soon be restored. Some sugar and opium (for home consumption) are raised in this Province, and different grains similar to those in Malwa, are cultivated in the same manner. Many of the fields in Baugur are enclosed*.— The cultivators are chiefly of the hereditary† class, and have not only a right to till the ground, but if in distress can mortgage it; and to take it from them under any circumstances, is deemed the extreme of tyranny. A considerable portion of the land in this country, particularly those parts which form the estates of the Thakoors, is portioned out in small allotments from two to twenty begahs, as a support in commutation of money payment, for their military followers. This is a common usage in all Rajpoot States, and in Malwa it extends more or less to every village‡. These petty possessions are hereditary, provided the obligation of service is fulfilled; they may be mortgaged, but cannot be sold by the proprietor.

Commerce of Malwa.

100. The States of Malwa derive a considerable revenue, not only from the commerce that subsists between that country and the neighbouring territories, but from its great towns, being the Emporiums of the

* Their hedges are usually the milk bush.

† In Baugur the ryots are chiefly of a tribe called Koormee, the land is divided into portions or divisions called Bautch, of at least twenty begahs, or enough for one plough, and some more. If any of these cultivators is forced to fly, or does so from any cause, he is considered within a certain limit of ten or twelve years, to have a right to reclaim his fields, whoever may have possession.

‡ A person who holds land in a village on condition of local service, is called Zumeen ka Nokur or the Soldier of the soil.

the trade between Goozerat, the Deckhan, Bundlekund, Rajpootanah, and Hindostan, and from being situated in the centre of India. This favored Province must, when that empire is at peace and enjoying prosperity, derive a revenue from the intercourse between these quarters. The principal articles exported from Malwa are, grain, cotton, opium, coarse cloths, linseed, awl, dye, &c. and cattle of all descriptions. Its chief imports are, salt, spices, drugs, cocoanuts, indigo, beetlenuts, pearls, coral, bullion, metals of all kinds, chintzes, silks, woollens, and tobacco.

101. The most valuable of all exports from Malwa is opium. It is calculated that upwards of 8600* maunds are produced in that Province, of which at least 6500 maunds are annually exported, to meet the demands for that article in the Deckhan, Mewar, Marwar and Goozerat. The price of this article has been always subject to considerable variation. It can, as may be seen from the Tables (before given) exhibiting the expences of its cultivation, usually be sold to the merchant by the cultivator for eight rupees the pukka seer. It has averaged during the last two years more than double that price; but this has been the effect of late bad crops, combined with high speculation amongst the traders in this article, and success in its illicit exportation owing to the safety of the roads through all the countries contiguous to Malwa. This drug, however, cannot long maintain its present price, and will no doubt be again sold for five or six rupees the seer, subject to the common fluctuations made by slight changes in the demand, in good and bad seasons. Opium.

102. The

* Vide Captain DANGERFIELD's Report. This intelligent Officer, in estimating the average opium produce of Malwa, computed that 86,920 begahs of land are cultivated for its growth, that the land tax, as paid thereon to the different Governments, amounts to rs. 5,18,576, and that 4,34,600 seers of poppy juice are annually procured for the preparation of this drug. Allowing about 1-5th for evaporation, there will be 3,47,680 seers produced in a marketable state; and as the estimated home consumption cannot exceed 2000 pukka maunds (each of 40 seers of 2 lbs.), there remain fully 6,500 for exportation. This estimated produce is certainly rather under than over-rated.

102. The Awl (or Morinda) and other dyes,* are exported in very considerable quantities from Malwa.—Tobacco is more an import than an export; but that of Bilsah, which has a high reputation for its superior flavor, is taken both to the Deckan and Hindostan, though in comparatively small quantities to what the merchants sell under that name.

Grain. 103. Grain has been, for many years past, exported from Malwa to Mewar; and sometimes, when there was a casual demand, to Candeish and Goozerat. It is not unfrequently an article of import from the latter country. Cotton. Cotton is both imported and exported; and in some districts of Malwa it is produced of superior quality†: Cotton thread is always an article of profitable export from this country.

Cloths. 104. Cloths of very superior quality are produced at Chandera, and exported to every part of India; manufactures little inferior, which formerly flourished at Sarungpore, Ashta, Sehore,‡ &c. but have fallen into decay, have been lately revived, and will soon form a very considerable branch of commerce.

Black Cattle 105. The Malwa black cattle have ever been famous; and though their numbers have been greatly reduced during the late troubles, to which the province has been subject, they will early become, as formerly, an article of profitable export.

Imports. 106 Silk, both raw and wrought, but chiefly the latter, gold cloths, chintzes, and many other articles, are brought from the Bengal Provinces, and Hindostan. Woollens. The southern and western parts of Malwa are supplied with woollens from the ports in Goozerat, while the eastern

and

* The Kussoon, a purple dye, is a great export from Malwa to the valley of the Nerbuddah and the Nagpore territories. Kussoon is the bastard Saffron or Carthamus Tinctorius of Linnaeus.

† The district of Mohysur is celebrated for the fineness of its cotton.

‡ Sehore was formerly celebrated for it's fine muslins, and this branch of manufacture is now said to be fast reviving.

and northern parts of that province receive them from Bundlekund, and from the depôts recently formed in Hindostan. The decrease of sale in this staple article of England, which has been considerable, is to be accounted for by the great diminution of the native armies in Malwa, and the poverty of its present Governments: woollens being seldom used by the natives of this part of India, but in trappings for elephants, saddle cloths, furniture for rooms, covers for beds, palanquins, hackerries, &c. This branch of trade will revive as prosperity is restored, and men can afford luxuries; for such this cloth, from its comparative high price, and its not being an article of necessity, must be considered.

107. The English shawls and different kinds of cheap printed cottons, which are now common in Hindostan, have not yet found their way into Malwa, nor is much European hard-ware sold in this Province. The state of this country, till within the last three years, has been little inviting to the foreign merchant, and its poverty will for some time be a bar to his success. English Shawls and printed Cottons.

108. The chief route by which silks and other articles from the Bengal Provinces, formerly came to Malwa, was by Mirzapore, Chatterpore, and Mhow Ranneepore. This road had been for many years obstructed; it is again opened, and the arrival of goods from Mirzapore, (the greater part of which were destined for Goozerat) was one year ago hailed as an epoch in this part of Malwa: The road is now filled with merchandize, and in the fair season, few days pass at Oujein or Indore without an arrival. Route of Imports from Bengal.

109 Dry goods, including beetle-nuts, cocoa-nuts, and spices of all sorts, come chiefly from Goozerat; Indigo from Hindostan, and Bundlekund. Dry Goods.

110. Diamonds, pearls and other jewels, in small quantities (for there are Diamonds, &c.

are few purchasers,) are brought from Bundlekund, the Deckhan and Goozerat.

Gold, Silver, &c. 111. Gold, silver and copper, come chiefly from Bombay, both into Malwa and the western countries of Baugur and Mewar.

Mints. 112. Gold is not coined in Malwa; a little is expended in ornaments, and the remainder passes on principally by the route of Gwalior to Hindostan. Much of the silver and copper imported, is used in the Mints; but the subject of coinage in that Province, as well as the weights and measures which have been established, are too much connected with its revenue and commerce to be passed without notice.

113. The following are the principal Mints in Malwa,* and its immediate vicinity.

Oujein, } †
Indore, }
Bhopaul,

Purtaubghur,

* The weights, touch, and comparative value of the Malwa rupees, with those of Furruckabad are as follows.

Table of Coins.	*Total Weight.* G.	Dur.	*Touch.*		*Fixed Exchange per 100 Furkd rupees.*	
Oujein... ...	173	56	94		100	*
Indore	173	2	93		100	*
Bhopaul... ..	168	75	89		109	*
Purtaubghur...	168		60	85	122	*
Bhilsa...	167		82	83	111	
Gunj Bussowda					113	
Jewry...	168	5	82	20	115	
Kotah...	175		91	36		
Od-ypore......	167		71	6		
Chandore.... ...	170	15	91	5		

The exchange rate of the rupees, marked with an asterisk, are what have been fixed to pay the troops and public servants of the British Government. The market rates of all these coins differ daily.

† Though the Oujein and Indore rupees differ slightly in value and weight, they pass alike under the name of Halee rupees, throughout all Malwa. Halee is not an actual coin (as often erroneously supposed) but like Sonat used to distinguish a currency.

Purtaubghur,
Bhilsa,
Gunj Bussowda,
Seronge,
Kotah.

114. The principles on which these Mints are conducted, and their rude process of coinage, being nearly similar in all; a concise account of any one, noticing merely in what points any other may differ, will suffice for a perfect understanding of the subject.

115. The right of coining at most of the Mints in Malwa is vested in no particular body, or individuals; any Sahokar or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business, has merely to make application to Government, presenting at the same time a trifling acknowledgement, engaging to produce the coin of the regulated standard, and to pay the proper fees on its being assayed, and permitted to pass current. Almost the entire expence falls on the merchant, the Government retaining in their pay, merely the following officers: a Durogah* or superintendant, a Chokessee or assay master, and a Duftur or accountant. Besides their wages, these mint officers are allowed certain perquisites, which from usage have become almost a demand, but are mere trifles.

116. The Mint at Indore was formerly rented, it is now in management, and the profits derived from it amount in common times to three thousand

* These persons receive a low pay at Indore.

AT BHOPAL.

A Durogah,	...	...	...	16
A Chokessee,	...	...	...	10
A Duftur.	...	...	...	8

There are besides a certain number of Nearchees or refiners, to whose examination the coin or bullion is first given. These men have a good profit, and they are presumed to have much skill in the trade. One of these men earns, when money is to be coined, from two to two and a half rupees per day.

thousand * rupees per annum. The merchant pays at this Mint for

Government dues per cent.		... .	1	4	0
Refining	350 rs.	... .	0	4	0
Melter,	1000 rs.	....	0	4	0
Assay Master,	1000 rs.	... .	0	4	0
Expences for lead, &c. &c.		... ...	0	7½	0
Loss of silver in melting, per cent.		....	1	0	0

The whole expence therefore to the merchant is about two rupees and thirteen annas per cent.; and Government† expends

4 annas per 1000, to the Stamper,
4...... "... " 1000 " the Engraver,
4..... "... " 1000 " the Hammerman,
4..... "... " 1000 " the Refiner,
2½.... "... " 1000 " the Silversmith.

117. The process ‡ of coining in all the Mints of Malwa is rude. It is, however, more correct and expeditious than could be conceived from an inspection of the mode they adopt; but the division of labor is well managed, and the care and habitual exactness of the workmen supply the place of many of those improvements, which European skill has introduced into Mints. Still

*. This amount was the average produce in the time of Alia Bai. It was the year before last twelve thousand; but this was owing to my having recoined Furruckabad and Sicca rupees to an amount of four lacs, at this Mint.

† The whole expended by Government, being under 2 annas per 100 rupees.

‡ The Sahokar having obtained permission to coin, and having collected a sufficient number of silversmiths, makes such purchases of coins or other bullion, as will turn out most to his advantage. These being in general baser coins than the new one to be formed, are first brought to the Nearchee or refiner; who, though not a Government officer, has acquired by agreeing to pay a share of his profits to the former, a species of contract, the rates of the payment to him and other dues being permanently fixed at one rupee, for every three hundred and fifty refined, besides supply of fluxes from Government and lead from the merchant. The mode of fining is always by cuppellation with lead, three hundred and fifty rupees are placed at one time in the cuppel with a certain quantity of lead, according to the standard of the silver used, which by experience he knows will suffice, for bringing it to a certain degree

Still this is a department which requires in these Governments great attention, and some reform; for the temptation to abuse, by the depreciation of the coin, is too great to be always resisted. The coinage of Oujein, Indore, and Bhopaul, has maintained a sufficient degree of credit and purity; whilst that of Purtaubghur * not only varies continually, but has been gradually increasing its quantity of alloy; from twenty-five grains each rupee to sixty-six grains. The Seronge rupee has, in the same way, encreased from six to thirty grains alloy. The Bhilsa rupee from six to twenty-eight, and three quarter grains alloy.

118. The principles and process of coining in all the Mints of Malwa,

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gree of purity, a little higher than that required for the coin. The standard is then nicely adjusted by adding a certain quantity of baser metal. The purified mass is then taken to the melter, who putting one thousand rupees weight at a time in a large crucible on an iron ring, capable of being raised by attached chains, melts it and runs it into several small flat moulds, about six inches long, and half an inch broad, forming it thus into convenient pieces, for cutting into the necessary dimensions. The melter receives for his labor half a rupee per thousand, half of which is paid by the merchant, and half by Government. The bars of silver are then delivered to the silversmiths, each of whom has a small raised fire place and anvil in front close to him. On one side sits another with scales and shears, for supplying him with square pieces of the metal of nearly the proper weight. On the other side sits another more nicely to adjust the weight after it has been formed into its shape. The silversmith receives the small lumps from the first man—heats them red hot, and taking them up with a pair of small forks, gives them two or three smart blows on the angular points, strikes the piece then flat, and gives it afterwards one or two rapid turns on its edge, accompanied by gentle strokes of the hammer; and it thus receives its rudely round form ready for the die. Before this operation, however, it is taken to another man to clean, by boiling it in a mixture of tamarind and salt. The clean planchets are then taken to receive the impression or inscription; this is formed by two steel dies, one firmly fixed in a heavy raised block, and the silver piece being placed on it—the other die in form of a large heavy punch is placed above by one man, whilst an assistant gives it a smart blow with a heavy hammer. One blow suffices—these men are relieved every two hours.

The number of rupees being thus completed, they are carried to the assay master, and if approved, the fees are paid and the coin taken away by the Sahokar for circulation. If not approved, they must be recoined at the expence of the merchant; no fees being however again taken, but merely a trifle given to the melter for remelting them, with the proper quantity of purer metal, to reduce them to the assay touch.—Should an extra number of refiners be required on an emergency, they receive the same dues from the merchant, but as they have to find their own flux, they pay but one quarter instead of half to Government.

* The old standard of the Salim Shahee rupee was 10 massas or 150 grains of pure silver; about 5 years ago it was 9 massas, and latterly it has but little exceeded 8 massas.—Vide Captain MacDonald's Letter dated 1st November 1820.

Malwa, are nearly the same, except at Purtaubghur, where the right is vested in four mercantile companies, the individuals of which are called Koordee: no money can be coined but what comes through their hands; and they are entitled in succession, to the several workmen. The Mint was established through their means, about sixty years ago, in the time of Rajah SALIM SINGH; who, for services to SHAH ALLUM, got a Sunnud authorizing him to coin, and the money bears his name SALIM SHAHEE. No one can be admitted to a participation in this concern, but through the consent of these merchants. The same Government officers however exist, as in other places, but the mint charges are heavier, viz.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Duty to Government per 100 rupees, ...	2	4	6
Pay to Sonnars per 100 rupees, ...	1	0	0
Allowance for loss in making per 100 rupees, ...	0	11	6
Purchase of alloy per 100 rupees, ...	0	4	0
Allowance to Koordee per 100 rupees, ...	0	12	0
Rupees, ...	5	0	0

Out of the Government dues the officers and guards are paid. The abuses of this Mint have been noticed.

119. The average number of rupees, which a Mint in Malwa is capable of coining in a day, is about eight or ten * thousand, employing about fifty silversmiths, ten or twelve stampers, six or eight refiners, and two melters.

120. With respect to the copper coinage, it scarcely merits notice, being alike fluctuating in its value, and confined in its circulation. It consists

* When I enquired, on my visit to the Mint at Indore, what their utmost efforts could produce in a day, the answer was, eleven thousand.

consists of double pice, single pice, and half pice. These are rudely cut pieces of copper with a shew of stamp; but both this, its size, and established value, are continually changed by the ruling officers for the purpose of illicit profit. Excepting therefore the Oujein, Indore, Kotah and Bhopaul Pice, which have some character, the copper circulation of most places is confined to its own immediate district or town. The general exchange is sixteen Tucka (or two pice) to a rupee at Indore and Kotah: At Oujein the pice is smaller, and at Rutlam also. At Mundissore, and in many other * districts, the value is changed every two or three months; and the character of the coin so deteriorated, that it will not pass two miles from where it is coined.

121. Besides pice there are cowries† (a shell coin,) and these again are subdivided into fractional parts, which form a nominal money, quite essential in countries where both labor, and the common articles of subsistence are so cheap, and the standard coin comparatively high.

122. All the money below the half pice, except the cowrie, is nominal. The nominal anna, or sixteenth part of a rupee, exists in Malwa as in other Provinces. Sahokars in their accounts have no lower fractions than a quarter of an anna: Bunniahs or Bazar men enter dumries, and all the lesser fractions of money in their accounts.

123. In Malwa every article is sold by weight: in part of Nimaur, in the Kotah district, (but not in the town) and some other, a measure of grain is used, founded on an equivalent for pice weights. Weights and Measures

124. Two

* At Sillanah, Rutlam, and several other towns west of the Chumbul, this abuse has gone to a great extent.

† Cowries are used in Malwa as in other Provinces of India. there are four cowries to a gunda; three gundas to a dumrie; two dumries to a [illegible]; Three dumries to a tundumrie, and four dumries to an adhlah or half pice. Above this there is the punj dumrie, or five dumries to the paon pice, or three quarter pice, and then the full pice.

124. Two species of weights are used, that of the silversmiths and jewellers, and the large or Bazar: the former is founded on the grain * of rice, and the Ruttee or seed of the wild Jamaica liquorice, (Abra pricatorius,) and is very simple and immutable. That of the Bazar,† having as a standard the current rupee of the country, varies not only in the value of the seer or principal weight, but in the several ascending degrees of the scales; in some the seers being large, whilst the pucheree maund, &c. &c. are composed of a smaller number of seers. In others the seers are small, whilst a greater number are given to the larger weights; and in a third, the whole weights are either altogether large

*GOLDSMITH'S WEIGHT.

8 Chawl or Rice grains make	1 Ruttee,
8 Ruttees, ...	1 Massa,
12 Massas, ...	1 Tolah.

By this gold, silver, jewels, &c. are weighed, and are invariably the same.
The Tolah weighs one hundred and ninety grains Troy.

† INDORE WEIGHTS.

Purchase by 84 Oujein rupees, ...	1 Seer,
Sell " 82 ditto, ...	1 ditto,
5 Seers, ...	1 Puchrenee or Dhurree,
20 Seers, ...	1 Maund,
12 Maunds or 240 Seers, -	1 Maunee.

As the Oujein rupee weighs 174—88 grains Troy, the relative English weights may be easily ascertained, by this and the succeeding tables.

DEWASS.

80 Oujein rupees, ...	1 Seer,
4½ Seers, ...	1 Dhurree,
16½ Seers, ...	1 Maund,
12 Maunds or 198 Seers	1 Maunee.

OUJEIN.

80 Rupees Oujein, ..	1 Seer,
5⅔ Seers,	1 Dhurree,
16⅞ Seers, ..	1 Maund,
12 Maunds or 202½ Seers,	1 Maunee.

NOLAYE.

80 Oujein rupees,	1 Seer,
5 Seers, ..	1 Dhurree,

20 Seers

large or small, so as to more than double or be doubled by others in the neighbouring district. This great variety of weights, both in the aggregate and subdivisions of the scale, renders necessary a minute attention to the subject in all revenue and commercial matters. The annexed tables will, however, best shew the different points of discrepance and agreement: the number of maunds to a maunee, appearing to form the only multiple of nearly general adoption, and the usage prevails in several of the principal towns in Malwa, Indore, Rutlam, &c. &c. of a larger seer by which merchants purchase, and a smaller by which they retail; spices, beetle-nuts, and other valuable imports, are also sold by a reduced seer.

125. In

20 Seers, ...	1 Maund,
12 Maunds or 240 Seers, ...	1 Maunee.

RUTLAM.

Buy by 84 Salim Shahee Rupees, ...	1 Seer,
Sell by 80, ...	1 Seer,
5 Seers, ...	1 Dhurree,
20 Seers, ...	1 Maund,
12 Maunds or 240 Seers, ...	1 Maunee.

Spices, Beetle, &c. &c. sell by 79 Rupees the seer. The Salim Shahee rupee ought to weigh 168, 75 grains Troy.

MUNDISSORE.

92 Salim Shahee Rupees, ...	1 Seer,
4 Seers, ...	1 Dhurree,
15 Seers, ...	1 Maund,
12 Maunds or 180 Seers, ...	1 Maunee.

KOTAH.

80 Kotah Rupees, ...	1 Seer,
5 Seers, ...	1 Dhurree,
4 Seers, ...	1 Maund,
12 Maunds or 480 Seers, ...	1 Maunee.

The Kotah Rupee weighs 174 8 grains Troy.

MEASURE.

48 Pice, ...	1 Pye,
18 Pye, ...	1 Seyn,
20 Seyn, ...	1 Maunee.

The Kotah Pice, on which this is founded, weighs eighteen Massah or 276. 6 grains Troy, and the pye measure ought to contain as much grain as will amount in weight to the above number of pice.

PURTAUBGHUR

125. In the annexed Tables, the smaller weights below a seer, have not been given, as they do not vary in their subdivision, consisting only of

PURTAUBGHUR WEIGHTS.

GOLDSMITH'S WEIGHT.

6 Chawls or Rice Grains,	... ...	1 Ruttee
8 Ruttees,	... ...	1 Massah
12 Massahs,	...	1 Tolah.

COMMON MEASURE.

80 Salim Shahee Rupees,	... ...	1 Seer,
5 Seers,	- - -	1 Dhurree,
20 Seers,	- - - -	1 Maund,
12 Maunds,	- - -	1 Maunee.

DONGERPORE

82 Salim Shahee Rupees,	- -	1 Seer,
10 Seers,	- - -	1 Dhurree,
40 Seers,	- - - -	1 Maund,
12 Maunds,	- - - -	1 Maunee.

BANSWARRAH WEIGHTS.

84 Salim Shahee Rupees,	... ...	1 Seer.
5 Seers,	... ...	1 Dhurree.
20 Seers,	... ...	1 Maund.
12 Maunds,	... ...	1 Maunee.

BHOPAUL.

80 Bhopaul Rupees,	... ...	1 Seer.
6½ Seers,	... ...	1 Pusseree.
40 Pussrees,	... ...	1 Maunee.
100 Maunees,	... ...	1 Maniassa.

BHILSA, TOWN OF.

80 Bhilsa Rupees,	... ...	1 Seer.
6 Seers,	... ...	1 Pusseree.
48 Seers or 8 Pusserees,	... ...	1 Maund.
30 Pusseree or 3¾ Maunds,	...	1 Maunee.
100 Maunees,	... ...	1 Maniassa.

SERONGE.

80 Seronge Rupees,	... ...	1 Seer.
6½ Seers,	... ...	1 Pusseree.
4 Pusserees	... ...	1 Maund.
32 Pusserees or 8 Maunds,	...	1 Maunee.
100 Maunees,	... ...	1 Maniasa.

OOMUTWARA

of half seer, quarter seer, eighth of a seer, and sixteenth or chuttack; and every intermediate weight being determined by the number of pice weight.

OOMUTWARA.

21 B. Rupees,	...	1 Seer.
3½ Seers,	...	1 Pusseree.
7 Seers or 2 Pusserees,	...	1 Dhurree.
4 Dhurees,	...	1 Maund.
8 Maunds,	...	1 Maunee.
100 Maunees,	...	1 Muniasa.

BAIRSEEAH.

80 Bhopl. Rupees,	...	1 Seer.
5 Seers,	...	1 Pusseree.
8 Pusserees,	...	1 Maund.
32 Pusserees or 4 Maunds,	...	1 Maunee.
100 Maunees,	...	1 Muniasa.

SHUJAWULPOOR.

80 Boondee Rupees,	...	1 Seer.
3½ Seers,	...	1 Pusseree.
2 Pusserees,	...	1 Dhuree.
4 Dhurrees or 28 Seers,	...	1 Maund.
8 Maunds,	...	1 Maunee.
100 Maunees,	...	1 Muniasa.

The above tables were framed from native information. The following is the result of a comparison made by Captain DANGERFIELD of the Indore weights, with a correct English standard.

			lbs.	Oz.	Dr.	G.
The Seer consists of 82 Hallee Rs. weighing,		... ...	2	0	3	00
" 2½ Seers or half a Pusseree	205 Rs.	... ...	5	0	7	30
" 5 ditto or Kuranah Pusseree	410 Rs.	... ...	10	0	15	00
" 5 ditto and 10 Rs. or Grain Pusseree	420 Rs.	...	10	5	1	40

The small or Kuranah (dry goods) Pusseree is that by which every thing is sold in the Bazar. But the Bunya purchases his grain by the large or grain Pusseree. The maund for grain consists only of 20 Seers or 4 Pusserees, but the Maund for Kurana, as opium, ghee, spices, oil and the like is 40 Seers or 8 Pusserees.

		lbs.	Oz.	Dr.	Gr.
Therefore the Grain Maund must weigh,	... ...	41	4	6	40
And the Opium and Kurana Maund,	... ...	80	7	8	00

The weights used for dry goods generally differ from those for grain, salt, &c. and even the latter are often not the same throughout a district, as those in use in the principal town which gives it its name. For instance the dry goods weights in the town of Bhilsah are as follows:—

83 Bhilsa Rupees make	... ...	1 Seer.
5 Seers,	... ...	1 Pusseree.
8 Pusserees,	... ...	1 Maund.

An

weight, as one pice, two pice, the pice referred to being always the large or pucka pice termed Doogany, whose weight ought to be exactly that of two rupees. The ordinary weight is however only eighteen Massas (or 286·6 grains of Troy weight) and eleven Massas form the Indore or Halee currency.

126. There is at present, and has ever been in Malwa, a great traffic in bills of exchange. An amount of from two to three lacs monthly is drawn from Mhow and Indore, in bills on the treasuries of the western Provinces; and there can be no doubt that nearly double that sum may be negotiated, at a favorable rate of exchange, at the cities of Oujein and Indore alone, but the Sahookars or their Agents, who purchase these bills, do it merely to sell again; indeed they seldom ask for them, till they have settled the distribution among the different Shroffs in small sums, of the amount for which they apply; or when induced, by accounts of the rate of exchange (which they receive daily) to send them on speculation, for sale to Kotah or Jypore; but the latter appears the great mart for this species of paper traffic.

127. The fluctuation of the rate of exchange in Malwa has within late years, been very great; but it is now approximated to that level it had in peaceable times, and unless disturbed by events that create extraordinary

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And again grain, salt, &c. are bought and sold, throughout the Pergunnah, by measurement (not by weight) agreeably to the following Table, which differs essentially from that given above, as the standard Town weights:

40 Rupees make	1 Paee.
10 Paees.	1 Koora.
8 Kooras, ...	1 Maund.
4 Maunds, ...	1 Maunee.

The Pusseree is literally Punj Seer, or five Seers. But from alteration in the weight of the Rupee (a certain number of which form the seer,) and other causes, the Pusseree frequently consists of more than five seers. Indeed the seer weight has been often changed in like manner. The knowledge of such variations in the fixed weight of particular towns and districts, will in a great degree account for the varieties of weights and measures at present in use throughout Malwa.

ordinary demand, will keep near that standard * which belongs to it from the state of commercial intercourse, by which it is affected. Malwa sends rich produce to Goozerat and the Deckan, and gets return of bullion and value from those countries; but to Hindostan few of its articles are exported; and to Mirzapore and Benares, from whence a great proportion of its imports are received, hardly any goods are sent: add to this, that the Malwa Sahokars are often the medium of the Goozerat payments, for the merchandize from the Bengal Provinces, and we shall account for a great proportion of the remittances that are made. There is still another cause, a great number of the natives of the Company's Provinces are in service, or have become inhabitants † of Malwa: These continually require remittances for the support of their families, and have usually recourse to petty Shroffs, who engage for increased profits, to pay them at the place of residence. There are demands on this latter account for bills on the Poonah territories and the Deckan, but not to the same amount; and this accounts with the more equal state of commerce for the difference of exchange, which is never so favorable as upon Hindostan:—at present the latter is five per cent. premium. Bills on Hyderabad, Poonah, Baroda and Bombay are about par.

128. The Sahokars of Malwa act more as agents and brokers in this great bill traffic, than as principals: there are indeed few if any of them that can be termed capitalists, and they have been so mixed and soiled in the late revolutions in this province, that those who have not been

* It was, when I first drew bills A. D. 1817, at fifteen per cent. discount, between the Oujein and Sonat rupee. The exchange was long kept unfavorable by a combination of Sahokars. But that was broken, and a competition for bills created. The consequence is the exchange is now five per cent. premium for bills on Furruckabad, Benares, Delhi, &c. which is about the rate of former times of prosperity.

† The British troops and their followers in Malwa being almost all from Hindostan, will by the money they expend in the Province, and the demand of bills for the support of their families, balance the decrease of this class, by the expulsion from Malwa of the greater part of those Patan and Rajpoot soldiers of fortune from Hindustan, whom this province has so long supported.

been wholly ruined in fortune, have lost much of that character and those habits,* which belong to this class of men in other parts of India.

Customs of Malwa.

129. In the Mahratta Governments of Malwa, the Syer (or customs) has always formed a considerable part of the revenue; and latterly so much of their territories has been desolate, that many of the frontier pergunnahs produced more in customs than land rent. Syer or duty is generally in Malwa deemed a Royalty, and is very seldom included in the common grants, by which land is either temporarily or permanently alienated. Zemindars have their Dumries, or dues,† in their respective pergunnahs;—Choukeedars or watchmen have also a small right; and when cattle, grain, or goods pass through the country of Bheels, their Chiefs have what is termed their cowrie; a term, which though exceeded, marks the smallness of this due. The Putteils and Wuttundars of some villages (not all) have a Khoout, or small due upon traders. These claims are all perfectly understood; and unless in times of confusion, more than the right of the party is never demanded. The accounts of the Syer of every pergunnah are kept separate, by the same officers employed in the revenue department.

130. If a person rents the customs under any of the Mahratta Governments of Malwa, he receives an account of the usages in collecting ‡ this part

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* This has been noticed, and the practice to which it has led. One partially known in many of the towns in India, has lately been common in most of those in Malwa, but particularly Oujein, where it has been practised to a very great extent. That of Osut or accommodation Bills. These are termed on the face of the bills "*Chelum*," or current, in opposition to "*Rukra*," or ready money bills. The person who accepts these from the drawers, enters the amount against him in his books at interest, which it continues to bear and be transferrable, but without giving a right to any holder to enforce payment. It is a kind of floating credit introduced by a body of individuals by mutual understanding, to supply the place of capital; but when that abounds it falls to the ground, being unreal. The dealings in this species of bill currency is limited to Sahokars and money brokers.

† This is as upon land, a per centage on the amount collected.

‡ Instead of Mamsol which is the common revenue term for usage, in other parts of India, I find that in general use in Malwa is, *Shud Amud*, a compound of two Persian Verbs, which means literally "It has been, and is come," and implies all that was orignally and that time had added.

part of the revenue, and he is expected in no instance to depart from the established rates. Those of Malwa are comparatively moderate; and they are not even so high as they appear in account. Duty is collected according to the value of the article, but when in great quantities, as is the case with grain, salt, and cotton, duties are taken on the hundred bullock load, and a usage prevails of counting one hundred and twenty, one hundred and fifty, and even as far as two hundred bullock load, to the hundred on which the tax is levied. This has been caused by the necessity, which the different States, who have possessions upon the frontier are under of decreasing duties to preserve the transit trade; which turns to another route on the imposition of any serious burthens upon it, or upon being encouraged by any decrease of duties. The petty officers of the custom department, are stationed at the most convenient points for collection.

131. There is no branch of their revenue in this Province, where the Mahratta Governments are more wronged than that of customs; which arises chiefly from their ministers, managers, and renters, being almost without exception concerned in trade. From the death of Alia Bae, till within the last two years, large commercial speculations in Malwa had more the character of Military enterprizes than the occupation of industrious merchants: every Sahokar had his party of armed men, formed connections with ministers and commanders of armies, contracted engagements with plundering chieftains and robbers, and had his goods, whether exported or imported, guarded like the baggage of an army. The insurance companies at Oujein, Indore and Mundissore, kept a small corps each, who were supported by the high premiums charged on all articles from A. D. 1798, till A. D. 1818, which were exported or imported between Malwa, Goozerat, the Deck-

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han and Hindostan. These companies were all compelled to bribe the most powerful plunderers of the day; who, in their demands upon them and the merchants, had no standard, except a view of their own interests at the moment. It is impossible to form an estimate of the Syer and customs of a country at such a period; but an account of the rate of insurance in this province for three epochs: First, during the reign of MADHAJEE SCINDIAH and ALIA BAE: Second, from A. D. 1798, to 1818, emphatically called, the period of troubles; and lastly, the present year, will enable us to judge what it was in the best times Malwa has known; what the worst brought it to; and how far security of commercial prosperity is restored. The Table* in the margin exhibits this, being

* On reference to the books of several insurances, the rates were found to differ slightly, and to be affected not only by the times, but the spirit of the insurer and confidence of the merchants, who gave higher premium to those of whose prompt payment in case of loss they were assured. The following Table exhibits the average rates of insurance for three periods of the last twenty-five years in Malwa.

				...nsurance du...g the troubles Malwa for ...t 20 years.	Insurance. A. D. 1820.
Indore,	Cheetore,	Cloths,	As. per Cent.	No traffic,	No traffic.
Ditto,	Jawud,	Ditto,		Ditto,	Ditto.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Tobacco,	4 8 do	Ditto,	Ditto.
Bheelwarra and Sauganeer,	Indore,	Cloths,	12 Annas,	Ditto,	Ditto.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Tobacco,	8 ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto.
Malwa,	Jehazpore,	Ditto,	10 ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto.
Indore,	Mundissore,	Cloths,	8 ditto,	2½ Rupees,	10 Annas.
Ditto,	Rutlam,	Ditto,	6 ditto,	2 ditto,	ditto.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Kuranah,	ditto,	1½ ditto,	ditto.
Ditto,	Katchrode,	Cloths,	ditto,	1¼ ditto,	ditto.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Kuranah,	ditto,	1¼ ditto,	ditto.
Kotah,	Indore,	Cloths,	1½ ditto,	4 and 5 ditto	14 ditto.
Indore,	Kotah,	Opium,	1¼ Rupees,	ditto,	4 ditto,
Jeypore,	Indore,	Cloths, &c.	ditto,	ditto,	1½ to 1¾ Rupees.
Malwa,	Jeypore,	Silver, Money and Bullion,	1¼ ditto,	3½ to 4 Rs.	No traffic.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Gold,	Rupee,	2½ Rupees,	6 to 8 Annas.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Jewels, Pearls &c.	12 Annas,	1¼ ditto,	6 Annas per Cent. but since the late Robbery near Oujein, 1 Rupee per Cent.

Shujawulpore,

being taken from one of the Insurance Offices. It will be remarked that insurance

From	*To*	*Merchandise.*	*Insurance 25 years ago.*	*Insurance during the troubles in Malwa for last 20 years.*	*Insurance. A. D. 1820.*
Shujawulpore,	Indore,	Cloth,	1 Rupee	2 to 2½ Rs.	6 Annas.
Ashta,	Ditto,	Ditto,	1½ ditto,	2½ to 3 do.	8 ditto.
Moheysir,	Ditto,	Ditto,	6 Annas,	3¼ to 3½ do.	4 ditto.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Silver,	3 ditto,	1½ to 2 do.	3 ditto.
Oujein,	Ditto,	Cloth,	3 ditto,	1½ to 2 do.	3 ditto.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Silver,	2 ditto,	12 to 16 As.	
Indore,	Ahmedabad, Baroda and Broach,	Opium and Cloth,	12 Annas to 1 Rupee per Cent.	3 to 6 Rs. per Cent.	12 to 14 As. per Cent.
Indore,	Goozerat,	Coins & Bullion	2 Rupees,	3 to 4 Rs.	1 to 1½ Rupee.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Gold Mohurs,	1½ ditto,	2 to 2½ do.	1 Rupee.
Surat,	Indore,	Pearls & Precious Stones,	1½ ditto,	2½ ditto,	14 to 16 Annas.
Indore,	Poonah,	Cloths,	1½ ditto,	4 to 6 ditto,	No traffic.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Opium,	No traffic,	No traffic,	110 Rs. per load of 2½ maunds weight; this includes insurance, hire and all charges which the Bunniahs take upon themselves.
Poonah,	Malwa,	Money & Silver Bullion,	12 As. per Ct	3½ per Cent.	2 to 2½ Rs. per Ct.
Naniaupore,	Ditto,	Cloths,	2 to 2½ Rs.	5 to 7 Rs.	2½ Rupees.
Malwa,	Hyderabad,	Opium,	1½ Rupees,	8 to 10 Rs.	95 Rupees on the load of 2½ maunds, including expences of transit.
Oomrawuttee,	Malwa,	Cloths and Kuranahs,	8 to 10 As.	4 and 5 Rs.	1 to 1½ Rupees.
Hyderabad,	Ditto,	Silver & Gold Coin and Bullion,	10 Annas,	3½ Rupees,	Silver 3,—Gold 1½, including charges.
Jaulnah,	Indore,	Cloths,	2 Rupees,	5 ditto,	1¼ to 1½ Rupee.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Silver,	1 ditto,	3 ditto,	1½ Rs including transit charges.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Gold Pagodas,	No traffic,	1½ ditto,	12 Annas, ditto.
Boorhampore,	Ditto,	Cloths,	12 Annas,	3½ ditto,	12 Annas.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Silver Money and Bullion	8 ditto,	2 ditto,	8 Annas, including transit.
Mirzapore, Mhow and Ghansi,	Ditto,	Cloths,	1½ to 2 Rs.	5 to 6 ditto,	1½ Rupees.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Kuranahs,	1¼ to 1½ Rs	5 ditto,	1¼ to 1½ ditto.
Chanderey & Bundlekund,	Ditto,	Cloths,	2 Rupees,	6 ditto,	2 to 2½ ditto.
Indore,	Bhopal,	Kuranahs,	1½ ditto,	3½ ditto,	1¼ to 1½ ditto.
Seronge,	Indore,	Cloths,	1½ ditto,	4 ditto,	1½ to 2 ditto.
Indore,	Palee in Malwa,	Cloths and Kuranahs,	12 As. to 1 R	No traffic,	No traffic.
Indore,	Oudipore,	Cloth,	14 Annas,	Ditto,	Ditto.
Ditto,	Ditto,	Kuranahs,	10 ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto.

N. B. Jewels and Gold being portable, pay least to the insurer. Silver is also comparatively low. Cloth, opium, Kuranah or dry goods, including spices, medicinal drugs, dried fruit, and every article of this description, except salt and grain, are insured at the same rate.

In

insurance extends only to a limited number of articles, Grain, salt, wood and cattle are never insured. It also appears from this Table that in the three least bulky, but most valuable articles, of opium, bullion, and jewels, the insurance companies not only insure against risk and take upon themselves the carriage, but contract to pay all duties, interfering seldom but in those articles with the occupations of another class of monied men, who will be hereafter noticed, and whose chief business is to carry for a certain amount, all goods duty free, from the towns of Malwa, to the different Provinces and Cities, with whom it carries on a trade.

132. During this period of confusion, duties were collected by the Mahratta Governments, and every petty Chief, on a calculation of their power to protect* or impede the trade, and had therefore no standard; but

In Purtaubghur the rates of Insurance are the same on all articles of traffic, and vary only according to the distance; for instance all articles proceeding from Purtaubghur to Oojein pay one rupee in each hundred of their value.

From	*To*	*Rate of Insurance for every hundred of their value.*		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.
Purtaubghur,	Kotah	0	14	0
„	Baroda	1	8	0
„	Ahmedabad	2	0	0
„	Boorhampore	2	4	0
„	Surat	2	0	0
„	Jeypore	1	8	0
„	Pallee	1	4	0
„	Ajmere	1	8	0
„	Kishengurh	1	8	0
„	Ruttam	0	10	0
„	Oodipore by the Jewur Route	1	0	0
„	Doolapanee Ditto	1	4	0
„	Indore	1	4	0
„	Dongerpore	1	4	0
„	Loonewanee	1	4	0
„	Banswarra	0	10	0

* As an example of this species of exaction may be stated a tax, commonly imposed by Rajpoot Chiefs on the frontier, called Balsa, or protection tax. The Rajah of Jaboosh levied at Inderghur, on all goods passing between Malwa and Goozerat, 1 rupee on every cart, and four annas on every bullock. This was given up when the Country became settled, but not without difficulty, as the Rajah

but the new impositions were usually kept distinct from the former customs, which were preserved in the books; and all the States in Malwa profess their desire of returning to them and fixing the transit duties at the same moderate rate as they were thirty years ago; but it will be some time before this branch of collection is clear of those abuses, to which it has been so long subject. Duties are levied upon all animals or goods, that have not a pass of exemption; and at fords in rivers, foot passengers even are compelled to pay a trifle. The chief vexations from this system in Malwa, arise from the intermixed territories, and the consequent great number of places, where large and small customs are to be paid. This the merchants often avoid by having recourse to a class of persons,* who contract for a certain sum, not only to convey their goods, but to pay all duties to any given place they desire. These persons derive considerable gain from such concerns; partly by fair means, but more by collusion with the officers in charge of the custom department, with whom they are invariably connected, and they were indeed in many places the renters of the customs.

133. The monied men, who engage in this line, have as commanding an influence over Brinjaries and the owners of cattle, as those Sahokars who engage in revenue concerns have over the Ryots. They make the Brinjaries advances at high interest, and then monopolize the power of employing them; rendering by this process, the recovery

jah and others of the same class long resisted my remonstrances against its continuance, which was not only injurious to commerce, but would ultimately have caused a decrease of his own receipts by merchants taking a different road.

* These persons, commonly Sahokars or brokers, are called Hoondah Bara wallah, or Hoondits; and their occupation is termed Hoondah Bara, a compound word which implies two occupations, that of Hoondah or payment of duties, and Bara or contract for carriage. These two were frequently engaged for by the same person, which has given rise to the compound terms of Hoondah Bara and Hoondah Barawallah. The wealthy firm of Pornassa Maun Singh and now carried on by the brothers Poorna Chund and Seetah Chund, are not only great insurers but often combine the business of Hoondah Bara of the goods they insure.

covery of their money secure, and the carriers dependant. Through such means, and the ability (when they were not renters of the customs) to turn trade in their charge to, or from, a particular route, the officers of the customs were compelled to conciliate them; and this influence enabled these contractors to pay the duties and carry the goods of a merchant as cheap, as if he went through all the detail of hiring cattle and giving the dues himself at every custom house in the country. A knowledge of this fact, will lead us to consider the annexed Table,* which exhibits the Hoondah Barra (or contract to pay

* Table shewing hire and duty rates between Malwa and other Provinces.

From	*To*	*Name and description of Articles*	*Amount of Articles.*	*Carts or Bullocks*	*Rate of Hire.*	*Rate of Tax.*
					Rs.	Rs.
Indore	Broche	Opium & Cloth	1200 Seers	Cart with 20 Bullocks	60	60
Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	120 ditto	Bullock	17	10
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah† or dry goods	1200 ditto	Cart with 4 Bullocks	60	25
Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	120 ditto	Bullock	17	9
Ditto	Baroda	Opium & Cloth	1200 ditto	Cart	50	50
Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	120 ditto	Bullock	15	14
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah	1200 ditto	Cart, &c.	50	20
Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	120 ditto	Bullock	15	7
Ditto	Chota Oudipore	Opium and Cloth	1200 ditto	Cart	40	40
Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	120 ditto	Bullock	15	12
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah	1200 ditto	Cart	40	16
Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	120 ditto	Bullock	15	5
Ditto	Oomrawuttee	Opium	90 ditto	Ditto	25	Including Tax
Oomrawuttee	Indore	Cloth	120 ditto	Ditto	24	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah	120 ditto	Ditto	18	ditto.
Indore	Hoshungabad	Opium	90 ditto	Ditto	35	ditto.
Ditto Hoshungabad	Ditto Indore	Cloth	120 ditto	Ditto	40	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah	120 ditto	Ditto	30	ditto.
Indore	Hyderabad	Opium	90 ditto	Ditto	50	ditto.
Ditto Hyderabad	Ditto Indore	Cloth	120 ditto	Ditto	54	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah	120 ditto	Ditto	45	ditto.
Jhansee	Ditto	Cloth	120 ditto	Ditto	15	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah	120 ditto	Ditto	10	ditto.
Kotah	Ditto	Cloth	110 ditto	Ditto	13½	ditto.
Ditto	Ditto	Kurranah	110 ditto	Ditto	12½	ditto.
Indore	Kotah	Opium	110 ditto	Ditto	31	ditto.
Ditto	Oomrawuttee	Horses	——	——	15	each horse.
Ditto	Ditto	Camels	——	——	12	each
Ditto	Boorhampore	Ditto	——	——	10	each
Ditto	Ditto	Horses	——	——	11	each
Rutlam	Indore	Opium	20 Seers	——	1½	Including Tax
Nolye	Ditto	Ditto	20 ditto	——	1	ditto.

† This term implies all articles, drugs, spices, dried fruit, &c. &c. except grain.

pay both hire and duties) as a very fair average of the actual amount of these charges, on the transport of merchandize, to and from the places specified.

134. The Table of Hoondah Barrah, or hire and duty rates, has not been calculated, like that of insurance, at different periods. It is comparatively liable to little fluctuation; for, being dependant more on the means and influence of the contractors than the usual changes of duties or exactions of Government officers, the former have found it their interest to keep it nearly at a known and fixed rate, refraining no doubt from engaging in the concern, when the injustice of a particular Ruler, or the nature of the times, makes it too hazardous;* but it is remarkable that, throughout all the trouble with which Malwa has been afflicted, this business flourished;—a fact, which shews very forcibly that good understanding and confidence, which the minuter parts of the organization of a Native Government inspire, even at a period when to a common and general observer it appears nothing but one scene of confusion. A tolerably

* The principal Insurers of Malwa have been, during the late times, remarkable for their boldness and enterprize. In A. D. 1801, a few months before Indore was attacked and destroyed by SCINDIAH's Army, merchandize from Mirzapore for Goozerat, to the value of six lacs of rupees, was at that city, which was already surrounded by Pindaries. KEWALJEE (lately dead) the elder brother of the present partners of the firm of POORRABIA MAUN SINGH, (so called from its founder) offered to insure this property beyond the Mhye River, where it was within the limits of Goozerat, for 4 per cent. It was only seven or eight marches for the carts, (amounting to one hundred) on which the goods were loaded, but the danger was increased by the Dhar State having refused its protection. These circumstances, combined with the credit of the Insurers, led the merchants to pay the premium. KEWALJEE immediately increased a body of two hundred armed men, whom he had always in pay, to six hundred, and made an engagement with KISHNAJEE MALJEE, the Komisdar of Indore, for three hundred Horse and two Guns, for which he paid five thousand rupees, and placing himself at the head of the convoy conducted it safe beyond the Mhye.

SEETA CHUND, one of the present partners, shewed me the account of this transaction taken from his books; by which it appears, the premium paid was twenty-four thousand; the expences incurred fourteen thousand, and the profit ten thousand rupees; but he states that the latter was disproportioned to the risk. "No Insurer," he added, "ever lived in Malwa, but my brother KEWALJEE, "who dared to have undertaken such an enterprize. But he had a Burrah Chattee," a great breast, "B,hot Burrah Chattee," a very great breast.

tolerably clear knowledge of their interest, a respect for certain classes, and a veneration for established usages, exist in the mind of the most unjust Rulers in India, and account for that preservation of system amid anarchy, which to those educated in other countries appears wholly impracticable.

135. It will be unnecessary more minutely to state the amount of the duties collected by the different Rulers and Chiefs of Malwa. The principles, upon which these are realized, are in general the same, with a very remarkable exception of the principality of Dongerpore, in the province of Baugur,* where, with a truly uncivilized policy, marked distinctions as to the amount taken on transit duties are made according to the class and cast of the traders. The most favored in this Rajpoot country are Châruns and Bhats, who are at once their bards and their priests. These are sometimes exempted from all duties, and when they do pay they are never charged but at a very moderate rate. The merchants of Goozerat pay the highest† duties; those of Malwa pay five per cent. less; and the native Bunneahs of Baugur, with the exception of one district,‡ are still more favored: the Gooar§ Bingarries, and the Loobanahs, (another

* The duties in Baugur are collected by the Pothee, or bullock load of one hundred and twenty seer. A cart with three pair of bullocks is assessed at twelve Pothees;—two pair of ditto at six Pothees; a Camel at two;—a Buffaloe one and a half; and an Ass half.

† Per load Kurranah, cotton, silks, ghee, oil, gums, bees-wax, tobacco, sugar-candy, being one hundred and forty three rupees upon every hundred load of these articles,

	Rs.	As.
Per load Kurranah, cotton, silks, ghee, oil, gums, bees-wax, tobacco, sugar-candy, being one hundred and forty three rupees upon every hundred load of these articles, ...	1	7
Per load of opium and broad cloth, or 513 rs. 12, for every hundred loads, ...	5	3
Per load salt and grain, ...	0	2
Ditto ivory and indigo, or for every hundred load, 918 12, ...	9	3
Ditto ditto of kutcha iron, ...	0	10
Ditto pucka iron, ...	1	5

Sookree of one anna each load is levied.

‡ The district of Tirpodh.

§ These pay as follows:

Per one hundred load of salt, ...	13	0
Ditto Goor, ...	25	0
Ditto Grain, ...	13	0

Per

(another class of carriers) inhabitants of Malwa, pay equal duties; while the Loobanahs and Sugrahs, being natives of Baugur, pay seven per cent. less; Brahmins pay nearly the same as favored Bunneahs: Châruns pay on opium only, and that at the rate of two rupees and a half every four maunds. Bhats are exempted from all charges, when they have less than one hundred head of cattle; for every hundred loads (whatever be the article) they pay three rupees, and six for two hundred loads; and if above that, to whatever amount, eleven rupees, except the load be Aul, or red dye, when they pay thirteen.

136. From all merchants, not excepting the Châruns and Bhats, the smaller tax, called Koowur Sookree, (or money for the breakfast of the Prince) is levied:—duties, once taken in this principality, carry the goods through it, except when they come to the town of Dongerpore, where a fresh sum is levied. It might be supposed, that the distinctions enumerated might lead to collusion, but this could only be practised by the Châruns or Bhats, and the limited concerns of these classes, their pride and honor, are security to the State against any such practice. They also must know that any detected abuses would probably terminate in the loss of their valued privileges.

137. It is a curious fact, that the principality of Bhanswarrah should have a different system of collecting duties, while it has a similar description of government, is ruled by a branch of the Dongerpore family, with many of the same nobles, and not only belongs to the same province, but has many lands intermixed with those of that State. In this country, all,

Per load of Opium, ...	Rs. 3	3
Ditto Cottons and Silks, ...	1	7
Ditto Kurranah, or dry goods, ...	0	11
Ditto Ivory, ...	9	3
Ditto ghee, oil, tobacco, copper, ...	0	11
Per one hundred load of iron, ...	21	8
Ditto Aul, —	30	0

To the renter of customs one rupee for every Kafila, of whatever number. One for Moolakat or meeting, and eight annas Sookree (or morning repast) for every hundred loads.

all, except Bhats and Cháruns, who are favored more or less in all Rajpoot States, pay nearly alike. The rate of these duties, which are only collected at the city of Bhanswarrah and the village of Boongra, are stated in the margin,* as are also the different rates of duties collected on

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
* Kurranah, or dry goods, per load, ...	0	11	0
Cottons of all kinds, ...	2	0	0
Silks, broad cloth, opium and ivory, ...	4	8	0
Tobacco, ...	0	11	0
Cotton, ...	0	10	0
Ghee and oil, ...	1	0	0
Salt, per hundred load, ...	14	0	0
Imports from Malwa, whether sold in the district or passing through.			
Coarse cottons, per bullock, ...	2	0	0
Boorhanpore and Chandur cotton, ...	3	8	0
Shajahanpore cottons, ...	3	4	0
Brass and copper, ...	1	4	0
Opium, ...	4	8	0
Grain, ...	0	2	6
Ghee and oil, ...	1	0	0
Kurranah and Tobacco, ...	0	11	0
Cotton, ...	0	10	0
Exports, being the produce of the district, wherever carried.			
Ghee and oil, per load, ...	1	0	0
Rice, ...	0	3	0
Gums, Onswerie, ginger, chey, Singhar flowers, hides and iron, ...	0	10	0
Honey and bees-wax, ...	1	4	0

N. B. When the duties are paid a pass is given; the Nakadars, or men posted at Nakas or passes, fords, &c. seize all who have not these; and these persons, who act as watchmen, levy a duty of one anna and a half per cent. indiscriminately on every loaded bullock.— A small duty for protection is also levied on merchandize by the Thakoors or Lords, through whose estates they pass.

When an inhabitant of the city of Purtaubghur introduces opium into it, he pays taxes as follows.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Government, for every 20 seers, ...	0	11	3
To the Kamdar, ...	0	1	0
Total ...	0	12	3

Poor cultivators, (being also old inhabitants) who bring opium in small quantities in pots into the city, only pay,

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Government, ...	0	4	6
To the Kamdar, ...	0	1	0
Total, ...	0	5	6

If

on opium in the town of Purtaubghur, which have in their distinctions something of a similar character.

138. Captain MacDonald suggests, when the country is more settled, that some modifications of the duties of Dongerpore, favorable to the general trader, might be proposed to the Ruler of that principality, whose system may be simplified with advantage. In Bhanswarrah no change is required, except perhaps a reduction of duties: but that will, from the causes before noticed, and the variety of routes among which the merchants can choose, regulate itself.

139. A competition to encourage dealers and carriers has already commenced among the many large and petty Rulers, who possess lands on the frontiers of Malwa, that must prove most favorable to the general convenience of that and adjoining provinces.

140. It is impossible to give a detailed account of the revenue of the different districts in Malwa in a degree sufficiently correct for any satisfactory statement of the whole resources of that country—whether we might wish to exhibit what they were at a remote, or a recent period of time. The want of authentic records, the changes of government, and in the limits of districts, combined with the jealousy that is excited by any minute enquiries, make

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If sold in the city these persons give five rupees' weight for every twenty seers, and if carried out again further taxes are levied, making the whole amount to four rupees two and a half annas per bullock load.—And other subjects pay in carrying opium through the town about four annas additional per bullock load.

Foreigners passing opium through the town are taxed in an amount of five rupees four and a half annas per Pothee, or bullock load.

After the Dewallee, inhabitants of the city only are taxed higher, but in a very trifling degree.

Cloths, spices, silks, grain, &c. &c. carried to, sold in, or passed through Purtaubghur, are taxed according to their respective value, and with reference to the merchants being inhabitants of the city, other subjects of the district, or foreigners.—There are likewise about fifteen other places in the district, at which light duties for transit and protection are levied.

make it not merely difficult, but impossible, to obtain materials for any correct general estimate, except of a few districts, which are now under our rule, or of which accident has given full information; and a selection from these, comprehending examples, both of countries that have been partially or wholly destroyed during the late troubles, will suffice to shew the past and present condition of the revenues, and enable us to form a just opinion regarding their probable improvement.

Bairseah. 141. The district of Bairseah (according to Major HENLEY) is about thirty miles in length by twenty in breadth: on the south and south-west it is bounded by Bhopaul, by Oomutwara on the north-west and north, and on the east and south-east by Bhilsah. The whole villages of the district amount to three hundred and fifteen, and of this number one hundred and sixty-two are only half assessed, being held by certain persons in reward for service.

142. Bairseah was rented by Dewan CHOTA KHAN, of Bhopaul, who took it for twelve years, (commencing about the year A. D. 1784, Fuzlee 1193,) from RUNG ROW APPAH, Dewan of Dhar, for an annual payment of seventy-five thousand rupees, but many villages were then, as now, only half assessed.* The district was well peopled and cultivated, and its highest produce during this period is stated by the manager, KHEALEE RAM, † to have been one lac and twelve thousand rupees.

143. The revenues of this fine district were afterwards so deteriorated, that AMBAH PUNDT, an officer of SCINDEAH's, could only realize in A. D. 1815 a revenue of twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-three

* KHEALEE RAM states that when he had the management of Bairseah, (thirty years ago) the districts occupied by the Salunkee Rajpoots, were only half assessed.

† This man (now in my service) has been mentioned as the nephew of Rajah HIMMUT RAI, the principal revenue Officer under CHOTA KHAN.

ty-three rupees. The revenues of Bairseah have been made over to us by the State of Dhar, for five years, as a payment for an advance of two lacs and seventy thousand rupees. The amount of the first two years' collections, and the estimates of the three years remaining, make a gradual advance from forty-four thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine; the revenue of 1817 to one lac four thousand one hundred and fifty-four rupees; and, allowing for the difference between this, our mode of collection,* and that of a Native State, this district will be as productive in A. D. 1824, as it was in the time of CHOTA KHAN, thirty years ago; and will yield a revenue of nearly four times the amount of what it did in A. D. 1815.

144. The large district of Oomutwarra contains seven Pergunnahs, and three Tuppahs, or inferior districts. It was formerly estimated at a revenue of nine lacs of rupees, and continued flourishing till within the last twenty years, when it was desolated by the predatory system, which ruined many of the other districts in the south of Malwa; and, latterly, the whole of Oomutwarra did not produce more than eighty thousand rupees. It is slowly recovering; † and its present year's revenue may be calculated at one lac and a half rupees, besides 50,000 rupees' value of territory, made over to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH in lieu of tribute from Rajghur‡. Oomutwarra

145. The fine district of Shujahalpore, east of the Newrij, which is calculated to contain three hundred and sixty villages, yielding twenty- Shujahalpore

* According to the settlement recently made, the revenue for this Province is calculated in Major HENLEY's Report to yield in A. D 1823-4 about one lac forty two thousand eight hundred and forty six rupees, and its utmost revenues, when in complete prosperity, will not, he states, while the Galoonkers are only half assessed, exceed two lacs of rupees.

† CHYN SINGH, the Ruler of Narsinghur, is very active in promoting the interests of his country.

‡ This Chief pays a money tribute of one thousand and fifty rupees to the Kotah Rajah, on account of a Jaghire granted to him by the late Rajah.

twenty-seven years ago a revenue of two lacs forty-six thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven rupees, was reduced to thirty thousand; but Major HENLEY (under whose management it now is) has made a settlement, which, allowing for all expences of administration and collections, gives an encreasing revenue, which will amount in A. D. 1824 to rupees one lac ninety-five thousand and nine hundred. The fine western districts of the same Mahal, though belonging to SCINDIAH, are managed by Major HENLEY, and are calculated by him, for 1823-4, at a revenue of one lac sixty-four thousand five hundred. He estimates the whole of Shujahalpore, when fully restored to cultivation, at six lacs of rupees. In A. D. 1806, it certainly did not exceed sixty thousand.

Bhopaul. 146. The districts in the principality of Bhopaul are said to be capable of yielding from eighteen to twenty-two lacs. It was latterly (A. D. 1816) reduced as low as one lac twenty-five thousand rupees. This estimate of its produce for several years is perhaps under-rated,* but not much. It was given by the officers of Bhopaul, in 1817, more with a view to shew the great injury the revenues had sustained, than as a correct statement; but no country in Malwa has been more completely destroyed; and, during the height of the late anarchy, its Rulers had possession of little else but their forts, while the Pindarries plundered at large in their possessions. When FYEZ MAHOMED KHAN, forty-eight years ago, ceded half his territories to the Mahrattas, the whole was calculated as amounting to sixteen lacs and eighty thousand rupees, which, agreeably to Major HENLEY, is much under-rated, the proportion retained by the Nawaub yielding at that time a revenue† of eight

* Major HENLEY, who has had the best opportunities of judging correctly on the subject, considers this estimate as under-rated.

† This however must have been a low calculation of the revenue, as I have good authority for estimating the revenue of Bhopaul (including these districts) in the time of CHOTA KHAN, at above 20 lacs of rupees. Major HENLEY calculates the receipts of this year (inclusive of Jaghires) at 9 lacs and 50 thousand rupees. It may hereafter rise as high as 40 lacs per annum.

eight lacs and forty thousand rupees. Among the territories ceded at this time were the Punj Mahal Districts,* which are perhaps the most fertile in Malwa. Their revenue, as extracted from the Duftur records at Ashta, was some years ago two lacs and fifty thousand rupees, and they formerly exceeded three lacs.

Dhar.

147. When the grant of their present territory was made by the PEISHWA to ANUND RAO POWAR in A. D. 1733, the Pergunnah of Dhar Proper was valued at ninety thousand rupees. In 1819, it produced only a revenue of fifteen thousand rupees; and a settlement has been made this year for fifty-five thousand rupees. It is in a state of rap improvement.

Dharum. pooree.

148. The Mahal of Dharumpooree in the Sirkar of Mandoo, now belonging to the Government of Dhar, in 1685, corresponding with Fuzlee 1093, yielded a revenue of eighty-one thousand seven hundred and two rupees; the year following, viz. 1094 Fuzlee, an invasion of the Mahrattas caused it to produce no more than rupees thirty-two thousand five hundred and seventy-six. But next year, A. D. 1687, or Fuzlee 1095, it rose to seventy-two thousand one hundred and eighty-nine rupees and nine annas; near which standard we find it after some fluctuations, (owing to its being again plundered) three years afterwards. This fine district, while Malwa enjoyed peace, preserved a revenue of more than eighty thousand rupees; but it has during the last five and twenty years been rendered a waste, and did not last year produce more than fifteen hundred rupees. Every means have been adopted to restore it to its former prosperity.

149. The

* Ashta, Ichawur, Sihore, Dooraha and Deinpoor. These yielded last year two lacs of rupees, of which Ashta alone produced one lac and fifty thousand; and scarcely one third part of the arable land is yet under cultivation.

149. The district of Chiculda, bordering upon Dharumpoore, has been almost as much reduced: from yielding a revenue of one lac of rupees, it fell to six thousand (which was its rent two years ago). It has already risen to more than double that amount.

Par. ah. 150. This district, sixteen years ago, yielded a revenue of fifty-six thousand one hundred rupees, including Syer and every other species of collection, or rather exaction; and the total amount of the revenue of last year did not exceed fifty-seven thousand rupees, of which thirty-four thousand five hundred are ground rent. The Syer duties and the sale of forest timber in Goozerat and elsewhere (from the situation of this district) necessarily constitute a considerable proportion of the whole revenue; they are now nearly one half, and will no doubt encrease yearly.

151. At no former period does the revenue of this small principality appear to have amounted to much more than a lac of rupees; and a few years of perfect tranquillity will no doubt restore it to a similar amount. Though the revenues of two periods (at an interval of sixteen years) are nearly the same, it is to be recollected that the Syer duties of the latter time are not much more than half of what they were at the former; and the improvement in land rent is no doubt the consequence of the introduction of British influence and protection.

152. According to Captain CAULFIELD, the revenues of the principality of Purtaubghur, for two different periods, with an interval of nineteen years,* exhibit a difference in receipts from this small territory of about two lacs of rupees, or about half its revenue. It is however rapidly recovering its deteriorated† condition.

153. The

* Sumbhut 1855 and 1874

† Captain MACDONALD states that, in 1875, Sumbhut, they amounted to rupees 2,42,215 0 0
In 1876, - - - - - - - - 2,84,313 0 0

153. The principality of Jabooah, on the western frontier of Malwa, is said, on the ascent to the Guddee of the present Rajah, to have yielded one and a half lac of rupees; and its former revenue, there is good authority to think, was nearly double that amount. By Captain DANGERFIELD's estimate of the aggregate of all the collections of the district, we have only a sum of forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-one rupees, as the total receipt of this Chief. Jabooah.

154. The revenues of Dongerpore present a still greater deterioration. In the reign of Rawul SHEO SINGH, the whole revenue is stated to have amounted to rupees four lacs ninety thousand two hundred and ten, being from ground rent, including Jaghiredar, Khyrat, and all other alienated lands, four lacs twenty-five thousand two hundred and ten; and from Syer and other duties and taxes, sixty-five thousand. This statement is not made entirely from actual records, but the data are sufficiently correct to warrant the conclusion drawn from them. Dongerpore.

155. The revenues for 1875, Sumbhut, amounted only to rupees one lac ninety-five thousand eight hundred and fifty, including heavy exactions. Captain MACDONALD thinks they would in 1876, without exaction, reach the sum of two lacs forty-three thousand five hundred and eighty rupees, and that in the lapse of five or six years of tranquillity they may rise as high, as they are reported to have been in the reign of Rawul SHEO SINGH, viz. rupees five lacs two thousand one hundred and twenty-eight.

156. Although we have no very old reports of the amount formerly yielded by this district, the early and great improvements anticipated by Captain MACDONALD afford sufficient ground of belief, that Banswarra has suffered little less in its revenue than Dongerpore. In 1875, Sumbhut, they only amounted to two lacs seven thousand eight hundred Banswarra.

dred and sixty-six rupees, including all se
tions, Captain MacDonald expected for the
Sumbhut, an amount of rupees two lacs forty-nine thousand four hundred and thirty-eight; for 1875, only fourteen thousand rupees are said to have been realized by Syer duties, customs, &c.; and there can be no doubt that this branch of revenue will greatly increase.

Burwaee and Durgaon.

157. The districts of Burwaee and Durgaon, which are situated on the north bank of the Nerbuddah, above Mundlesyr, present a complete picture of desolation. Burwaee, by authentic papers, paid about one hundred and thirty years ago fifteen thousand rupees annually, on an Istumrar tenure; at which time, the actual revenues are stated to have been considerably more than fifty thousand rupees. Of three hundred and sixty villages, there are only twelve or fourteen inhabited, A. D. 1820, and its whole produce is now between four and five thousand rupees.

158. By the same papers, we find, the smaller district of Durgaon yielded a revenue of thirty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-eight at the same period. This district does not now yield an amount of three thousand rupees.

159. The districts of Burdeah and Kannapore, opposite Burwaee and Durgaon, on the south bank of the Nerbuddah, which formerly belonged to the Peishwa, and are now in the possession of the British Government, were two years ago a perfect waste: Burdeah had not one inhabitant, and its fields had been deserted for seventeen years. The value of these districts, in 1803, appears from the records of their Zemindar to have been twenty thousand five hundred and three rupees.

160. The settlement of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, which grants them for three years, raises them by a gradual advance, at the termi-

nation

nation of the present leases, to 51,850* rupees in the year of the Fuzlee 1232, being seven years from that in which they were repeopled.

161. The small province of Nimaur, in which the above districts, and those of Dharumpooree and Chiculda, are situated, has on the whole suffered more than any part of Malwa.† Moheysir with its dependencies, which is a favorite possession of the HOLKAR family, (and has ever had all the protection the latter could give) has fallen from a revenue of three lacs and fifty thousand to twenty five or thirty thousand rupees. The fine province (for such it may be termed) of Khergong,‡ which includes thirty-two Mahals and stretches from the Nerbuddah to the Sautpoorah Range, does not now produce more than 68,629 rupees.

162. To complete this account of the deteriorated revenues of the countries near the Nerbuddah, we may mention the Pergunnah of Dhouglah,§ belonging to the Rajah of Dhar, which lies along the right bank of the Nerbuddah, between Sutwass and Oonkar Mundatta:—the very limits of this district had been lost. It had long ceased to have an inhabitant, except the robbers who sought its forests as a place of refuge, and a few miserable Goands, who dwelt in huts, and subsisted themselves by the produce of the Mowa trees in their vicinity. This country has not only

* A. D. 1824. Burdeah,	...	...	...	Rs.	50,000
Kannapore,	...		...	Rs.	21,850
				Total Rs.	51,850

This sum is certainly too high. On their first settlement these districts greatly improved by the return of many of the old inhabitants, and the estimate is founded on a more rapid increase of population than is likely to take place.

† This occurred from its defenceless state, the neighbourhood of the fastnesses of numerous free-booters, and its being the common route by which the predatory hordes of Malwa and Hindostan went and returned from the Deckan.

‡ This extensive district is still entitled the Sirkar of Beejaghur, in the records of HOLKAR'S Government.

§ Usually called Lemunpoor Mukrae.

only produced no revenue, but has hardly been recognized as a Pergunnah for forty years; but yet there are records of its having once contained one hundred and eighty-four towns and villages. Fourteen are already repeopled, and measures are (under the superintendance of Major HENLEY) in active progress for reclaiming this desolate tract.*

163. It is among the happiest symptoms of the reviving prosperity of the revenues of Malwa, that many of those Chiefs, who have so long plundered that province, have within the last two years revived their rights as hereditary Zemindars and cultivators: and several of these are now eager to establish their claims as Wuttundars, or hereditary officers,† of the unclaimed forests and barren rocks of the Pergunnah of Doughlah.

164. The revenue of the territories of the HOLKAR family in Malwa and Nemaur, which are all they now possess, were on the whole greatly deteriorated during the twenty years preceding the peace of Mundissore. That State had not, like SCINDIAH, saved some of its districts from plunder: what foreign enemies had spared, internal rule had destroyed. The estimate,‡ however, which was given by TANTIAH JOGH to Major AGNEW of the actual revenue, for the year 1817, of the territories and tribute left to MULHAR RAO HOLKAR, could hardly have been correct. It amounted only to eight lacs of rupees: the advance next year was admitted to be very considerable, and the Acting Resident estimates the revenues for A. D. 1818, at fourteen lacs of rupees. An amount of twenty-four lacs was calculated§ by TANTIAH JOGH as the highest

to

* This district was famous for its iron mines. These have been re-opened, and Major HENLEY has sent me some specimens of very superior iron from one of them.

† The names of those who have brought forward their claims are DEVY SINGH, KOOSHAL SINGH and GOOMAN SINGH, all of whom have been for several years remarkable as freebooters.

‡ Vide Major AGNEW's Report, dated 1[illegible]th February, 1818.

§ Vide Major AGNEW's Report.

to which several years of peace would bring the revenue * of the Holkar family: but it has already approximated that amount, and according to the best calculations I can form, from the partial records I possess of the former produce, I am disposed to think, that within twenty years from this date, (that period is necessary for an increase of population) that the revenues of Mulhar Row Holkar will be little under forty lacks of rupees.

165. Tantiah Jogh, the present Minister of the Holkar Government, professes to make Alia Bae the model of his imitation, particularly in the management of the revenue of the State; but, supposing he had both talent and inclination to imitate that extraordinary Ruler, circumstances are very different. She possessed treasure,—he is at the head of a bankrupt and embarrassed Government. Her means were ample, and could afford the most encouraging remissions of revenue on the occurrence of individual misfortune or bad seasons: the resources at Tantiah Jogh's command are very limited, and as yet barely equal to the expences of the State. He has, however, made great efforts to encrease the revenue; almost all temporary grants have been resumed, and the most

* The following is a [illegible] of the charges of [illegible], which was given in by Tantiah Jogh, and was calculated on the supposed future receipts of the Holkar Government.

Expences of the Maharajah's table, and feeding, &c., all the elephants, camels, horses, &c. belonging to the [illegible], ...	2,00,000
Pay of the household servants,	73,121
Expences of the members of the Holkar family, Bheemah Bae not included. In money	1,50,000
In Cloths, &c.	2,00,000
Salaries of the Officers of the Government, Vakeels, Mootsuddees, &c.	1,60,200
Charities, ...	4[illegible]00
	8,23,6[illegible]1
Pay of troops now in the service, feeding 2,868 horses of the Pagah,	2,6[illegible],560
Pay of 2,868 Bargiers for the above, ...	5[illegible]7[illegible]
Pay of fifteen hundred Mahratta and seven hundred Hindostan Silidars, ...	8,16,000
	16,42,163
Total	24,65,783

most active steps taken to promote the rebuilding and repeopling desert- ed villages. The system of long leases, which has been mentioned as that of ALIA BAE, has been adopted* in most of those countries which have reached, or are near, their full value; others are continued in management,† till they attain through that aid (which Government can best give) the same condition; when it is proposed to rent them also. The whole of the Syer, or duties, are rented.

166. The usual renters in HOLKAR's Government are Brahmins, Pundits, and Bunneahs: sometimes three or four are connected in the speculation of renting a district, and the names of all are inserted in the Sunnud. If the renter is not of known opulence, security is required: if a renter of the Syer, he must give security for twelve‡ Kists, or instalments: when land is rented, security of four or six Kists, according to the number into which the payment for the year is divided.

167. TANTIAH JOGH is stated not to take advances,§ and to have borrowed, at sixteen per cent. per annum, the money he required for expenditure beyond present receipts. If the Minister has departed from this rule, it is only to take one or two Kists on the year, for which he has paid twelve per cent. according to the usage: such trifling anticipation may be convenient, but it is the introduction of a ruinous practice into the revenue system; for it extends throughout, and soon reaches the cultivator, who often pays above twelve per cent.; and in times of difficulty, or distress for money, is necessitated to encrease his account with those who make him

* Mahidpore, Depalpore, Nurainghur, Baitmah, Hasselpoor, and several other Pergunnahs are rented on long leases.

† This applies to Moheysir, Khergaon, and several other districts that are in a ruined state; Rampoorah, which is a flourishing Mahal, is under a principal Manager; who, however, rents most of the Tuppahs, or lesser districts.

‡ The Syer is paid monthly; there are six heavy and six light instalments every year. The [illegible] are calculated for the rainy months, when little is collected.

§ Vide Major AGNEW's Report.

him advances; and which, to keep the Ryut (who understands little of accounts) dependant, is swelled out with charges of interest against him, sometimes as high as fifty or sixty per cent.

168. Among the provinces of Dowlut Row Scindiah in Malwa, which have suffered most during the troubles of the last twenty years, are the districts of Kycheewarra, Chanderee, Gunj Basoda, and Bhilsah to the east; and the districts of Sagore, Dehtan, Godra and Dohud to the west: most of these have been reduced to a revenue, which cannot be calculated at above a fourth of what they produced when in a condition of prosperity. The provinces of Scindiah, which have suffered least, are Mundissore, Katchrode, Oneil, and Nolye, to the west of the Chumbul; Shahjehanpore, Nelkerrah*, Rannee*, Barode*, Roomjah*, Soomeir*, Khomur*, Sooet*, Peeplone,* and part of Aheerwarrah, to the east. The Pergunnah of Oujein has been reduced by bad management, and the plundering of the surrounding Grassiah Chiefs, to one third of its former value: and Jawud has suffered in an equal degree. This Pergunnah,† when it fell into our possession, only produced a revenue of 155,888 rupees, and thirteen and a half annas; during the twelve months we had it, the rents were raised to an amount, which gave rupees 1,99,078-1-3. This settlement was collected, and has since been encreased to upwards of two and a half lacs. The system of collection pursued by Dowlut Row Scindiah has been described. The amount of the revenue of this Ruler, in Malwa, I find estimated,‡ before A. D. 1817, at sixty-five lacs eleven thousand. This estimate makes the total revenue of Scindiah amount to one crore, sixty-four

* The districts with this mark have been long rented by Zalim Singh, and have been preserved by the vigour and wisdom of his administration.

† The Talooks of Neemitch, Cheetakairah, Sawun, Nicoom, and Mundippah, with a few villages of others, are included in this estimate of the revenues of Jawud.

‡ MSS. Present state of Native Powers;—an official record drawn up from the correspondence of the different Residents in A. D 1816.

sixty-four lacs, forty-seven thousand, one hundred and forty rupees. This no doubt is gross revenue, and includes Jaghires, &c. Captain J. STEWART does not consider the total net revenue of this Prince to be now more (inclusive of payments from the British Government and tributes of Rajpoot States) than ninety-five lacs* of rupees; and adds, that he has been assured that such is the bad management of the revenue that even this sum is not realized. This supposition is confirmed by the produce of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH's possessions in Malwa: These certainly do not yield him at this period eighty lacs of rupees clear; and he derives but little from all his claims and possessions in Candeish and the Deckan.

169. It has been stated that the revenues of ZALIM SINGH and the prosperity of his country, encreased with the general distress and distraction around; but it was the only Rajpoot State that could be said to flourish. The territories of all the lesser Chiefs of that tribe, with the exception of Rutlam,† Seeta Mhow, and Sellanah, that had the protection of one of SCINDIAH's principal Chiefs, were all desolated.

The

* The following is an estimate of the expences of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.

50 Battalions, including those attached to the Artillery, annual expence estimated,	Rs.	30,00 000
Arms, Ammunition, Draft Bullocks for the Park, &c.	"	2,00,000
Modee Khanah, or Grain Department, ...	"	3,00,000
The Tosha Khanah, ...	"	3,00,000
The Khura Khanah or Tent Equipage Department, ...	"	1,50,000
Sundries, ...	"	1 00,000
Khana, or Shuttur Khanah, or Cattle Department, ...	"	1,50,000
Personal Expences, ...	"	1 00 000
The Ministers, Mootsuddies, and the whole Civil Expence of the Government, ...	"	9 00,000
	Total, Rs.	52,00,0 0

The above does not include a disbursement of ten lacs twenty-four thousand one hundred and ninety-three rupees, paid to SCINDIAH by the British Government, and appropriated for the maintenance of the Contingent.

† This town was (as has been stated) completely sacked by JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR; but it has since been exempt from plunder, though heavy exactions have been often laid upon its inhabitants.

The following may be considered as an Estimate, not remote from correctness, of the Revenues of the present year of the different Rulers, Princes, and Chiefs, holding possessions of any consequence in the Countries of Malwa, Nimaur, and Baugur.

STATEMENT of the Revenues of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, *from his possessions in Malwa and North of Candeish and the Deckan, for A. D.* 1820.

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	*Present Revenue.*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
PUNJ MAHALS subdivided into 32 Fergunnahs and Tuppahs.			
Hindiah, ...	16,000 0 0	1,64,400 0 0	By another account, the present revenue is two lacs fifty thousand, of which about fifty thousand are expence.
Hurdah, ...	27,500 0 0		
Charwah, ...	42,800 0 0		
Doodkutch, ...	34,500 0 0		
Jalodah, ...	43,600 0 0		
MALWA.			
Oujein Khass, including Tajpoor, Jeytul, Bugoondee and Jawaherghur, ...	2,80,000 0 0	2,80,000 0 0	Nearly half of this is granted in assignment.
Mundissore, Dodur, Nahurghur, Katchrode and Oneil, ...	1,40,0000 0 0	14,00,000 0 0	
Panbehar, (assigned to Sambajee Ingra,)	35,000 0 0	3,34,000 0 0	
Nolai or Budnagur, ...	2,65,000 0 0		
Sagur Decktaun, (assigned to Mobareck a Mahratta Sillidar,)	21,000 0		
Gauglee Beckanaiu, ...	17,000 0		

(Continued.)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	Present Revenue	Total Present Revenue	Remarks.
PUNJ MAHALS.			
Tonk, (Chowrahs,) Assigned to Anna Bhascur.	30,000 0 0	30,000 0 0	
Jhonkra,	12,000 0 0	140,000 0 0	
Anteepore, Burrode,	35,000 0 0		
Eeklarah,	18,000 0 0		
Sonekutch,	45,000 0 0		
Oonehode,	30,000 0 0		
Newree, Borass, assigned to Sambajee Ingria,	44,000 0 0	44,000 0 0	
7 Mahals in Soandwarrah, rented by Scindiah to Zalim Singh, viz. Sohit, Soa-nair, Nulkera, Kanur, Rangjoo, Burrode, and Peeplore,	300,000 0 0	300,000 0 0	Another account makes the amount three lacs and fifty thousand.
Augur, (Bappoo Khan's Jaidad,)	50,000 0 0	50,000 0 0	
Nemawur Khass, (divided between Scindiah and Holkar, Sutwass,		25,000 0 0	Rented at present for eighteen thousand, but worth twenty five.
Hurgong, shared with Holkar,	5,000 0 0	5,000 0 0	Supposed present revenue.
Jeabgong,	6,000 0 0	6,000 0 0	
Paunnee,	12,000 0 0	12,000 0 0	
Shahjehanpore, (formerly assigned to Mina Bae, Scindiah's mother, now given to Baiza Bae,	250,000 0 0	250,000 0 0	The jumma paid to the Sircar is one lac eighty thousand only.

Tulsin,

(Continued.)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	*Present Revenue.*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
Tulain, (shared with Holkar,)	1,513 0 0	1,513 0 0	Scindiah's share agreeably to Major Henley.
Bhilsa, ...	380,000 0 0	380,000 0 0	Agreeably to Major Henley.
Gunj Basoodah, (assigned to Jeswunt Row Senaputty, ...	35,000 0 0	35,000 0 0	
Rahutghur, (formerly assigned to Gunga Appah, now Khass,)	10,000 0 0	10,000 0 0	
Gurrah Kotah, ...	68,000 0 0	68,000 0 0	Made over to the British Government in payment of a debt due by Scindiah.
CHANDEREE.			
Chandree Khass, Behut, Maronee, Pally, Museerah, Bhamore, and Deoghur, ...	250,000 0 3	250,000 0 0	Inclusive of expences, Enam, &c. which may amount to one lac.
PUNJ MAHALS, including			
Toomun, Puchur, Piprye, Kutchnam, Serai and Sehraie, ...	90,000 0 0	90,000 0 0	
2d PUNJ MAHALS, viz.			
Arone, Shadowrah, Jillalpore, Mianah, Tarye, ...	200,000 0 0	200,000 0 0	Arone and Shadowra yield at present one lac, and the other three Mahals are supposed to yield one lac.
KEECHEEWARRAH, including Ragboo Ghur* Kata, Bujrun Ghur, Gurha, Chachorah, Muxoodun Ghur,* Rampoor, Futty Ghur, Parone and Bala Behut,* ..	200,000 0 0	200,000 0 0	The present value of all Keecheewarrah, after deducting the Jaghires of the Keechees, and of Byree AHEERWARRAH,

(*Continued.*)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	*Present Revenue.*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
			Saul, is only about two lacs, including the transit duties on grain which amount to upwards of fifty thousand rupees. *The places marked thus * given to the Keechee and Byree Saul.*
AHEERWARRAH. State of Doorjun Saul, viz			
Bahadur Ghur, also called Esa Ghur, ..	10,000 0 0		
Khundoos, Moosa Ghur, ...	25,000 0 0		
Runnode, ...	25,000 0 0		
Akajhuree, ...	25,000 0 0		
Bella Kairee, ...	15,000 0 0	244,000 0 0	Supposed present Revenue.
Bahdurpoor, Dokoonee, and Mehidpore,	75,000 0 0		
Kudwye, ...	9,000 0 0		
Attakairee, ...	20,000 0 0		
Tomusso, ...	15,000 0 0		
Gurrah, ...	25,000 0 0		
NURWUR and BEERWAH.			
Nurwur Kass, including the Syer, ..	52,500 0 0		
Buddurwass, (Beerwah,)	50,000 0 0		
Utilpoor, Beejnawun, (do.) ..	20,000 0 0		
Seesaye, (do.)	50,000 0 0	380,000 0 0	The Syer amounts to forty thousand.
Booradonghur, (do.)	30,000 0 0		
Guneishkeira, Rae, & Raje Ghur, (6000)	35,000 0 0		
Kolarus Beerwah and Seepre, ...	115,000 0 0		
Jhinee, (do.)	27,500 0 0		
Powree, Bhutnawur, Kutka, Gopaulpore, and Ghurthonee Digdowlee, ...	100,000 0 0	100,000 0 0	Bala Bae's Jaghire.

Gazeeghur,

(Continued.)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	Present Revenue.	Total Present Revenue.	Remarks.
Gazeeghur, Ghuswanee, (rented by Noora, belonging to Seepree,)	23,000 0 0	168,750 0 0	
Soorwaha,	16,250 0 0		
Dongree and Dowla Ghur,	6,000 0 0		
Kurrye Patye, (resigned to Jincy,)	27,000 0 0		
Magrownee and Dongerpore,	41,000 0 0		
Kursainee,	27,500 0 0		
Bunagaum,	8,000 0 0		
Doha Burrye, (to Jincy,)	20,000 0 0		
GWALIOR KHASS.			
The vicinity of the city, Bahaderpoor, Cotah, Noorabad, Retowra, Kotewal, Goorree, Reipore, Koolheit.	499,500 0 0	499,500 0 0	The total amount for which the Paruk at present rents the whole of the Gwalior district, is 4,20,000 rupees, of which 1,20,000 is allowed for expense.
ANTREE.			
Antree, Chinnore, Chimmuk, Pelchoo, (tributary) Bunwar, Goojerra, Lalbye, Burseraye, Himutghur, Burrye, and Nimukseraye,	806,640 0 0	306,640 0 0	The Syer of Antree is considerable.
Mangaum, Arone, Pelaicha, Pawaya, Bheeturwoss, Mustoorah, Kerrya, Jakowda,	200,000 0 0	200,000 0 0	
GOHUD.			
Gohud Khass, Kastowlee, Beyhut, Oojawul, Deoghur, and Mowrutwa,	350,000 0 0	350,000 0 0	

(Continued.)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	Present Revenue.	Total Present Revenue.	Remarks.
KUTCHWA GHOUR, including			
Indoorkee,* Lohar, Mohna, Nodha, Gopaulpore, Kugsees, Rampoor, Goormee, Maunhaud and Oomoree.	450,000 0 0	450,000 0 0	* Lately granted in Jaghire to the son of Surjee Row Ghautka.
SICKERWAR, viz.			
Summowhlee, Pahar Ghur, Sekroda, Rijhownee, Alapoor, Maunghur and Russeinnee, ...	450,000 0 0	450,000 0 0	
TOOER GHAUR, viz.			
Bissanoo, (Aman) Chorassee, (Ahnoo) Baona, (Kerrowta) Dundowlee, Assaus and Amaven, ...	450,000 0 0	450,000 0 0	
BUDDAWER, including			
Blind, Attere, Poor, Phope, Maughaum, Piptee, Sonee, Lawun 1st, Lawun 2d, Burhud and Antree.	300,000 0 0	300,000 0 0	
GOOJERGHAUR			
Kowreyeh, Bussye and Tictowlee, ..	200,000 0 0	200,000 0 0	
DHUNDOWTEEAH GHUR.			
Juttawur, Jeenguee and Burrokur. ..	300,000 0 0	300,000 0 0	

BHANDERE

(*Continued.*)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	*Total Revenue.*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
BHANDERE.			
Bhundere and Paulair.	300,000 0 0	300,000 0 0	
JADOONWATTEE.			
Subbulghur, including the Syer, and the dependant Talook of Mungrole, &c.	250,000 0 0		
Beerpoor Panchoo,	10,000 0 0		
Dodur,	15,000 0 0		
Bijypoor,	100,000 0 0		
Jewaher Ghur,	16,000 0 0		
Beederhutta, Koolhowlee and Bamsowlee,	23,080 0 0	414,000 0 0	Supposed present Revenue.
SHEOPOOR.			
Kurrahit, Heerapoor and Maundhpoor,	250,000 0 0	250,000 0 0	
Jawud,	155 599 0 0		
Neemutch,	77,966 0 0	253,565 0 0	This amount, 253,565, was realized in Sumbhut 1875, it includes the expences of collection.
Jeerun,	20,000 0 0		
Little Sadree, Bamdoonee and 12 villages to a Pundit, gift of the Rana.			
Jhaut, Ruttunghur Khyree and Beigoon, rented by Lallajee Belal.			
Gungapoor, a small village formerly attached to Poltah, given by the Rana to Scindiah, whose officers have since seized and added 20 villages to it.	250,000 0 0	250,000 0 0	Two lacs and a half paid in cash to the Sirkar.

GOOZERAT.

(*Continued.*)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	*Present Revenue*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
GOOZERAT.			
Powaghur, ...	45,000 0 0		
Chapanair, ...	75,000 0 0		
Godra, ...	65,000 0 0	340,000 0 0	Supposed present Revenue.
Haloul, ...	35,000 0 0		
Daoud, ...	75,000 0 0		
Kaloul, ...	45,000 0 0		
Lands made over to Scindiah by the British Government in 1818, not included.			
That part of Shujawulpore, west of the Newy.	95,297 0 0	95,297 0 0	This, when made over to Scindiah, was only 38,000. By the excellent management of Major Henley it was raised last year to 95,297 and will this year give upwards of a lac.
LANDS OF THE CRICKUR.			
Mulharghur, ...	10 000 0 0		
Bhorassa, ...	15,000 0 0		
Kunjeea, ...	10,000 0 0	127,000 0 0	
Teeonda, ...	20,000 0 0		
Dhamade and Bagrode, ...	60 000 0 0		
Nya Seraye and Mungloolee.	12,000 0 0		
LANDS *of the* NYGOUGHUR, including			
Dewry, Narmhow, Chourpat, Taindoo-kaira, Goorjhama, Balla Behut, Suhraee and Oonarsee, ...	153,000 0 0	153,000 0 0	The Revenue of these Mahals amounts to 1,20,000 rupees, exclusive of Oonarsee which has been restored to Ameer Khan, and in lieu of which the British Government pay Scindiah 23,000 rupees per annum. The sum of 1,53,000 rupees includes expences which are about 30,000.

Tributaries

(Continued.)

Names of Districts, &c. &c.		Present Revenue			Total Present Revenue.			Remarks.
Tributaries of Dowlut Row Scindiah in MALWA AND GOOZERAT, viz.								
Amjerah, Rutlam, Selanah, Seetamow, Keetcheepoor, Rajeghur Talaiu, Bauglee, and Soandursee.		348,001	0	0	548,001	0	0	
Tributaries in GOOZERAT, viz.								
Barreah, Lonewarrah, Saont, Molina and Koossulghur.		36,000	0	0	36,000	0	0	At present the deteriorated condition of many of these petty States prevents the full amount of tribute (56,000 rupees) being realized.
Payment made by the British Government to SCINDIAH.								
The Annual payments on account of Sheo Ghur Kocy, ..	*St. Rs.* 300000 or	309,843	12	0	1,024,193	10	11	These payments are at present appropriated to the payment of Scindiah's contingent of 2,000 horse under the superintendance of British Officers.
The stipends to Dowlut Row Scindiah, ...	485000 or	500,914	1	0				
The amount of Tribute of Kotah, ...	99176 or	102 430	3	5				
The Tribute of the 7 Koterees	10279 or	10,616	4	6				
The Tribute of Joudpoor, equal to	97200 or	100,389	6	0				
		Total.			12,768 859	10	11	

The above is chiefly taken from a Statement rendered by Capt. J. Stewart, Acting Resident at Gwalior, who computes the total Revenues of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, including all possessions and claims in the Deckan and elsewhere, to amount to one crore and forty lacs of rupees, which leaves only a net Revenue of about eighty four lacs sixty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-five, after deducting: First, the sum of ten lacs twenty-four thousand one hundred and ninety-three rupees paid to Scindiah in lieu of tribute due by the British Government, and appropriated, (as noticed above,) to the support of a contingent of two thousand Horse: Secondly, grants of land of different kinds in every quarter, amounting to rupees seventeen lacs fourteen thousand five hundred and thirty-five: and Thirdly, Expences of collection estimated at twenty-five per Cent. to be twenty-seven lacs ninety-one thousand five hundred and seventy-seven rupees.

STATEMENT

STATEMENT of the Revenues of MULHAR RAO HOLKAR, *for* 1876, *Sumbhut. A. D.* 1819-20.

Names of Pergunnahs, Mehals, &c.	*Present Revenue.*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
Rampoorah and Chundwassa, ...	369,661 0 0		
Indore, ...	128,757 0 0		
Mahedpoor, ...	139,430 0 0		
Jeerapoor and Muchulpoor, ...	50,607 0 0		
Baltunah, ...	22,500 0 0		
Beejaghur, ...	68,629 0 0		
Turanah, ...	50,778 0 0		
Nimawur Punj Mahal, ...	26,460 0 0		
Sawen, ...	57,605 0 0		
Pautun Kesho Row, ...	30,000 0 0		This is paid by the British Government.
Narainghur, ...	73,033 0 0		
Sundhar, ...	17,000 0 0		
Purtaubghur, ...	50,000 0 0		This is paid by the British Government.
Raepoor, ... ——	17,265 0 0		
Koonch, ... ——	187,826 0 0		This sum is paid by the British Government.
Moheiser Cholee Kurrae and Wangdurrah,	22,184 0 0		
Depalpoor, ...	143,463 0 0		
Soondursee, ...	6,298 0 0		
Jalrura, Kunjeudah and Jamooniah, ...	20,521 0 0		
Kaitha, ...	11,983 0 0		
Hasilpoor, ...	4,508 0 0		
Sooneil, ...	24,000 0 0		
Kothree, ...	23,342 0 0		
Allumpoor Salone, ...	48,380 0 0		
Waffgam (9 Villages), ...	30,000 0 0		
Narsinghur, ...	35,000 0 0		
Nundwye, ...	5,018 0 0		
Pergunnah of Chandore, ...	17,000 0 0		
Claims of Patteylee in the Deckan, ..	10,716 0 0		
Taleiu and Lullaheree, ...	4,224 0 0		
Total Rupees,		1,696,183	

The above account was furnished by the Holkar Government. A sum of rupees two lacs seventy-five thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, was expended on the collection, being little more than sixteen per cent. on the gross Revenue, and leaving for 1876 Sumbhut, a net Revenue of fourteen lacs twenty thousand four hundred and eighty-four rupees. But there is good reason to believe that the amount here given falls short of what was realized.

STATEMENT of the Revenues of the PUARS of DHAR, for 1876 Sambhut, A D 1819-20

Names of Pergunnahs, Mahals, &c.	Present Revenue.	Total Present Revenue.	Remarks.
PERGUNNAH OF DHAR, viz.			
On account of Government Lands, ..	30,111 12 0	57,519 0 0	
Khasgheee (Royalty belonging to the Baee),	18,602 4 0		
Enam Jaghier, Khyrat, &c. ...	6,905 0 0		
Sayer, ...	2,500 0 0		
BUDNAWUR PERGUNNAH.			
Tributes from Rajpoot Thakoors, ..	68,712 0 0	92,271 0 0	
Sirkar Khalsa Villages (19) ...	17,259 0 0		
Jaghier of Bappoo Rughonaut, (1 Village).	2,200 0 0		
Sayer or Customs, ...	4,100 0 0		
Pergunnah of Kooksee, ...	16,148 8 0	16,148 8 0	This sum includes Revenue from every source.
Loharee Pergunnah, ...	2,875 12 0	2,875 12 0	including Sayer and all other duties.
Village of Kunwarrah, dependant on Jobut,	150 0 0	150 0 0	There were last year 12 villages dependant on Kunwarrah, the whole yielded Rs. 340,—but all, except Kunwarrah, have been given up to the petty Rajah of Jobut.
Pergunnah of Naulcha, ...	2,224 4 0	2,224 4 0	
Ditto of Dherupooree, ...	1,500 14 4	1,500 14 4	
Ditto—Sooltanabad, ----	1,460 7 9	1,463 7 9	
Ditto——Bulkher, ...	162 0 0	162 0 0	

Sayer

(Continued.)

Names of Pergunnahs, Mahals, &c.	Present Revenue	Total Present Revenue.	Remarks.
Sayer Duties of Allee, ...	7317 14 0	7,317 14 0	
BAIRSIAH PERGUNNAH, Viz,			
Land Rent.	75,367 0 0	85,363 0 0	This district is at present in management by the British Government, and in charge of Major Henley, in re payment of an advance made to the Dhar Government.
Revenue from Sayer and other sources, ...	10,001 0 0		
Total Rupees		2,07,003 12 1	

This gross Revenue, and deducting Royalty, Khyrat, &c. lands and expences of collection, there remains a net revenue of only Rs. 1,80,000, which can be appropriated to the purposes of the State:—that is, concluding the above estimate correct, but it is, as well as that of the Holkar Government, under stated.

Revenue

REVENUE for 1876 Sumbhut, A. D 1819-20 of the Puars of Dewass.

Pergunnahs, Mehals, &c.	Present Revenue	Total Present Revenue.	Remarks.
TUCKAJEE PUAR.			
Pergunnah of Saurungpore, ...	14,172 15 3		28 Villages.
Ditto of Allote, ...	19,336 10 6		75 Ditto.
Ditto of Dewass, ...	21,767 10 6		117 Ditto.
Total		55,277 4 3	
ANUND ROW PUAR.			
Pergunnah of Ringrode, ...	18,456 15 9		31 Villages.
Tuppah of Gurgoocha, ...	5,316 3 3		22 Ditto.
Pergunnah of Saurungpore, ...	11,408 9 0		27 Ditto.
Ditto of Dewass, ...	18,825 11 0		116 Ditto.
Total Rs.		54,097 7 0	
Grand Total		1,09,374 11 3	
Deduct expences of collection and grass tribute to Grassiah Chiefs, ...		47,937 8 0	
Balance, being net revenue for the personal expences of these two Chiefs, ...		61,437 3 3	

The value of Khyrat and other alienated lands amounts to rupees 50,986.

STATEMENT *of the Revenues of the British Government in Malwa*, A. D. 1819-20.

Names of Districts, &c. &c.	*Present Revenue.*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
Shujahalpoor East of the Newry River, ..	80,297 0 0	80,297 0 0	This is gross revenue.
DISTRICTS ON THE NERBUDDAH, viz			
Burdya, ...	500 0 0	28,000 0 0	Gross revenue.
Kanapoor, ...	1,500 0 0		
Kusarawud, ...	24,000 0 0		
Mundleysir, ...	2,000 0 0		
Dongerpoor Tribute, Salimshahee, ..	20,000 0 0	25,000 0 0	
Ditto Arrears, ...	5,000 0 0		
Banswarrah Tribute, ...	20,000 0 0	25,000 0 0	
Ditto Arrears, ...	5,000 0 0		
Pertaubghur Tribute, ...	45,000 0 0	60,000 0 0	
Ditto on account of Arrears, ...	15,000 0 0		
Total	2,18,297 0 0	2 18,297 0 0	

N. B. The British Government pays annually to HOLKAR'S Government on account of Koonch, Purtaubghur, and Keysho Row Pautun, a sum of rupees 2,57,826.

Revenue

Revenues of the Kotah State.

Sources of Revenue.	*Present Revenue.*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
Land Revenue, Sayer and other Taxes, ..	40,00,000 0 0	43,00,000 0 0	A proportion of the Revenues of these Jaghiers goes to Scindiah and Holkar, about 45,000 Rs.
Jaghiers of the Rajah's Brothers, ...	3,00,000 0 0		
Mortgages in Meywar, ...	91,000 0 0	91,000 0 0	These are certain tracts mortgaged to Zalim Singh by the Ranah of Oudipore.
Pergunnahs rented from Holkar, ...	1,05,000 0 0	3,34,000 0 0	
Ditto ditto from Scindiah, ...	2,29,000 0 0		
Total		47,25,000 0 0	

This would appear to be net revenue; but from the amount must be deducted about thirteen lacs, on account of tributes, Jaghiers, and expences of the Rajah, his brothers and other relatives, before the balance applicable to the purposes of the Government can be ascertained. From the extensive dealings, however, which Zalim Singh has long had in Trade, farming, and in money transactions, and the means he has had of turning them all to account, the estimate of the revenues of the Kotah Principality here given is not likely to be too high.

Bhopaul.

Sources of Revenue.	*Present Revenue*	*Total Present Revenue.*	*Remarks.*
Bhopaul and the Punj Mahals of Ashta, including all receipts, ...	9,00,000 0 0		Major Henley states that there are no accurate means of ascertaining correctly the revenues of Bhopaul, which are collected in various modes.
Total		9,00,000 0 0	

 LIST

List of the Revenues of the principal Rajpoot Rajahs and Thakoors, for Sumbhut 1876, A. D. 1819-20, resident in Malwa and the contiguous Districts.

Rajahs and Districts.	Present gross Revenue, including Amount of Tribute.	Total.	Remarks.
Rajah of Rutlam, ...	4,03,275 0 0	4,03,275 0 0	From this sum is deducted tribute to Scindiah of 84,000 rupees, which leaves rs. 3,19,275, as the gross revenue of the Rajah and all his inferior Thakoors or Tributaries.
Ditto Sillanah, ...	1,11,825 0 0	1,11,825 0 0	From this, having deducted tribute of rupees 44,000 paid to Scindiah, there remains the gross including that of inferior Thakoors.
Rajah of Pu taul ghur, ...	2,84,313 0 0	2,84,313 0 0	Paid tribute and arrears to the British Government for 1820, rupees 75,000, leaving a gross revenue of 2,09,313 rupees.
Rawul of Dongerpoor, ...	2,43,580 0 0	2,43,580 0 0	Both Dongerpore and Banswarrah pay Tribute of Salinshahee rupees 20,000, besides arrears to the British Government, and the sums here given are the gross produce of the districts.
Ditto of Banswarrah, ...	2,49,438 0 0	2,49,438 0 0	
Rajah of Loonewarrah, ...	40,437 0 0	40,437 0 0	This is the Rajah's net receipts, from which must be deducted 4,100 rupees, paid as rent for certain villages,—12,000 the present tribute to Scindiah, and 6000 being the annual claim of the Guicwar Government.
Rajah of Amjerah, ...	40,000 0 0	40,000 0 0	Forty thousand Hallee Rupees is about the present gross revenue, and 35,000 is Scindiah's fixed tribute. Much less however has been paid of

(*Continued*)

Rajahs and Districts.	*Present gross Revenue, including Amount of Trib*	*Total.*	*Remarks.*
			of late years. The receipts of inferior Thakoors not known, and not included in this estimate.
Rajah of Jabooah.	50 000 0 (	50,000 0 0	Gross revenue. Holkar has two annas in the rupee of Sayer duties.
Rajah of Seetah Mhow, ...	1,50,000 0 (	1,50,000 0 0	Leaving a revenue of rupees 90,000 after paying Scindiah's Tonkah of 60,000.
Rajah of Saont, ...	45,000 0 0	45,000 0 0	Gross revenue, pays tribute of 7000 rupees to Scindiah.
Rajah of Barriah, ...	57,000 0 0	57,000 0 0	Gross Revenue
Rajah of Allee Mohun, ...	30,000 0 (	36,000 0 0	Gross revenue; of which the Dhar State has the collection of the Saver of Alle Mohun in exchange for a former Tribute of 20,000 rupees.
Rajah of Rajghur, ...	50,000 0 0	50,000 0 0	The former tribute to Scindiah was 80,00 rupees. Much less is of course now paid.
Rajah of Narsinghur, ...	60,000 0 0	60,000 0 0	The former tribute to Holkar was fixed at 80,000 rupees. For A. D. 1819 20, 35,060 were paid.

Statement

***STATEMENT** of Revenues of Nuwaub* AMEER KHAN, *derived from possessions in Malwa, for Sumbhut* 1876. *A. D.* 1819-20.

Names of Pergunnahs, &c	Total Revenue.	Total Present Revenue.	Remarks.
Seronge, ...	3,00,000 0 0		There is every reason to believe that 6 lacs of gross revenue are within the actual receipts.
Peraweeh in Soandwarrah, ...	1 00,000 0 0		
Ch,hebiah Googul, ...	1 00 000 0 0		
Neembaherah, ...	1,00,000 0 0		
Total		6 00,000 0 0	

***STATEMENT** of Nuwaub* GHUFFOOR KHAN'S *Revenues, in Malwa for* 1876 *Sumbhut. A. D.* ~~1819~~-20

Names of Pergunnahs, &c.	Present Revenue	Total Present Revenue.	Remarks.
Jowrah, ...	1,23,717 0 0		This estimate of revenue, which there is good reason to conclude is considerably within the actual receipts, was furnished by Ghuffoor Khan.
Burraodah, ...	2[illegible],414 0 0		
Taul Mundawul, ...	73 282 0 0		
Peeplowdah, (Tribute,)	28,501 0 0		
Ambagaon, (Tribute,)	1[illegible]01 0 0		
Mulharghur, ...	81 722 0 0		
Sunjeet, ...	4[illegible]7[illegible]0 0 0		
Total		3 78 387 0 0	

The following Table exhibits, in abstract, the gross revenues, from their *territories in Malwa and the adjoining* Countries, of all the Princes and Chiefs detailed above for A. D. 1819, and the estimated increase of each in five Years, viz. for A. D. 1824.

Table

TABLE.

Names of Princes and Chiefs.	*Revenue in A. D 1819*	*Estimated Amount in 1824.*	*Remarks.*
Dowlut Row Scindiah, ...	1,27,68,459 0 0	1,43,20,227 0 0	A calculation of 15 per cent. has been made as th likely increase of Scindiah's Territories; but this i no doubt below what continued peace will raise them to in 5 years.
Mulhar Row Holkar, ...	17,96,183 0 0	27,41,739 0 0	Holkar's Revenue is taken, for A. D. 1819, from a account furnished by the Minister, and a lac of ru pees added for Sayer or Customs. The Estimate fo A. D. 1824 is from an account of the Revenue i Alia Bae's time, and 1 lac and ½ of rupees addec for duties. Tantiah Jog expects, with continuec peace, the revenue will reach this last amount with in five years, and that it will exceed it much when he population increases.
The Puars of Dhar, ...	2,67,004 0 0	6,54,412 0 0	The calculation of the Revenue of Dhar for A. D. 1819 is made from papers furnished by the Minister. The amount for A. D. 1824 is from documents in the time of Anund Row Puar, and from estimate One lac of rupees per annum has been calculatec as the probable increase of duties. The Revenue of this Principality will in ten or fifteen years, when it recovers its full population, be much increased.
The Puars of Dewass, ...	1,09,375 0 0	6,00,000 0 0	The calculation of the Revenue of Dewass for A. D. 1819, and the estimated amount for A. D. 1824, is founded on similar data and principles with that of Dhar.

British

(Continued.)

Names of Princes and Chiefs.	Revenue in A. D 1819.	Estimated Amount in 1824.	Remarks.
British Government, ...	2,18,297 0 0	3,68,297 0 0	The amount for A. D. 1819 includes the annual payment of 10 000 rupees for arrears of Tribute from Dongerpore and Banswarrah. One lac and fifty thousand rupees have been given as the certain increase of the Tribute, and the Territorial Possessions of eastern Shujahalpore and of those on the Nerbuddah. According to calculations of the Officers, under whom these Districts are, it will be greater.
Rajah of Kotah, ...	47,25,000 0 0	47,25,000 0 0	The Revenues of the Prince of Kotah are calculated to be as high now as they are likely to be five years hence.
Bhopaul, ...	9,00,000 0 0	20,00,000 0 0	The calculation of the Bhopaul Revenue has been made without any very correct data, but it is certainly, both as to the receipts of A. D. 1819, and the estimate of A D. 1824, underrated. This Principality will, when its population is restored, have a Revenue of, at least, 35 lacs of rupees.

Nawab

(Continued.)

Names of Princes and Chiefs.	*Revenue in A. D 1819.*			*Estimated Amount in 1824.*			*Remarks.*
Nawaub Ameer Khan.	6,00,000	0	0	10 00 000	0	0	The calculations of increase, within five years of all these Chiefs are made on a comparison of a number of documents relative to each petty State.
Nawaub Ghufoor Khan. .. .	5,00,000	0	0	7,00,000	0	0	
Rajah of Rutlam.	4,03,275	0	0	5,50,000	0	0	
Rajah of Sillanah.	1,11,825	0	0	2,00,000	0	0	
Rajah of Purtaulghur. .. .	2,84,313	0	0	4,00,000	0	0	
Rawul of Dongerpore.	2,43,580	0	0	2,52,128	0	0	
Rawul of Banswarah. .. .	2,49,438	0	0	5,00,000	0	0	
Rajah of Loonewarrah.	40,437	0	0	80,000	0	0	
Rajah of Amjherrah.	40,000	0	0	1,00,000	0	0	
Rajah of Jaboa. .. .	50,000	0	0	80,000	0	0	
Rajah of Seetamow.	1,50,000	0	0	2,00,000	0	0	
Rajah of Soant Rampoorah.	45,000	0	0	75,000	0	0	
Rajah of Barriah.	57,000	0	0	85,000	0	0	
Rajah of Allee Mohun.	30,000	0	0	45,000	0	0	
Rajah of Rajghur.	50,000	0	0	1,00,000	0	0	
Rajah of Narsinghur.	60,000	0	0	1,00,000	0	0	
Total A. D. 1819	2,36,99,186	0	0				
Total A. D 1824				2,98 76,803	0	0	

The Estimate of the Revenue of these Territories, both for A. D. 1819 and A. D. 1824, has been made from data, which are perhaps imperfect, but it is sufficiently correct to give a good idea of the gross amount of the Revenue of Malwa and adjoining Provinces for both dates; and, if the peace of the country continues undisturbed for five years, there can be no doubt that in A. D. 1824 it will prove to have been estimated at less than the actual produce.

PART TWELFTH.

POPULATION OF MALWA.

1. To render, as clear and full as the materials obtained will permit, the account of the inhabitants of Malwa, it will be first necessary to take a brief view of the different tribes, their character, and peculiar habits; next to advert to those usages which are common to the whole, or a great part of the population, concluding by a classification that will distinguish those who follow peaceable occupations, from the number who still consider arms as their profession. It will be best to preface the account of the Hindu inhabitants, with a short notice of their former masters, the Mahomedans, a race who form at present a very small proportion of the inhabitants of this Province.

Mahomedans of Malwa.

2. The first conquest of Malwa by the Mahomedans was in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It would not appear that at this period, or any subsequent one, any great number of that religion were settled in the Province; but the object is to describe its present inhabitants. Except the Nabob of Bhopaul, his family and Chiefs, (including the petty Nabobs of Khoorwan and Mahomedghur,) there are no persons of this class who can boast any hereditary rank and authority. Ameer Khan is of recent rise, and though he possesses two districts, Seronge and Perawa, in Malwa, he himself resides at Tonk Rampoorah. His connection, Ghurfoor Khan, has been raised by the treaty of Mundissore into a powerful Jaghiredar, and will become the head of a colony of Mahomedans, who are already beginning to settle themselves at his petty capital of Jowrah. Both these Mahomedans have risen in the service of Jeswunt

Row

Row Holkar, whose earliest fame was associated with the Syuds of Saurungpore, of whom not above one hundred remain in the service of his son, and these with two or three Hindustanee Chiefs and the Havildar of the Pagah, Suddur-u-Deen, a native of the Deckan, whose family has for three or four generations served that of Holkar, and always maintained high rank and estimation, constitute all that remains of those great bands of Mahomedans so lately in the service of the Holkar State.

3. Dowlut Row Scindiah has comparatively few Military* followers of his tribe; the Rajahs of Dhar and Dewass have none; and except the Mekrance Chief, Moozaffir, not one remains with rank or power in the service of any of the Rajahs west of the Chumbul. None of the Rajpoot Chiefs have retained any numbers, except Zalim Singh, whose policy has induced him not to cast away this tribe. He has a number in his pay, and some Chiefs of rank, who hold lands in remuneration of their services, or that of their ancestors. The following towns are those in which Mahomedans of the Military class (for this tribe has here, like others, taken its divisions) principally reside. Bhopaul, Ashta, Sehore, Seronge, Koorwy, Mahomedghur, Ranoud, Kinjiah, Mughoolee, Neyserai, Sheerghur, Shahabad, Kotah, Shujawulpore, Sarungpore, Sahjehanpore, Sonarah, Augur, Mundissore, Rampoorah, Jowrah, Mahidpore, Oujein, Katchrode,

* The families of all the Mahomedans of rank in Malwa, who have been brought forward by the house of Scindiah, are either ruined or on the decline. Merza Abdul Rohen Beg was raised to great power by Madhajee Scindiah, and a number of his family settled in Malwa, and rose to rank and distinction. When this Mahomedan Chief was manager of the countries of Mundissore, Katchrode, &c: the grand-father of the present Brahmin possessor, Balaba, (commonly called Ballajee Mirza from his Master's name) was his Dewan; but the family has long lost the reality of power, and within the last ten or twelve years has ceased to be considered entitled to those marks of outward respect which the different members long received from their nominal Brahmin servants.

Ranna Khan, the Mahomedan leader whom, as has been stated, the gratitude of Madhajee Scindiah raised to high rank, and distinguished by the name of brother, left a weak son, who has a village assigned for his support, but is of no note.

Baffoo Khan, Chief of Augur, and Heera Khan, late manager of Oujein, are of a tribe of Mahomedans who came from the Deckan with Madhajee Scindiah, and still possess some rank in the service of his successor.

rode, Nolye, Dhar and Indore. In none of these towns, not even in Bhopaul or Seronge, do the Mahomedans form a majority of the population, and in many of them they do not certainly amount to a twentieth part of it.

Mahomedan class of Cultivators, Artisans, &c.

4. There are, besides the Mahomedans of the towns in Malwa, a number of cultivators, artizans, and labourers of this religion, spread throughout the villages of the Province, particularly in those which compose the ancient Sirkars of Mandoo. These are in many places the Putteils, almost every where the Merdahs or hereditary measurers of the land; and retain not only the usages, but some of them the names* of their ancestors, and are divided into particular tribes, which in their denomination have reference to their origin, or to the persons † who converted them.

5. This

* The Putteil of the village of Kujeranah, near Indore, is a Mahomedan, and traces back fourteen or fifteen generations. His family were Hindus, and though they have become Mahomedans, they preserve their Hindu names, his name is KOKOO. He has a brother called NANAH, another KALOO, a nephew, NANAH, and so forth. The family or tribe of the Putteil are called NAYTAL; they can only be deemed half converts, and their dress is exactly the same as that of the Hindu inhabitants.

The Zemindars of Sayorah, three miles from Gwalior, and four other villages near it, are Mahomedans; their forefathers were Rajpoots of the Kutchwa tribe, and held the situation of Chowdries of the Kusbah of Gwalior, but became Mahomedans in the reign of SHAH JEHAN, on condition of retaining their rights as Chowdries; they have preserved the original Sunnud granted by that Monarch to their ancestors, a copy of which is in my possession.

These Zemindars have other Sunnuds in favor of their Rajpoot ancestors from HIMAIN, from AKBAR, and even from BABER, all of which Captain STEWART, Acting Resident at Gwalior, (from whom I received this information) has seen.

In the five villages mentioned there are altogether about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Mussulman families, descendants of these Rajpoots; they have all Mussulmanee names, and a few of them know something of their prayers, though they admit that they are obliged to propitiate BOWANEE both by Pooja and sacrifices; they likewise recognize Maha Deo, but Madue Shah is the Mahomedan Saint they most venerate.

These converts have long lost their Chowdree-ship, for which they became Mahomedans; but they preserve all the Sunnuds and documents with the greatest care, in the hope of still profiting by them at some future period.

† The tribes called Ramkhanee, Larkhanee, Sheerkanee, are numerous, and take their names from Ramkhan, Larkhan and Sheerkhan, who first converted the ancestors of these tribes to the Mahomedan faith.

5. This lower class of Mahomedans appear to be a race of half converts from the Hindu inhabitants of the country, who know little but the name of their professed faith; and though there is generally a Fakeer or holy mendicant within or near their village, who prompts and aids them to religious offices, they have seldom any knowledge of their prayers, or a place of worship, and are more observant of Hindu usages than their own; indeed their women almost invariably pay their devotions to the Hindu Shrine in the neighbourhood. These peculiarities cause them to be very little esteemed by their Mahomedan brethren of the towns, few of whom will intermarry with them, deeming their ignorance, low occupation, and usages, a disgrace to the religion of the former conquerors of India. The numbers of this class had been recently much increased by the dispersion of the Pindaries. The Chiefs of these freebooters, who were Mahomedans, made all the children and many of the men whom they took, profess their faith. Hindus of the lowest cast became converts for the sake of honourable association as fellow plunderers; these have all been compelled to resort to peaceable occupations, and now form part of the lowest orders of the Mahomedan population of Malwa.

Borahs.

6. In the larger cities of Malwa, such as Bhopaul, Seronge, Oujein, Indore, Rampoorah, Mundissore, Katchrode, Rutlam, Shahjehanpore, and others, there are many of that mercantile tribe of Mahomedans, called Borahs*. These engage in all species of commerce, and are wholesale merchants of the first class, as well as pedlars; sometimes both characters united are to be found amongst them coming from the sea-coast of Goozerat into Malwa: they have imported with them the improvements

of

* Besides the Mahomedan Borahs there is a tribe of Brahmins from Nath Devardh in Mewar, who have likewise this appellation. The name Borah (unknown to the original country of this race) is derived from the Hindu word Behoorah, signifying Traffic.

of European settlements, even in the construction of their houses* and furniture; they are the chief medium through which the trade in European articles is carried on, and in every town in which they settle this industrious race form a distinct colony. They live in union under the spiritual rule of their elected Moullahs or priests, to whose orders, in conformity with the ancient precepts of the remarkable sect† of Mohamedans to which they belong, they render implicit obedience. The good understanding in which they live with each other gives them much strength, and though they have at times suffered from the violence of power, few of the industrious classes have escaped so well, during the worst of times, as the Borahs.

Mooltanees. 7. The Mooltanees, though in general armed, are to be numbered among the civil classes of Mahomedans in Malwa. These consist of two tribes, carriers (Lodanah) and traders in cattle, who are also cultivators. The habits of the Lodanah Mooltanees are the same as those of the Brinjaries, and, like them, their head men are called Naicks. The traders in cattle and cultivators obey heads, whom they term Putteils, and reside in small colonies; both tribes eat together, but from having different customs and habits of life do not intermarry. They alike trace their

* I visited several of the houses of this tribe at Shahjehanpore, where a colony of them are settled, and was gratified to find, not only in their apartments but in the spaciousness and cleanliness of the cook-room, in the well-constructed chimney, the neatly arranged pantry, and the polished dishes and plates, as much of real comfort in domestic arrangements, as could be found any where. We took the parties we visited by surprize, and there could have been no preparation.

† They are of the tribe of Hoossinah, once so dreaded in Egypt and Persia for their acts of murder and desperation which they perpetrated in blind obedience to the mandate of their spiritual Lord, so famous in the Crusade History under the name of The Old Man of the Mountain.

The principal colony of Malwa Borahs is at Oujein, where twelve hundred families live in four Mahals or wards that are connected with each other, but separated by strong gates from the other parts of the city. No one except a Borah can enter their precincts without leave. The chief Moullah, who resides at Oujein, is appointed by the High Priest of this class at Surat; his authority extends over all his tribe in Malwa, and as far as Aurungabad south. His orders go to regulate their most minute actions, and he promulgates annually a table of Rules for their guidance. He has promised me a census of the Borahs in his diocese or charge, whom he computed in a conversation I had with him nearly ten thousand families, making almost fifty thousand souls.

their origin from Mooltan, but have settled in Malwa for seven or eight generations. There are in the Province about three thousand Mooltanees, of whom fifteen hundred are west of the Chumbul.

8. The Military class of Mahomedans in Malwa differ little either in dress, habits, or character, from those of their tribe in other parts of India. The Afghans of Bhopaul have (as has been noticed) some singular usages, which they brought from their native country, and have carefully cherished; but, though a proud race and jealous of their honor, this small colony has been so long surrounded by Hindu communities of superior numbers, to whom they were forced to bend, if not to yield, and have been so chastened by adversity, that they neither have that rudeness in their manners, nor that turbulence of character, which belongs to the Patans from Hindostan. Of these latter there were sometime ago great numbers in Malwa, and they were the disturbers of its tranquil inhabitants. This, however, refers principally to the Military adventurers, who, though they resided in the Province, viewed it as a foreign land. The Mahomedan natives of Malwa, who have been for generations in the habit of obeying Hindu masters, have completely amalgamated with that race, and, without decidedly adopting either the religion or customs of the latter, they seem in a great degree to have lost their own; many of the most respectable have taken to trade and manufacture, and these occupations will become more universal, as the little Military feeling they have left declines. There cannot be a stronger proof of the condition of the Mahomedan population, than that there is hardly to be met with a priest or religious person of any rank, learning, or character, among the best societies of that tribe in Malwa.

Habits and Character of the Military Mahomedans of Malwa.

9. The Hindus of Malwa, like those of other parts of India, are divided into four great sects; but it will be better to speak of the inhabitants of this Province as nations and classes; for it is in this manner they

Hindus of Malwa.

they divide themselves, and keep alive those attachments and prejudices which unite or distinguish them from each other.

10. The Mahratta conquerors and possessors of part of Malwa may be divided into Brahmins and Sodras. Though the Princes and leading Military chiefs are of the latter tribe, the former, as the efficient agents and instruments of rule, as well as from their religious superiority, merit our first notice.

Marhatta Brahmins.

11. The character of these southern Brahmins* has been already given: many came on its original conquest into Malwa, while others flocked to the banners of their victorious countrymen, by whom they were employed, as has been stated, in all the principal offices of the Civil Governments, as well as in the Army. The number of these Brahmins, now in Malwa, has been computed† at about two thousand families; and, if we suppose two males arrived at mature age in every family, and add to this four thousand men of this tribe who have no settled families but are employed in the service of the local Mahratta Rulers, we shall have not less than eight thousand educated men, a very small proportion of whom are devoted to religious duties, at the utmost not more than one thousand, and the remaining seven thousand constitute that active and abstemious

* These are, of all tribes, inhabitants of the Deckan and Konkan.

† Those, who pretend to know best, calculated six hundred families (or houses) of southern Brahmins in Oujein, one hundred and twenty five in Indore, thirty in Mundissore, twenty Katchrode, ten Nelharghur, twenty five Rampoorah, fifteen Bampoorah, eighty Jowud, ten Neemitch, twelve Jowrah, sixteen Mulharghur, fifteen Poonshallee, fifty Nolye, ten Rutlam, fifty Dhar, fifty Dewass, twenty-five Mohysir, eight Mundlasir, forty Shahjehanpore, fifteen Sarungpore, three Shujahalpore, ten Ashta, five Bhopaul, fifty Bhilsha, twenty Seronge, one hundred Kotah, capital and country, twenty Neilkerah, ten Sepra. In SCINDIAH's cantonment and the vicinity of it, is reckoned, there are about five hundred families, and we may add to the account at least one hundred houses of this tribe not enumerated, which makes the families in Malwa upwards of two thousand. There are on the lowest computation in performance of religious duties, and employed in the Civil and Military service of SCINDIAH, three thousand men, who have no settled families, and are many of them adventurers from the Decken; add to which one thousand of a similar class in the service of HOLKAR and the petty States of Dhar and Dewass, and there will be, taking the families at two men of mature age in each house, eight thousand southern Brahmins qualified for employment in Malwa.

stemious body of men of business who carry on all the duties of the Mahratta Governments, and are the most industrious and intelligent both of the higher and lower classes of merchants and clerks. We may assume, that there is not one of this class who has not been instructed to read and write; that they are from the habits of their order, exempt from inebriety and idleness, and that, though very subtle and often unprincipled, they are almost all of decent demeanor, and have remarkable industry and perseverance. The consequence is, they are (usually speaking) the real masters, though only nominal servants of those rulers by whom they are employed, and the wealth they obtain adds to their influence, both as individuals and as a community.

12. The manner in which the Southern Brahmins settled in Malwa, and maintain their connection with the country from which they came, has been before noticed*; they will neither eat nor intermarry with the Brahmins of the Province, nor those of Goojerat or Hindostan, who resort to it, and the consequence is, that their connection with the Deckan (particularly with the territories lately belonging to the PEISHWAH) continues as strong as if they had never emigrated. They often visit their native country, or rather that of their ancestors; and those whom business prevents from doing so have almost all annual recruits to the family, male or female, from the southward. This is a fortunate circumstance as connected with the establishment of our influence over this large intellectual and powerful class of men; many of them have lost a great deal by the extension of our power, and they may dread its further progress; but they are also sensible of the repose which that part of their family they deem the stock enjoys under our protection, and the facility of communication with their homes, through the security of the roads, is felt and recognized by the generality of this class as a real blessing.

13. It

* Vide Part 3d.

13. It is a very extraordinary fact, that out of the host of Southern Brahmins (these were twenty-five years ago at least treble their present number*) no one has ever been nominated to be a Zemindar or Kanoongo of a Province, or Putteil, Putwaree, or any other hereditary office, in their conquests north of the Nerbuddah.† The Brahmins covet these offices in the Deckan, and nothing but respect for the prejudices of the inhabitants of Malwa, and a fear of expatriating themselves by wedding a foreign soil, (for this the acceptance of such hereditary offices implies) could have prevented their invading these rights of the natives, in the same manner as had been done by the Northern conquerors of the Province.

Marhattas of the Soodra Cast.

14. With the exception of the Puar families of Dhar and Dewass, who are Rajpoots, almost all the Military classes of Mahrattas in Malwa are Soodras. These were formerly very numerous, but of late years it has been the policy of both the Governments of Holkar and Scindiah to entertain the natives of Hindostan in preference to their countrymen; and at present it may be safely asserted, that there are not above five thousand Mahrattas in service in Malwa; four thousand is as many as are in the army of Scindiah, and the numbers in that of Holkar and the Puars do not exceed one thousand, inclusive of the relations of these Rulers. There are some of the Mahrattas in menial employ, particularly in the household of Scindiah and Holkar, but these are few, and a small number more have settled as renters and cultivators; but the whole of this class, who may be deemed as settled in Malwa, do not amount to five hundred families, and these are limited to the principal towns. In the Census

* In a calculation made during the life of Madhajee Scindiah and Alia Bae, the southern Brahmins in Malwa are estimated at thirty thousand.

† The Boosottah family, as has been mentioned, obtained the *Zemindaree* of lands in Nimaur south of the Nerbuddah, on account of restoring them to cultivators; but this country belongs more to Candeish than Malwa.

Census* of Indore, there appear one hundred and fifty-two houses of Mahrattas in that capital; but in one, which was taken of eight populous villages in different parts of Malwa, there are only four houses inhabited by this tribe. The Mahratta citizens, as well as the military of this nation, preserve like the Brahmins their love of the Deckan with their families, in which quarter all who are able keep up a constant intercourse and form intermarriages. It is this usage which has prevented their amalgamating with the other inhabitants of Malwa.

15. The females both of the Brahmin and Soodra Mahrattas have, generally speaking, when their husbands are Rulers, or men of rank, great influence, and mix, not only by their power over individuals, but sometimes, as has been shewn, personally, in affairs of state. If married to men of rank, they have usually a distinct provision and estate of their own, enjoy as much liberty as they can desire, seldom if ever wear a veil, and give feasts and entertainments to their friends on births and marriages, or on particular anniversaries. They also expend much money (when their husbands are rich) on jewels and cloths, and in this class the poorest must have a set of ornaments. Marhatta Females.

16. The higher orders of women, both Brahmins and Soodras, are remarkable for their devotion or rather superstition, and are, from their weakness in such matters, the invariable objects of attack of religious impostors. The constant camp life of the Mahrattas, which is known to have made very serious inroads upon the Hindu observances and morals of the men, has extended its effects to their women; and the richer classes of these, even among the Brahmins, suffer great injustice from common fame, if they maintain that strict character which their sex enjoins. It may be remarked, in mitigation of this observation, as a general censure that both the courts of HOLKAR and SCINDIAH have for these last twenty-five years been exceedingly profligate.

17. The

* Not including the Court and Camp accession, which will probably give as many more.

17. The power which the Mahratta ladies of the families of SCINDIAH, HOLKAR, and the PUAR enjoy, has been described. They have always had great influence in their secret councils, and usage has latterly given them a considerable and encreased share in the government, and in some cases they have been the acknowledged head. Those among them who are liable to be called to high duties,* are usually taught to read and write, and understand accounts; they are also carefully taught to ride, and they are in general active, lively, as well as intelligent, and, if not handsome, have generally soft features. Though almost all, when called forth, have shewn energy and courage, and some of them great talent, yet it must be confessed that few classes of high females exhibit more examples of shameless licentiousness than are to be found among these Mahratta Bhaes, whom circumstances have freed from the common restraints, which the laws of society in India have imposed upon their sex. The poorer Mahratta females in Malwa are the companions of their husbands in their labours and their dangers; they are hard favored from constant exposure, and are stout limbed, and esteemed industrious and well conducted.

Different sects of Brahmins in Malwa.

18. Besides the various tribes of Brahmins from the Deckan, there are no less than *eighty-four* different sects of Brahmins in Malwa; but almost all these trace or pretend to trace the emigration of their ancestors, and that at no distant period, (few beyond fifteen generations) from Goozerat, Oudipore, Joudpore, Jeypore, Hindostan, Kanoje, and Oude. The

* In a long conference I had with BHEEMAH BAE, the daughter of JESWUNT ROW HOLKAR, (detailed in my letter to Mr. METCALFE, of the 1st September, 1819,) she expatiated with much eloquence on the duties inculcated as those of a Mahratta Princess, when the interests of her family and nation were at stake. It was, she said, an obligation for such in extreme cases (where she had neither husband nor son,) to lead her troops in person to battle. The young lady appealed to LETCHMA BHYE, a respectable matron, for the truth of her assertion, and it was confirmed with the observation that the case must be extreme, which called for such a departure from female habits. BHEEMAH BAE was from eccentricity of character an exception to common rules. She rode with grace, and few excelled her in the management of the spear.

The six sects or Chenattee* tribe of Brahmins alone claim Malwa as their native country, and even refer to a period of twenty or thirty generations back, when their ancestors came into it; but still they have a pride in being termed Malwa Brahmins, which to the rest would be a reproach.

19. The Goozerat Brahmins are very numerous† in Malwa; some of these are employed in the offices of religion, while others of this tribe trade and gain a respectable livelihood as writers and accountants. The Marwar or Joudpore Brahmins are also many of them traders, but the great mass from that country, Mewar and Joudpore, are labourers and cultivators, forming indeed a very considerable proportion of the most industrious husbandmen of Malwa.

Goozerat Brahmins.

Joudpore. Brahmins.

20. The Hindostan Brahmins are not so numerous, and a considerable proportion of them are concerned in trade. The few respectable people of this class that come from Kanoje have in general some pretensions to learning, and live by giving lessons and by charity; while those from Oude (classed with the natives from Behar, and known by the general name of Purbeahs, or eastern Brahmins) are almost all soldiers, and seldom, if ever, settle with their families in this province. A few of the Brahmins of the above tribes have been supported by the charity of the Mahratta Rulers and Chiefs, while many have found employment as servants of the rich Southern Brahmins, and the latter, though they will neither eat nor intermarry with these sects, have studied their convenience by coming to the conclusion, that they are not defiled by the lowest Purbeahs giving them water, washing their clothes, and performing other menial offices.

Hindostan Brahmins.

21. These eighty-four sects, who are all classed by the Mahratta conquerors

Rangree Brahmins.

* These six sects eat and drink with each other, and are from this associated and called Chenattee, or the six sects.

† In the town of Banswarrah, there are one thousand families; in that of Dongerpore two hundred, and Purtaubghur fifty.

querors under the general head of *Rangree*, or barbarous, are in general a quiet, submissive race, with exception of the Purbeah or Eastern Brahmins, who, coming from Oude and Behar, filled the ranks of those insubordinate Corps of Regular Infantry belonging to SCINDIAH and HOLKAR, that had for so many years domineered over Malwa, and treated the peaceable inhabitants of this Province with an insolence and violence, which has rendered them as much dreaded and hated as the Patans.*

Bundlecund Brahmins.

22. The Bundlecund Brahmins and some of the lower orders from Kanoje, who come annually to Malwa, will be noticed among those classes, to a level and association with which their habits and crimes have degraded them.

General Remarks.

23. There is perhaps no province in India, where the tribes of Brahmins are so various, and the numbers so great as in Malwa; but there is certainly none, where there are so few wealthy and learned of that class, or where there is less attention paid to the religious rites of the Hindu aith, and to its priests by the rest of the population.

24. The Mahomedans have ever marked the Brahmins with particular hatred, and the Rajpoots, who were, before their rule, sovereigns of Malwa, were too much attached to their peculiar Priests, the Bhats and Charuns, to have shewn much favor to this race; while the Brahmin Ministers and Chiefs of the Mahratta Princes, who have for the last century ruled this country, have been in general able worldly men, from whom the ignorant Priests and idle mendicants of their own order have had less attention, than they would have received from Hindus with qual rank, but with less pretensions to sacred knowledge; and with the single

* TANTIAH JOGH and several other principal persons in HOLKAR'S Government never speak of these tribes with common patience. He asserts, that their tyrannical insolence and cruelty, when they had the power, exceeded all bounds.

single exception of ALIA BAE,* there has been no Mahratta Ruler in Malwa, who has had a right to the character of pious. Her charity to this tribe was unbounded, and hordes of Brahmins from the most distant quarters flocked to Malwa during her reign. Such encouragement is not likely to recur; but the quiet that is now restored will give again to Oujein that annual crowd of pilgrims, to which it is from its high rank among Hindu Teeruts† entitled, but of which it has been in a great degree deprived by the troubles of the last thirty years. The holy shrine of OONKAR MUNDATTA, which has so long been shut to Brahmins and pious Hindus, by the bands of robbers by which it is encircled, is once more open to pilgrims. These also resort in numbers to Moheysir, and the feeling entertained by the present Government of HOLKAR to every thing connected with the name of ALIA BAE is leading to the establishment of charitable institutions, and to the erection of religious buildings, which promise to make this holy place equal in beauty, though greatly inferior in size, to the first Hindu cities in India.

25. The next class of inhabitants of Malwa is the Rajpoots, or Military class of Hindus, who form (taking in all their tribes and branches down to the half breed, who boast this proud race as their fathers) a great proportion of the population of Malwa. The chief Rajpoot tribes, who were the invaders and conquerors of this Province, have been before noticed. In the oldest records we have of Malwa, we find the Powar and Chuar Rajpoots its Rulers; these last were subdued by the Afghans, but from the character of the struggles which ensued between them and the Mahomedans, it is obvious they must have long settled in Malwa, as they were in great numbers and had taken deep root. Rajpoots.

26. We

* Some of the BAES, or ladies, have been religious and charitable. RUKMAH BAE, the wife of TUKAJEE HOLKAR, was a pious woman and very generous to Brahmins.

† It is one of the seven sacred places of Hindu worship, and ranks with Benares, Oude, Hurdwar, Muttra, Dwarka, and Conjeveram.

26. We know from concurring evidence, that all the tribes of Rajpoots trace their origin from Adjohodiah or Oude, and their Chiefs in this part of India, whom they term Princes, were probably no more than leaders, or vicegerents, of the Hindu Sovereigns of Kanoje. The Oudipore* family, which is admitted by all to be the most ancient of this class of Rulers established in Malwa, (and their rule at one time extended over several parts of that Province) though they trace their descent from the celestial RAMCHUNDER, do not appear in authentic history before BAPOO Rawul took Cheetore, in the year of the Sumbhut 191.
A. D. 104. The title of Rawul, still cherished by some Rajpoot Princes, descended from this Prince to many of his direct successors, but the thirteenth in descent assumed that of Ranah, which still continues. The name Sesodee, now the distinctive appellation of the family, is said to have originated in the accident of the favorite Brahmin Priest of this Prince having come from the village of Sesodee in Goozerat. An event of more importance is stated in the Mewar Manuscript, from which these facts are taken, which asserts that in the year of the Sumbhut 1191, this Rajpoot ruler conquered the Bheels, which is in confirmation of a fact
A. D. 1112. supported by many other accounts and traditions, that a great part of Mewar and Western Malwa were so late as the eleventh century in possession of that race, while we know that the Goands have been more recently driven out of some of the southern districts of this province. There is, in short, every reason to conclude, that, before the Mahomedan Invasion, the armies of the Monarchs of

* The Dongerpore family claims priority of rank to that of Oudipore, being descended from an elder brother. One of the Rawuls of Cheetore, when far advanced in years, married a daughter of the Rajah of Jeypore. The latter chief would only consent to the marriage, on the condition that the Rawul and his eldest son, by a former marriage, would consent to the male issue by the second marriage being heir to the throne of Cheetore. The son consented; the marriage took place, and an heir was born, who received the title of RANGJEE. He succeeded to the throne; the descendants of the elder brother conquered Dongerpore.

of Kanoje and Delhi, which were chiefly composed of the Rajpoot or Chuttree tribe, made a partial conquest of this country. When these monarchs were in their turn obliged to yield to the Mahomedan invaders, the tide of the warlike clan of Rajpoots rolled south, and in its course overwhelmed the weaker inhabitants of the countries to which it was impelled. This is the progress of all changes of population in half-civilized nations. But the Rajpoots were no doubt, from the prejudices of the lower class of Hindus, with which they intermingled, received in most countries with feelings that facilitated their usurpation of the rule. They were from cast superior, and accordant with national institutions, as well as religious prejudices, it was a duty to obey and serve them. Their intercourse with females of a lower tribe produced a mixed race, who inherited, with a share of the bodily strength, the pride of their fathers. They endeavoured to lose all recollection of the baseness of their mother's blood, and sought by taking the same names, and adopting similar habits, to approximate themselves to their male primogenitors; but, though many of these spurious tribes were cherished as useful adherents, they were not permitted to mix or intermarry with the higher classes, and gradually fell into a lower rank in the same community.

27. The Rajpoot families who have exercised power, and who stand the first in reputation, are the Sesodians, Rhattorees, Kutchwa, and Chowans. The Sesodians, which includes the Oudipore family and all its relations, are considered the first in Malwa, from their rule being the most ancient. A Rhattore* Prince, who was driven out of Hindostan

* A book entitled Bunsawullee Rhuttoree, or a Genealogical Account of the Tribe of Rhattore was brought to me the 30th June, 1820, by SUNTOOK RAM, the Karbar or Minister of the Rajah of Amjerrah. This roll, for such it was, was written in the dialect of the Rajpoots called Bhokah, and by the Mahrattas Rangree Bhokah. Its dimensions were taken by a brass two-foot rule, and measured exactly ninety feet in length, by sixteen inches wide, and close written on both sides. Parts of it

Hindostan in A. D. 1111, succeeded in establishing himself as Prince of this Province in A. D. 1155, and this family have since enjoyed more power than any other of the Rajpoot tribes in Malwa. The present families of the Rajahs of Rutlam, Jabooah, Silanah, Secta Mow, Amjherrah, Kutch, Baroda, Mooltan, Baglee, and many more, are of this tribe. The Kutchwa Rajpoots, who stand high from the reigning family of Jeypore being of that tribe, are likewise numerous in Malwa, but there is no ruler of this branch in the Province. The Rajahs of Boondee and of Kotah are of the Harah tribe, a branch of the Chouans, who are very numerous; another branch, the Kychee, has risen to fame in Malwa, but the power of the house of Ragooghur, to which it chiefly owes its glory, has, as already noticed, within these few years, been completely destroyed by SCINDIAH.

28. The principal families of the tribes enumerated, and some others, intermarry, but they will not condescend to mix with those of lesser fame. The Puar Rajpoots are beyond all others celebrated in the ancient history of Malwa, but they were subdued by the Mahomedans, and had long ceased to rule,* when a Chief of the tribe was restored to Dhar, the very seat of his ancestors; but he came as a retainer with a Mahratta Ruler, and his family had, while in the Deckan, eaten and intermarried with Mahratta Sodras; the consequence is, that, though this family has been, and now is high in rank and power, the

were written long ago, but it is continually receiving additions, as the families increase. SUNTOOK RAM boasted that there was not a Rhattore of any rank or name that was not to be found in this roll; and it appears, from the short examination I have been able to give it, to contain a correct record of all the families of this tribe who have settled in Malwa.

SEOJEE, the great grandson of JYECHUND, the Monarch of Delhi, who lost his life and throne in an action with SHAH OODEEN MAHOMED GHOUS, was the Prince who first emigrated, attended by two hundred followers, into Marwar, and after a lapse of forty four years, filled (according to his historians) with vicissitudes of fortune, succeeded in establishing himself Prince of Pallee, then the capital of the present country of Joudpore.

* The present Ruler of the petty State of Soante claims descent from the ancient Puars of Dhar. The family took refuge in the wilds of Soante on the Mahomedan conquest.

the poorest of the high-blooded Rajpoot Chiefs, whom they have among their dependants, would disdain to eat with them, or to give them a daughter in marriage. Besides the Puars of the Dhar family, who consider themselves, and are considered by others, as Deckanees, or southern people, there are numerous Rajpoots of that tribe,* and many others of little note, who trace from Hindostan, while the Dooriah and Salunkee tribes, who are possessed of great tracts of land and hereditary rights, come from Goozerat.

29. The Omuts have been mentioned as giving their name to a large district. They were a tribe of no note, but have been recently raised to rank and estimation† by one of their chiefs, Atcheel Singh, Dewan of Nursinghur, who by the expenditure of a very large amount has obtained, in marriage for his son, the daughter of a near relation of the Prince of Oudipore. This fact proves, and several others might be adduced, that the distinctions of the Rajpoots are more those of family than of cast; and, if the latter, that its rules can bend, and are those of usage, not of religion.

30. The Rajpoots of Malwa, like those of neighbouring Provinces, pay comparatively little attention to Brahmins. A holy man of this tribe has a share of their respect and veneration, but their priests are the Charuns and Bhats, who, to the direction of their superstitious devotions, add the office of chronicler of their cherished fame and that of their ancestors. These classes have rank as the genealogists of proud and ignorant Chiefs, but more favored individuals combine with that office the station of counsellors, and establish an

Charuns and Bhats.

* The only Puar family of rank that trace from Bikramajeet, the ancient head of the Puars of Malwa, are the petty Rajahs of Soonte.

† Many of the principal families in Malwa have eaten with these Omut Rajahs. This is the great point, and it is carried so far that, when the legitimacy of a child is disputed, no evidence in its favor is so decided as a chief of known honor of the same family consenting to eat out of the same plate (or Thallee) with the child.

an ascendancy over the minds of their lord, which is stronger from being grounded upon a mysterious feeling of awe. It is to them that the proudest Rajpoot looks for solace in the time of adversity, and for encreased joy and exultation in that of prosperity. We must, therefore, before the Rajpoot character and peculiar habits are noticed, say a few words of those, who exercise so powerful an influence over their lives and destiny.

31. Both Charuns and Bhats boast of celestial origin; the former are divided into two tribes, the Kachilee, who are merchants, and the Maroo, who are bards. These again branch out into one hundred and twenty other tribes, many of whom are the descendants of Brahmins and Rajpoots. The Kachilee and Maroo Charuns do not intermarry, but the latter being held in the highest estimation intermarry with Rajpoots. There are numerous Bhats in Hindostan and the countries from which the Rajpoots came, but Churans are there unknown. This extraordinary community appears to have arisen out of that condition of society into which their kindred tribe (for they deem themselves, though specially created by MAHA DEO,* as appertaining to the Rajpoot race) had fallen; the rude chiefs of military tribes were without union, and were in general ignorant. War was their only occupation; feud became so deadly that all confidence ceased. The oppression of the Moghul Government having made many of them plunderers, a great proportion of the tracts where they settled soon became impassable to travellers or merchants. This was particularly the case with the whole of the countries west of Malwa, which stretch along the left bank of the Indus from Bickaneer to Kutch.

32. The

* According to the fable of their origin, MAHA DEO first created Bhats to attend his lion and bull, but the former killing the latter, every day gave him infinite vexation and trouble in creating new ones. He therefore formed the Charun equally devout as the Bhat, but of bolder spirit, and gave him in charge these favorite animals. From that period no bull was ever destroyed by the lion.

32. The Brahmin priests and religious guides of the Rajpoots, while they remained on the banks of the Ganges, do not appear to have followed them, in any numbers, to their remote habitations on the verge of India. Beings were therefore wanted, on whom weak and superstitious minds could repose, who had or pretended to have knowledge, whose faith was trusted, and who might constitute a link between men, who could not trust each other: such the Charuns soon became, and the usages they adopted give a singular picture of the society, which they may be said in a great degree spiritually and morally to govern.

33. A Charun must understand the rites of worship,* particularly those of Sheva and Purbuttee, the favorite deities of the Rajpoots. They are in general taught to read and write, and the class who traffic (generally in camels and horses) are shrewd men of business, while the Maroo Charuns apply their skill to the genealogy of tribes, and to the recital of numerous legends, (usually in verse) which celebrate the praises of former heroes, which it is their duty to chant to gratify the pride, and rouse the emulation, of their descendants.

34. The Charun's chief power is derived from an impression, that it is certain ruin and destruction to shed his blood, or that of any of his family, or to be the cause of its being shed. They obtain a high rank in society, and a certain livelihood, from that superstitious belief, which they are educated to support, and which they teach their children in infancy to consider as their chief object in life to maintain.

35. A Charun becomes the safeguard of travellers and the security for merchants, and his bond is often preferred among the Rajpoots, when rents and property are concerned, to that of the wealthiest Sahokars.

When

* The Maroo Charuns worship Kurnee Mata at Deslake, (twelve coss from Bickaneer) which is held very sacred.

The Kachaita worship Devy Hinglai in the country of Lahore.

When he trades himself, he alone is trusted, and trusts among the community to which he belongs.

36. The Charun, who accompanies travellers likely to be attacked by Rajpoot robbers, when he sees the latter approach, warns them off, holding a dagger in his hand, to which, if they do not attend, he stabs himself in a place that is not mortal, and taking the blood from the wound throws it at the assailants with imprecations of future woe and ruin. If this has not the desired effect, the wounds are repeated, and in extreme cases one of the Charun's relations, commonly a female child, is made a sacrifice. The same process is adopted to enforce the payment of a debt to himself, or a claim to which he has become security. It is not unusual as the next step to slay himself, and the scene has been known to close in the voluntary death of his wives and children.

37. The females of the Charuns are distinct from all the other population, both in their dress and manners. They often reside in separate villages, and, where they do, the traveller is surprised to see them come out in their long black robes (they wear no other color) and attend him for some space, chanting his welcome to their abode. The Charuns are not only treated by the Rajpoots with great respect, (the highest rulers of that race rising when one of this class enters or leaves an assembly) but they have more substantial marks of regard as traders; lighter duties are collected from them than others. They receive at all feasts and marriages presents, that are only limimited by the ability of the parties.* The evil consequences of a Charun being driven to undergo a violent death, can be alone averted by grants

* Charuns, particularly of the Maroo class, who are mendicants, attend at feasts and marriages, in great numbers, and are in the habit of extorting large sums, at the latter, by threats (if not satisfied) of sprinkling their blood on the parties met on this joyous occasion; and these threats have been too often carried into execution to make them be deemed idle by the superstitious Rajpoots. Bheem Singh, the son of the Rajah of Bauglee, settled, when the Rawul of Banswarrah

and costly gifts to surviving relations, and the Rajpoot Chief, whose guilt is recorded (for all these sacrifices are subjects of rude poems) as the cause of such sacred blood being shed, is fortunate, when he can by any means have his repentance and generosity made part of the tale.

38. This extraordinary class of men, who have grown up (in spite of habits that are revolting to humanity) as a correction of barbarism, are most numerous and most powerful among the petty Rajpoot Chiefs of Western India, but are familiar to Mewar, Marwar, Jeypore and even Malwa, and though rare, there are in the latter Province some shocking instances of the effects of their enthusiasm.*

39. The Bhats, or Rows as they are sometimes called by distinction, seldom sacrifice themselves or families; but as, chroniclers or bards, they

was on a visit to me, that he should marry the latter's near relation. But the marriage was delayed on account of a demand in the first instance that Burgee Singh should satisfy the Charuns and Bhats, who would attend at the wedding; the latter hesitates, from the amount (on account of the rank of the Rawul of Banswarrah) being likely to be so great, and being quite undefined. He told me it might ruin him, and that, once pledged, he was likely, from the common extravagance of their demands and violence in enforcing them, to have the option between poverty and disgrace in his tribe.

* A remarkable instance of a Chandee, that occurred at Tirlah in the District of Amjerrah among the class of people about seventy years ago, has been handed down as follows:

The Charuns of Tirlah were famed for their riches and the beauty of their women. The Thakoor of that place, inflamed with a desire of enjoying them, formed a plot, to get possession of both. On the Dasserah he invited the Charuns to a feast, where all made so merry, and the Kussoombah (opium dissolved in water) went so freely round, that most of the guests became intoxicated. The Thakoor, watching his opportunity, made them prisoners, and having confined them in the fort, sallied forth with his confederates to plunder the houses of the Charuns, and to ravish their women. As soon as this barbarous outrage was known to those confined in the Fort, they were seized with despair; three Naicks instantly killed themselves, two Charuns cut their throats, and two others put an end to their existence in different ways. A hundred more wounded their bodies with knives and other weapons, while many of the women burnt themselves and their children by wrapping clothes soaked in oil round their bodies.

These bloody scenes had such an effect on the Thakoor, that he not only released the captives, but returned to them all the plunder he had taken; not, however, before the Charuns had uttered the most dreadful imprecations on himself and family, and when they made the resolution to depart for ever from their birth place, they took an oath, which was to be binding on their posterity, that no Charun was ever to drink water in Tirlah.

they share offices with the Charuns and Rajpoots. Among the Bheelalahs, and lower tribes, they enjoy great and exclusive influence; they praise and give fame in their songs to those who are liberal to them, while they visit those who neglect or injure them with satires, in which they are reproached with spurious birth and inherent meanness. Sometimes the Bhat, if very seriously offended, fixes the figure of the person he desires to degrade on a long pole, and appends to it a slipper as a mark of disgrace. In such cases the song of the Bhat records the infamy of the object of his revenge. This image, or Pootla, as it is termed, usually travels the country, till the party or his friends purchase with money the cessation of the ridicule and curses thus entailed.* It is not deemed in these countries within the power of the first Ruler, much less any other, to stop a Bhat, or even punish him for such a proceeding. He is protected by that superstitious and religious awe, which, when general among a people, controls even despotism.

40. The community of Charuns and Bhats is said to be regulated and governed by rules well understood, and implicitly obeyed. This must be the case, for the society would not, if every individual had an arbitrary right of action, have so long preserved its power, the abuse of which must have dissolved it. Their superiors are in general those, whom talent and the favor of Princes have raised to rank and wealth.

41. The

* In 1812, SEVAT RAM SEIT, one of the principal Sahokars of HOLKAR's Court, offended one of these Bhats, by pushing him rudely out of his Dukan, (a shop) where he had come to ask alms. The man made a figure of him to which he attached a slipper and carried it to Court, and every where sung the infamy of the Seit; the latter, though a man of wealth and influence, could not prevent him, but obstinately refused to purchase his forbearance. His friends, after some months, subscribed seventy or eighty rupees, and the Bhat discontinued his execrations, but said it was too late, as his curses had taken effect, and the superstitious ascribe the ruin of the Banker, which took place some years afterwards, to this unfortunate event.

41. The Bhats of Malwa differ little in dress from the other inhabitants, but the Charuns in this Province are distinguished by their large turbans, loose vests and trowsers, from all others, being chiefly from Kattywar; they wear a costume resembling that of the inhabitants of the Province from which they came.

42. In describing the habits and character of the Rajpoots, it is unnecessary to say any thing of the foreigners of this class, who came into Malwa for service. They are natives of Hindostan, Oude, or Behar, and preserve their own usages, quite distinct from the individuals of this Province. The latter may be divided into two great classes, soldiers and cultivators: there are few of this tribe, who obtain their livelihood in any other manner but by the sword or plough, and the latter, even, have all arms in their houses, cherish the martial habits of their ancestors; listen to the Bhats who visit their villages, and preserve their genealogy, for the poorest of this race contributes his mite to support a bard, who annually sooths his vanity by tales of his forefathers, and by keeping a register of his family enables him to marry his sons and daughters without degrading it. Indeed, the Chruns and Bhats have their chief importance as conservators* of the purity of the blood of the different classes of Rajpoots; they make almost all the marriages, and when a wealthy Rajpoot of low tribe desires elevation† by a marriage with a superior family, he must bribe these arbiters of rank, high, before his object can be accomplished. The military Rajpoots of Malwa, including Baugur and the petty States of Loonewarrah, Soante, and Barriah, on the frontiers of

* They are considered in this light by the Government of the country, and their evidence is always taken as the best in proof of claims to rights of land that depend upon the descent of the party.

† The wealthy Zemindar of Taul Mundawul, who is of the low tribe of Dhoriah, lately obtained for his son the daughter of a distressed Thakoor of the Rhatore race, but not before he had expended large sums on the Bhats who had negotiated this alliance, and settled a house and a small estate on the bride's father.

of Goozerat, are all under Rawuls and Rajahs (Princes) and Thakoors, (or Lords) many of whom assume the name of Rajah; but though wealth, or a certain degree of independance, may lead to this title being granted by courtesy, they neither are considered by others, nor consider themselves, on a footing with the head of the family to which they belong, and to whom in all domestic concerns, and in extreme cases of danger, they continue (however politically independant) to pay deference and allegiance.

Rajahs or Princes of the Rajpoot tribe, west of the Chumbul. The Tributaries of the British Government are The Rawul of Dongerpore, The Rawul of Banswarrah, The Rajah of Pertaubghur, The Rajah of Barriah, and The Rajah of Allie Mohun. Those of Dowlut Row Scindiah are The Rajah of Rutlam, The Rajah of Seeta Mow, The Rajah of Sillanah, The Rajah of Amjerrah, The Rajah of Loonewarrah, The Rajah of Soante. Of Holkar, The Rajah of Jabooah.

43. There are to the west of the Chumbul twelve Rajahs, who owe fealty to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, and the British Government, among whom there is none whose revenue exceeds six lacs of rupees per annum, while there are several that are hardly, even when their country is in a state of prosperity, above one lac. These Rajpoots have all dependant upon them a number of Thakoors, who with their followers are supported by grants of land; the numbers of these and their adherents will be hereafter noticed: suffice it to say, that some almost rival the dignity and wealth of their superiors. URJOON SINGH of Ghurry is the first Lord in Baugur, and has long from personal character and rank been nearly on a level with his Prince, (for he possesses lands and owes allegiance to both the Rawuls of Dongerpore and Banswarrah); but he has never assumed a higher title than Thakoor, probably from his being of a different tribe from that of the Rajah's family,* while no less than three Lords (those of Sillanah, Kutch Baroda, and Moultan) of the Rutlam family have taken the name of Rajahs, but they are all near relations of the Prince, and it is on that ground this distinction is conceded to them.

The Rajpoot States, East of the Chumbul.

44. To the east of the Chumbul, the first great Raj or principality is that of Kotah, which has from its revenue and army the rank of a State,

* The Rawuls are Seesodeeahs. URJOON SINGH is a Chouan.

State, though it owes allegiance and pays tribute to the British Government. Among the great Lords who are, or profess to be, dependant on the MAHA Row, or Prince of Kotah, there are the Regent ZALIM SINGH, who has received the title of Raj Ranah from the Prince of Oudipore; the Lords of Indurghur,* of Ghytoh, Bumouleah and others, all of whom are called Maharajahs, but enjoy no distinct power, except over their own family, and a few personal adherents. The ancient Rajs or Principalities of Nerwar, Chanderee, Rhatghur, Buhadurghur, Sheopore, and Ragooghur, have been subdued by DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH. Few of the relations even of these great Rajpoot families are left in the country; many of their adherents still remain, and have preserved their lands and property. The policy of the late Mahratta Rulers has not employed them in their armies; the consequence has been, that many of them have become plunderers, and some of them cultivators, but their reduction is too recent to have changed the latter even into a submissive peasantry, and the presence of a considerable force has hitherto been constantly required in these countries to repress their recurring insurrections. A great proportion of the Rajpoots in this quarter, though their Princes are destroyed, and their spirit much broken, must still be considered as part of the Military class of Rajpoots.

45. The petty Rajahs of Nursinghur, Kilcheepore and Rajghur, in Omutwarrah, (Tributaries of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR) still retain their bands. The Rajah of Bauglee and many others east of the Chumbul, who were Thakoors and Zemindars, cannot be classed among the Princes of this race, nor can we assign that rank to the numerous Rajpoot Chiefs who continue Zemindars of districts and large landholders; or to those who from their condition are denominated Grassiahs,† and have till

* These chiefs are all relations of the MAHA Row.

† This name has been noticed before; it is derived from the Sanscrit term *Grass*, which signifies a mouthful, and is metaphorically applied to that portion of the produce which the plundering class claim.

till lately subsisted by plunder. The numbers of these hereditary plunderers in Malwa, who have continued to claim a Tanka or tribute upon the revenue from their assumed power to disturb the country, will be hereafter stated; at present it is enough to observe, that we are guarantee to more than one hundred engagements with Chiefs of this class in the countries and districts contiguous to Oujein and Indore. All the Rajpoots, who have been enumerated as belonging to the Military classes of that tribe in Malwa, are in their dress, manners, and usages, quite different from the other inhabitants of the country, and their features and shape denote them a superior class.

46. Their chief pride or distinctive marks are turbans of an extraordinary size, and an embossed figure of a horse* and the sun, which they wear round their necks. This mythological emblem is quite indispensible. It is (with all who can afford it) made in gold; others are contented with silver, but the poorest Rajpoot makes this figure the first present to his infant male offspring. It is their personal deity, or rather image, and receives their daily adoration. It is common also, with this tribe, to wear the figure of a distinguished ancestor or relation, engraved *in gold* or *silver*. This image, usually that of a warrior on horse-back, is sometimes worshipped, but its chief utility is as a charm to keep at a distance ghosts and evil spirits.

The customs of the Military class of Rajpoots differ in no essential degree † from others of their tribe; but they have fallen from those high sentiments, and that proud honor which, if we can believe their records, once distinguished their race. Though the great Princes of the Rajpoots were conquered by the Kings of

* This image is called Rewut Sona. Bheel chiefs wear it, but it is an assumption to which they have no right.

† It is a peculiar usage of the Rajpoots that they never marry in their own tribe, viewing it in that objectionable light, which others do, a marriage with their near relations.

of Delhi, the policy of these Sovereigns used these northern Hindu warriors to keep in check their own bands of turbulent Mahomedans, and to extend their conquests over the southern parts of India, so that, as they destroyed with one hand, they elevated with the other, and a great proportion of this class in Malwa trace their rise to the Emperors of Hindostan. On the decline of the family of TIMOUR, the Rajpoot subjects became first the dupes, and afterwards the prey, of the artful and rapacious Mahrattas. The history of their fall has been given; suffice it, in speaking of their character, to add, that it appears to have been deteriorated even more than their condition; though they have not lost their courage, and retain many feudal usages and feelings, they have ceased to be a nation. Too ignorant to redeem their former condition by intellectual effort, too prejudiced to seek the aid of others, and too radically divided by the quarrels of families and tribes, to unite in any great design connected with the restoration of their former power, the great proportion of the Military Rajpoots in Malwa appear to have given themselves up to a life of indolence and voluptuousness, indulging, as far as their means admit, in vicious habits, but particularly drinking strong liquors and eating opium. In the extreme use of the latter drug, which they indiscriminately take, in both its liquid and dry state, they indulge to an incredible excess.* Their women share this luxury with them, and give it to the new-born child. The heavy leaden eye-brows of the men proclaim a habit, which, so far from denying they speak of as constituting the chief pleasure of existence, it would appear as, if feeling themselves low and insignificant in that society of which they were long the head, they sought relief in the dreams afforded by this seducing stimulant from that vacuity of mind, if

* The Princes of Baugur seldom hold a Durbar without presenting liquid opium to all present. The Minister washes his hands in a vessel placed before the Rawul, after which some liquid opium is poured into the palm of his right hand. The first in rank who may be present then approaches and drinks the liquid. The Minister washes his hands again, and pours into his palm another dose for the second in rank, and so on.

if not degradation, which belongs to their actual condition. There are exceptions to this character of the Rajpoots of Malwa; many, as has been recounted, have shewn themselves in their gallant efforts to resist oppression worthy of the race of RAMCHUNDER, and there are still among them men of great talent: ZALIM SINGH of Kotah, whose life is from natural decay drawing to a close, has for half a century evinced an energy and wisdom, that would redeem a tribe: but such nevertheless, as I have described it, is the general character of the individuals of this race, who continue to consider themselves above industrious occupations, and still cling to the shadow of that power and eminence which they once enjoyed.

Rajpoot Females.

48. The females of this class, though they are strictly secluded, have still managed to act a prominent part in all the great and petty revolutions, to which this tribe has been subject. Family pride appears with them the chief motive of every action, and they are at all moments ready not only to brave danger, but to sacrifice their lives to support it. This spirit, which has in good times led to their affording examples that have placed them as high in the songs of the bards as their fathers, or husbands, has latterly had its chief exercise in disgraceful domestic disputes. The Ranees (Princesses) or Thakooranees (Ladies) of the Rulers and Lords of this tribe (each of whom has three or four) are in constant rivalry, if not hostility, with each other; and when (which is frequently the case) they are of higher blood, than their husbands, they exact greater respect, if not obedience. These ladies have generally separate estates for their support, and when the Prince is, from old age, mental debility, or derangement, (the latter is very common) unfit to rule, the feuds of a Rajpoot family go to great extremes. The succession to the petty state or barony, is a matter of active contention and dispute for years before, the possessor dies; his wives have their relations near them; they some-

times

times hire troops, have Vakeels, or agents, at neighbouring courts, and maintain an active correspondence. If there are no children, the adoption of an heir is a further source of quarrels. If one of the wives have a son, she is an object of envy to all the rest; the charge of imposition or bastardy is attempted to be proved, and the habits and character of many of the bold females of this class always give some color to these accusations. In such cases, general assemblies of the Chiefs and retainers are often called; those oaths, considered most sacred by the tribe, are administered, the highest and most respectable person in the family (if not connected with the quarrel) is called upon to prove his conviction of a child's legitimacy, by eating with it,* which no Rajpoot of high honor would do, if he doubted its birth; but all these appeals and trials do not prevent such family divisions giving rise to every species of crime. Spurious children are sought and obtained, sometimes by clandestine means, at other times by a departure from the laws of virtue. Feelings of such a nature are engendered by these proceedings, that murders (usually by poison) are quite common, and if a minor succeeds, his mind and body are often so enervated before he is of age, that

* This was most fully exemplified a short time ago, in the case of the succession to the petty sovereignty of Rutlam, which was referred to me for decision.

The Ranee CHUNDEWUT claimed for her infant son the right to the Guddee, while the other females of the deceased Rajah, supported by GOOMANJEE the Minister, wanted to bastardize the child. After various attempts had been made unsuccessfully to reconcile the parties, it was proposed and agreed to by all, that if the Ranah of Oudipore, with whose house the child was nearly allied by marriage, consented to eat with him, he would then be considered legitimate. The Ranah was accordingly applied to; his answer to Captain TOD was as follows:

"The RANAHJEE assures Captain TOD, that BULWUNT SINGH is the son of OODA BAE, she is my sister, consequently the boy is my nephew. He is also nephew of the RAWUL JEE of Soolumba, who is my brother. What doubt can there be of my allowing my son to eat with the son of the OODA BAE? not only he, but all the sixteen Omrahs shall sit together and eat from the same dish with BULWUNT SINGH. Of this there can be no doubt; you will, if you think proper, write to General MALCOLM in the strongest manner, and tell him that if he will send the OODA BAE here with my nephew, we shall all eat together."

The contents of this letter being made known, all parties were perfectly agreed that BULWUNT SINGH had a legitimate right to the sovereignty of Rutlam.

that he is incapable of disturbing those who govern in his name. It may be added, that this is at present the condition of three fourths of the high Rajpoot families of Malwa,—but this is to be accounted for. It was the study of the Mahrattas to encourage divisions and feuds, which at once degraded and divided a race, whom they could neither reconcile to their rule, nor completely conquer. A different policy is now pursued, and the marked abhorrence which has been shewn to such scenes of family discord, and to the crimes it produces, appears already to have had a salutary effect; indeed, our mediation and interposition between the few high families of the tribe, who remain in Malwa, and their Mahratta superiors, while it gives to the latter all the revenue they have a right to claim, will early give to the Military Rajpoots of this province a new character, and, by changing their habits and sentiments, render these disturbers of the public peace its best support.

49. Among the Rajpoot cultivators of Malwa, a number of the same tribe as the higher families are to be found; but in this class the Dhooriah, Gelott, Solunkee, Purthar, Purmar, and Chendalee, are most numerous; they are in many places Putteils, and have often small grants, which have been given to their ancestors. They are frequently the Zumeen ka Nokur, or soldiers of the soil, and as such have a few begahs of land assigned for their support; but many of this class are mere labouring Ryots, and of these families, such as do not cultivate take service as soldiers, hirkarrahs, and often in lower and more menial occupations. They usually however return, when they make a little money in such services, to their fields. This class of Rajpoots are not from dress, nor indeed in their habits, to be distinguished from the other peasantry; but they are all armed, and preserve, through the excitement of their bards and cherished recollections of their forefathers, a martial spirit, which is looked to as the defence of the village they inhabit. Like the

Military

Military Rajpoots they indulge in the use of opium, but they are much more moderate. The women of this class are neither veiled, nor confined to their house, but aid their husbands in the labors of the field, as well as in the village work, and are in general hardy and industrious.

50. The Rajpoot inhabitants of towns, who pursue trade, or are employed as servants, differ nothing in their usages or character from the cultivators, except being in general, from the large society in which they mix, more dissipated. There are besides the cultivators and citizens a considerable body of Binjarrahs and Lodhanas, or grain carriers,* who are of the Rajpoot cast; these are of various tribes, Rahtore, Jalore, Puar, &c. They live in tents, and can hardly be termed inhabitants of this, or any other, province, as every place where they pitch is their home, and that of their families. They come and go to the countries, as they are required to supply armies and to carry on commerce. Their number in any one province rises or falls like an article in trade, according to the demand, and they cannot, therefore, be taken into account as a part of its population. Their appearance and manners (both men and women) are formed by their condition, hardy, strong, and weather-beaten; they are an industrious but rude race, who live in a society, from the rules of which they preserve both in dress and usages a marked separation and independence. This tribe often engages in great speculations on their own account, and are deemed honest in their dealings, though very ignorant and barbarous. They trust chiefly to the Sahokars and merchants with whom they are concerned, and few keep accounts; but habit has made them very acute, and their memory is from continual exercise extremely retentive of the minutest particulars of their extended transactions. Binjarrahs and Lodhanas.

51. The

* There is another description of grain carriers, called Lubanah, settled in Baugur and Kaimtel; they live in villages, sometimes mingling with the other cultivators, and sometimes having a village exclusively to themselves. They are Soodras, originally from Goozerat; they are a quiet and inoffensive race, differing widely from the Binjarrahs, though engaged in the same trade. The Lubanahs are also cultivators, but follow no other occupations.

Soandees. 51. The principal among the illegitimate, or as they are often termed half-cast Rajpoots in Malwa, are the Soandees, who have spread from Soandwarrah, (a country to which they give the name) to many adjoining districts; a short history of them has been given. They are Hindus, and take pride in tracing their descent from Rajpoot heroes; but their habits have led them, on many points, to depart from the customs of their fathers, and, except refraining from the flesh of buffaloes and cows, they are little observant of the peculiar usages of Hindus. This tribe is divided into many classes or families, which take their names from Rajpoot ancestors, but all intermarry. Second marriages among their women are very common, and from the strict usages of the Rajpoots upon this point, there is none on which they deem the Soandees to have so degraded the race from which they are descended as in this.

52. The Soandees have always been cultivators and plunderers, according to the strength or weakness of the Government; but their tendency has ever been to predatory war, and they cherish its habits, even when they are obliged to subsist, as at present, by agriculture. Their dress is nearly the same as that of the other inhabitants; they imitate in some degree the Rajpoots in their turbans, and are in general robust and active, but destitute of manners, and rude and ignorant to a degree. No race can be more despised and dreaded than the Soandees are, by the other inhabitants of Malwa; they are accused of every crime, and are no doubt very immoral; they all drink strong liquors, and use opium to excess; and emancipated by their base birth, and their being considered as out-casts from those restraints which are imperious upon other branches of the Hindu society, they give free scope to the full gratification of every sensual appetite and vices, which are common to this class, and are looked upon by almost all others with horror and disgust. There is little union among the

Soandees,

Soandees, and acts of violence and murder amongst themselves, are events of common occurrence, even in what they deem peaceable times. Their usual quarrels are about land, and each party is prompt to appeal to arms for decision. This race have not been known for a century as quiet as at present; their continuing to plunder, after the Pindaree war was over, gave an opportunity to seize their strong holds, and compel them to sell their horses, which has in a great degree deprived them of the power of plundering; but still the presence of troops is essential to repress their turbulent disposition, and a long period of peace can alone give a hope of reforming a community of so turbulent and depraved a character. The women of this tribe have caught the manners of their fathers and husbands, and are not only bold but immoral. The lower ranks are never veiled, appear abroad at visits and ceremonies, and many of them skilled in the management of the horse, while some have acquired fame in the defence of their villages, or in the field, by their courageous use of the sword and spear. Soandees Females.

53. At their marriages and feasts, &c., the Soandees are aided by Brahmins; but that tribe have little intercourse with them, except when wanted for the offices of religion. Among this rude race, Charuns are treated with more courtesy; but the Bhats, who relate the fabulous tales of their descent, and the Dholee or musician who sings their own deeds or those of their fathers, are the favorites on whom they bestow the highest largesses.

54. The next tribe is that of the Bheelalahs, who have sprung from Rajpoot fathers and mothers of the Bheel tribe; they derive their name from associating with the Bheels, among whom, from the superior rank of their sires, they obtain respect and consequence. The Chiefs of the Bheels in the mountains of this Province are almost all Bheelalahs; but this race has not multiplied in the manner it appears to have done Bheelalahs.

on

on the borders of Goozerat, where the same tribe is termed Koollee.* The Bheelalahs of Malwa are more to be considered as leaders of plunderers, than a tribe with the pride and pretensions of Rajpoots; they have all the cunning and roguery of the Bheels, and appear to be, almost without exception, a debauched and ignorant race, often courageous from constant exposure to danger, but invariably marked by an equal want of honor † and of shame. We never see in them any of those gleams of generous and chivalrous spirit, which now and then break forth to redeem vices and failings of true Rajpoots.

55. Some of the Bheelalah leaders in Malwa have latterly risen into such power ‡ and consideration, that neighbouring Rajpoot Chiefs have found it their interest to forget their prejudices, and to mix so far as to eat § and drink with them.

56. There are many other bastard Rajpoot tribes in Malwa, whose names are to be found in the list of its peaceable inhabitants; but the lowest of these, who aspire to such a descent, consider themselves far above the Soodra, and it was deemed an honor for MULHAR ROW HOLKAR to

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* The Koollees are of two tribes; the descendants of Bheel women by fathers of the Rajpoot tribe, and of Bheel women by Mahomedan fathers.

† Many remarkable instances of this being their character were within my knowledge; the Bheelalah and Soandee Chiefs were the only robbers in Malwa, whom under no circumstances travellers could trust. There are oaths of a sacred but obscene kind among those that are Rajpoots, or who boast their blood, which are almost a disgrace to take, but which they assert the basest was never known to break before MUNDROOP SINGH, a Bheelalah; and some of his associates, plunderers, on the Nerbuddah shewed the example, in order to obtain the plunder of a caravan of the firm of MAUN SINGH POMASSA, the insurer, as noticed in Part Eleventh.

‡ In an agreement in my possession between the Bheelalah Chief of Sillanah on the Nerbuddah and a house of insurance at Indore, he styles himself Maha Rajah SREE MOHUN SINGH, a title as high as that assumed by any ruler in Malwa.

§ HUTTEE SINGH, the Grassiah Chief of Nowlanah, who is of the Kychee tribe of Rajpoots, and several others in the vicinity of NADIR, the late formidable Bheelalah Chief of the Vindhya range, cultivated that robber's friendship and alliance, and among other sacrifices made by these Rajpoots, was eating and drinking with him. On seeing this take place in my camp, I asked HUTTEE SINGH, whether he was not degraded by doing so; he said not, but NADIR was elevated.

to marry a female of the Sirwee* tribe, who are only half cast; but the family of the bride has charge of the image of an incarnation of Bhowanee, which elevates them. This marriage took place in consequence of an engagement formed by the first MULHAR ROW HOLKAR; but his descendant, being a Soodra of the shepherd tribe, could not be allowed to marry a female with Chatteree blood, without a ceremony which marked the difference. The sword of the Mahratta Ruler, with his handkerchief bound round it, represented the Prince, and to that the female was united; she married the wearer of the sword, not the shepherd.

57. Not only most of the Rajpoot petty Rajahs† and Chiefs in Malwa, but the lowest head of a band of robbers, who claim kindred with that tribe, have a usage of affixing a rude drawing of the shaft of a spear or of a dagger to all their letters or orders to inferiors; and on all papers and deeds I find this carried so far, that it is engraved upon the charitable grants styled *Tamba Potta*, from their being written on plates of

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* In a history given me of the origin of the Sirwees, they are stated to be the descendants of 24 Rajpoots, who alone survived their Prince ANUND ROW, Rajah of Kalopore, when the fortress of that name was taken by stratagem by Rajah KOWAT of Gimar, about six hundred years ago. These Rajpoots were so ashamed at having survived their Prince, that they threw aside their swords and shields, and dropped the name of Rajpoot for ever, taking in its stead that of Sirwee, a derivative of the Rangree word Seer, cultivation, thereby intimating they would thence devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil; and to this day the Sirwees are famed as the best cultivators in Malwa. Their skill in ascertaining where to dig wells, so as to come speedily to water, is as extraordinary as it is well attested.

A man of this tribe, celebrated for his knowledge in this particular, was lately brought from Nolye to Indore; he pointed out the place for a well in TANTIAH JOGH's garden, and gave a minute description of the soil and strata of rock that would be met before this well was formed. This was written, and an estimate of the work made at the same time. Mr. WELLESLEY, on seeing these papers and the verification of the man's prediction as to soil, &c, employed him to sink a well in his grounds. A paper was given describing the rock and soil, &c., hitherto his predictions are correct. The well will be very deep, (it is already sunk twenty-five feet) and as he does not expect water before fifty feet, the result is watched with some anxiety, and the progress of the workmen minutely noted; for, though the man has a great deal of superstition and mummery connected with his profession, it is already quite evident he has considerable knowledge.

† The Rajahs of Baugur and Kauntul use *neither* of *these marks*. They affix to all deeds the words *Kunee* or *Sihee*.

of copper. This emblem denotes that the power of the party, by whom the deed is granted, rests on his sword; it would be endless to trace the numerous ramifications of the Rajpoots, or of such tribes as have arisen out of the mixture of cast in this Province; but it is curious to remark, that, among these, the Kuttrees, who are the descendants of Brahmin fathers and Rajpoot mothers, take no pride in their female descent, but following the dress and usages of their fathers employ themselves in civil occupations, such as those of merchants, writers, and retail dealers; they are very numerous in Malwa, particularly in Oujein, are without pride, and chiefly remarkable for the loose habits of their females.

Mercantile Classes.

58. Almost the whole of the Sahokars and Shroffs, (bankers and money-brokers) and a great proportion of Bunneahs, (or retail dealers) in Malwa, are either from Goozerat or Marwar, and generally not very old settlers; the principal bankers at Oujein, of Goozerat origin, came there about three centuries ago, and those of Marwar at a later date; the chief firm in Shujahalpore has been settled more than three hundred years, while the oldest houses in Indore have not been above one hundred. Indeed I only find two families, who trace beyond the establishment of the Mahratta rule at the latter city, or rather village; for such it was when they first came to it. There are records of very wealthy men of this tribe having been in Malwa during the prosperous period of the Kings of Mandoo. The tradition, indeed, of some princely bankers is still preserved, who lived in palaces at that capital*, but these were of Goozerat origin, as is fully testified by a few poor individuals in Nimaur, who trace their descent from them.

Sahokars & Shroffs of the Vishnoo and Jayn sects.

59. The Sahokars, Shroffs, and Bunneahs in Malwa, are either of the Jayn

* The names of the Sahokars of Mandoo, Guddasa and Bysa, who lived in the period between the reign of Rajah Bhoj and the Kiljee Kings, are preserved in the traditions of the mercantile class in Malwa, and their wealth is said to have been very great.

Jayn or Vishnoo faith, but by far the greater numbers are of the former,* and their prevailing influence and wealth attracts many converts; almost all the Byse and Soodra agents and servants they employed, if not before Jayns, conform to the tenets of that sect. This renders the tribe of Jayn (always hateful to Brahmins) detested by the priesthood of that order in Malwa, nor can all the favor of Hindu Rulers protect these money agents and merchants from their hostility. Six years ago the Jayns built a handsome temple at Oujein, a Jettee, or priest of high character, arrived from Goozerat to consecrate it, and to place within the shrine the image of their favorite Deity;† but on the morning of the day fixed for this purpose, after the ceremony had commenced and the Jayns had filled the temple, expecting the arrival of their idol, a Brahmin appeared conveying an oval stone from the river Seprah, which he proclaimed as the emblem of Maha Deo; he was joined by a concourse of other Brahmins and Gossains, who arming themselves with bludgeons and stones soon drove the unarmed Sahokars and Bunneahs from their temple. The rude symbol of Maha Deo was placed in the niche prepared for the Jayn God, amid the shouts of Brahmins and other Hindus, and was proclaimed as *the overthrower of Jayns, the all powerful Maha Deo.*‡ The Sahokars and Bunneahs appealed to the governor of the city, but the other tribes were too powerful, and dared his interference in a point of this nature. The authority of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, to whom reference was made, was treated with no greater respect, and the fear of seeing Oujein deserted, with the prospects of distress at this city and Gwalior (for in both the Jayns stopped all business

* In Purtaubghur there are fifteen hundred families of the Jayn faith, and one hundred and fifty of the Vishnoo faith. In Banswarrah the latter are more numerous, about four hundred, and the former about one hundred and twenty five. In Dongurpore there are about two hundred and fifty Jayns and fifty Vishnoos. In Sangwarra there are three hundred Jayns and fifty Vishnoos.

† Parasanath.

‡ Jayn, Benjeo, Jubber, Sir Maha Deo.

siness and shut their shops,) led that Prince to use every means to obtain redress for the violent outrage and insult they had suffered; but his threats and applications were alike derided, and fearing to proceed to extremities in a case of religion, he was obliged to rest satisfied with making what amends he could, by remunerating in part the expence which the Jayns had incurred, and the latter, alike powerless from the comparative smallness of numbers and peaceable habits, were obliged to content themselves with this imperfect reparation, and to bear the additional mortification of seeing the temple they had erected become (chiefly from the manner in which it had been won) the most popular place of worship in all Oujein.

60. The Jayns and tribe of Vishnoo, though practising different rites and of different sects,* being alike of the cast of Byse or mercantile Hindus, intermarry; both these sects have numerous subdivisions, but the chief one is that of Bissah and Dussah, or the legitimate and illegitimate, between which two there is always an amicable intercourse, but though they eat together, their decendants do not intermarry. The amount of this class of the population in Malwa will be hereafter noticed; the numbers from Marwar are greater than from Goozerat, but this is only since the Mahrattas governed Malwa; a connection with the armies of that nation and Joudpore brought crowds of active and industrious inhabitants of that country into this Province, but the majority of these new settlers continue their intercourse with their own country; many of them, indeed, return to pass the close of their days in their native land, selling their shares in concerns which go to a partnership in the smallest shops to their younger countrymen, who come annually from Marwar to make their fortunes in Malwa and the Deckan.

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* It is a distinction of sect, not of cast or family; it is in the latter those distinctions exist as to eating together and intermarrying. It frequently happens, that some Bunneahs of the same family or tribe are of the Vishnoo, and others of the Jayn sect; but this difference of persuasion does not cause a cessation of intercourse or intermarriages.

Habits and Character of Sahokars & Bunneahs.

61. The Sahokars and Bunneahs of Malwa, though, as has been before noticed, they may have given way, in the course of the revolutions in which they have been involved, to looser habits than is usual with their tribes, are nevertheless an active, intelligent, and industrious class, and have in general the reputation of fair dealing. They are (particularly the Jayns) very abstemious, refraining in their diet from eating any thing that had life; they drink no strong liquor, but many of them use opium, though seldom to excess. The women of this class are veiled, and much secluded after they are married, or rather affianced, which takes place very early in life; but till then the female children go abroad like the male, and the principal Sahokars appear as proud of bringing their little daughters into company as their sons. The Jayns in Malwa are very strict in their observance of fasts, which are longer and more severe than those of any other tribe of Hindus. This class of [illegible]l men were much cherished by the emperors of Delhi, and above [illegible] by the wise and tolerant AKBAR. Those that were settled in Malwa during his reign appear to have enjoyed a full measure of his protection and favor, and they have still in their possession his royal mandate,* directing

* [illegible]pplication was made to me to prevent the slaying animals during the Putchoossur, and the [illegible] Firman of AKBAR (carefully kept by their high priest at Oujein) was sent for my perusal. The following is a literal translation of this curious document.

IN THE NAME OF GOD. GOD IS GREAT.

Firman of the Emperor JULALO DEEN MAHOMED UKBAR, SHAH, PUDSHA, GAZEE.

Be it known to the Mootsuddies of Malwa, that as the whole of our desires consist in the performance of good actions, and our virtuous intentions are constantly directed to one object, that of delighting and gaining the hearts of our subjects, &c.

We, on hearing mention made of persons of any religion or faith whatever who pass their lives in sanctity, employ their time in spiritual devotion, and are alone content on the contemplation of the Deity shut our eyes on the external forms of their worship, and considering only the intention of their hearts, we feel a powerful inclination to admit them to our association, from a wish to do what may be acceptable to the Deity. On this account, having heard of the extraordinary holiness and of the severe penances performed by HIRBOJISOOR and his disciples, who reside in Goozerat, and are lately come from thence, we have ordered them to the presence, and they have been ennobled by having permission to kiss the abode of honor.

After having received their dismissal and leave to proceed to their own country, they made the following request: That if the King, protector of the poor, would issue orders that during the twelve days of the month Bhodon, called Putchoossur (which are held by the Jayns to be particularly holy,)

recting that, in deference to them, no animal was to be slain in this province during the Putchoossur, or twelve days' fast of this tribe. The Sahokars have by presents obtained annual orders to the same effect from the Mahratta and other Rulers, but these have been but imperfectly observed.

Kaiet, or Kait Tribe.

62. When the Mahomedans invaded Hindostan, and conquered its Rajpoot Princes, we may conclude that the Brahmins of that country, who possessed knowledge or distinction, fled from their intolerance and violence; but the conquerors found in the sect of Kaiet, or as they are generally termed the Kait tribe, (a race who make their creation coeval with the art of writing, to which they are devoted,* and who like the Nairs are said to be the pure Soodra) more pliable and more useful instruments in the conduct of the details of their new Government. This tribe had few religious scruples, as they stand low on the scale of Hindus, and were according to their own records, which there is no reason to question, qualified by their previous employment in all affairs of State, and to render themselves completely useful had only to add the language of their new masters to those with which they were already acquainted. The Mahomedans carried those useful Hindus into their southern conquests, and they spread over the countries of the Deckan and Malwa, and some

no cattle should be slaughtered in the cities where their tribe reside, they would thereby be exalted in the eyes of the world, the lives of a number of living animals would be spared, and the actions of his Majesty would be acceptable to God; and as the persons who made this request came from a distance, and their wishes were not at variance with the ordinances of our religion, but on the contrary were similar in effect with those good works prescribed by the venerable and holy Mussulman, we consented and gave orders that, during those twelve days called Putchoossur, no animals should be slaughtered.

The present Sunnud is to endure for ever, and all are enjoined to obey it, and use their endeavours that no one is molested in the performance of his religious ceremonies. Dated 7th Jumad-ul Sani 992 Hejirah.

* The Dewa Poojah, or worship of the implements of writing, as the source of their subsistence, is observed by all Kaits at the Dewallee and Hoolley festivals; and at the principal Kutcherries of Districts the expenditure for the public celebration of this worship is defrayed by the Sirkar.

some families of the latter, who are Kanoongoes of districts and Putwarries of villages, (the two revenue officers for which their education qualified them) trace their settlement in the country to the earliest Mahomedan conquest; many of them are of a more recent date, and a marked distinction subsists between the Mulwa Kaits (as the older settlers are denominated) and the new comers. They eat together, but do not intermarry, and have little communication with each other. This tribe have been much employed by the Rajpoot Chiefs of Malwa, with whom, as well as with the Mahomedans, some of them have risen to high stations.

63. The Kaits are all taught to read and write Persian, and in Malwa they learn the Rangree or Hinduwee provincial dialect, in which business is commonly transacted. They have few prejudices, and no pride of cast; the qualifications which they cherish, from education and industrious habits, are always in the market. In all offices which require a knowledge of writing and accounts, such as Moonshees, secretaries, news-writers, Mootasuddees, or clerks at court or in the army, and in the country, down to the lowest village Putwarries,* men of this class are to be found in the country of Kotah alone; they reckon three thousand families of this useful and intelligent tribe; they are not remarkable for the strictness of their moral character; indeed it is their flexibility and submissive compliance with the wishes of their Mahomedan and Rajpoot masters, which chiefly recommend them to the offices they fill with these ignorant races, whose pride is never so gratified as when it can at once use and contemn those who are possessed of superior information and knowledge. The number of Kaits in Malwa will be hereafter noticed, but it is alike remarkable that no man of this tribe is without

* The Kanoongoes are all Kaits, except in cases where their ancestors have been induced under the former Mogul Government to embrace Islamism.

out education, and that they are never to be seen in a state of mendicity or even menial employ; there is among them a cast, or kindred obligation, which leads to their support of each other, and when they are not Wuttundars, or inheritors of native rights or lands, they are ready to proceed to any country, and to take any employ that suits their profession as writers or accountants. In a country where so large a proportion (and particularly the military part) are uninstructed, it is not surprising that such a race, however numerous, should ever want occupation, and be preserved from, what to them would be a degradation, the necessity of that personal labour to which the first of the sects of Hindus (including Brahmins) are often reduced. The Kaits do not even serve each other in menial capacities, conceiving, to use an expression by which they describe their feeling on this point, that it would be a sin to use hands which God has expressly made for the noble purpose of writing in meaner offices.

Priests and religious sects and Mendicants.

64. There are in Malwa, as in other Provinces in India, a number of Hindu religious persons, who sometimes settle in towns and villages, but more generally go from one district to another, as they see a prospect of support from charity or employment; the most numerous of this class, who follow the occcpation of mendicants, are Byragees: these seldom fix, unless they have a pension or a grant of land, which many of them possess in the Provinces. The Gossains (a well-known sect) are very different; they are always armed and in bodies under leaders, and often enforce that charity which others solicit: they are however ready to take service as soldiers, and have the reputation of being brave and faithful. This tribe also trade and employ themselves in cultivation; they generally come from Hindostan, but numbers have been settled in Malwa for several generations, and instances occur of men of this religious sect attaining high stations.*

65. In

* Mous Gheer, the Manager of the petty principality of [illegible], a Gossain. Many of this tribe have had parties in Malwa of two and three thousand men of their own sect, chiefly foot soldiers, and some merchants of this class at Oujein are very wealthy.

65. In the towns of Malwa, besides the casts which have been noticed, there are all the tribes of Soodra,* which are common to all parts of India; these are distinguished, as elsewhere, acccording to the art, trade or occupation, which those that belong to them pursue; each has his different denomination from the cow-herd, the shepherd, the goldsmith, musician, oilman, gardener, weaver, and the confectioner, down to the lowest classes of laborers, distillers, rope-makers, dancers, and sweepers. Soodras.

66. In the villages of Malwa there are similar classes of tradesmen and artizans, and, besides the Mahomedan, the Brahmin, and the Rajpoot cultivators, there are in all these a variety of Soodra tribes, whose sole occupation is to till the ground. The most respectable of this class in Malwa are the Koomba, and the Jut; the latter and the Goojen are the most numerous, and it is to be noticed that both of these tribes are decidedly of Hindostan origin. None of the Soodra tribes or families will eat or intermarry with the other; and all, as in other Provinces, follow the usage and the profession of their fathers. Every one of these classes, even the barber, washerman, and sweeper, has its Bhat or bard, who preserves its genealogy, and gratifies their vanity with the tales of their ancestors. This bard is continually employed among the cast to which he belongs; his arrival at a village is hailed as a day of religious festivity, and with the lower classes he settles all matters relating to their intermarriages, &c.

67. The Soodra inhabitants of the towns in Malwa differ in no material degree from those of other parts of India; they are, generally speaking, a quiet and industrious race; those of the villages are the same, and, considering the scenes in which they have lived, the little change that has taken place

* It is a curious fact that in Malwa many of the Soodra tribe have taken advantage of the confusion and dispersion of families to elevate themselves into the rank of Chetteries, or descendants of that tribe, by assuming the name of Singh, which, as a distinctive appellation, is but recent with the Rajpoots, and has, since they adopted it, been taken by the whole of the Sikh followers of Gooroo Govind.

place in their morals is quite remarkable. On minute enquiry into the history of their petty community for the last thirty years, we find that they were almost all freebooters and robbers from necessity; they do not deny it; their Rulers, they state, plundered, they plundered, and all plundered; there was in fact no other profession. These men have however returned cheerfully to the bonds, and restraints, and occupations, to which they were born, nor does the least suspicion appear to attach of their morals being destroyed by the life they have led; and, if themselves are to be trusted, they are wearied of past troubles, and are come back with joy to the peaceful occupations which they were for a time compelled to abandon.

68. The Soodra class of inhabitants of Malwa are, from their present poverty, not exposed to much temptation; but on the observation of three years it may be stated, that few large communities of men can boast of less vice or crime; they may be said, in their intercourse with strangers and with officers of government, to evade the truth, and often to assert positive falsehoods; but this results from the caution and fear of men accustomed to suffer from violence and oppression. In their intercourse with each other falsehood is not common, and many (particularly some of the cultivators) are distinguished by their adherence to truth, art, or rather low cunning; the vice of the timid is common to this class; adultery is the crime which seems to have encreased most, from the shock society has sustained. This is to be traced to that violence to which their females have been exposed from a lawless soldiery, and their ceasing in consequence to value a virtue which could not be preserved; a desire in their rulers, not to preserve morals, but to encrease revenue, has laid heavy fines* upon incontinence, which is said to have had the effect

* Fines for adultery are levied on the families of both the offending parties, and generally extend to the forfeiture of the greater portion of their property.

fect of disturbing the harmony of the inhabitants in a very great degree, as every informant, true or false, was attended to, and an opportunity thus given for the gratification of the worst passions of the human mind, envy, malice, and revenge*. It has been before stated†, that when new settlers came from Pitlawud to Rutlam, the principal condition in their articles of agreement was, that the jurisdiction of the women was to be in their own hands, and that the latter were not to be subject to fines for adultery. This condition is stated by the respectable men of the tribe to have proceeded from no want of confidence in the virtue of their women, but from the contemplation of the bad effects of the interference of the Government with their family concerns‡.

69. The Malwa Ryuts or cultivators are deemed good husbandmen, and their fields, particularly those that are irrigated, bear testimony of their skill; they are, from the scenes in which they have lived, inured to hardships, and many of them have a high character for courage in defence of their cattle, fields, and villages. They are at present almost all possessed of arms of some kind or another;§ this was not formerly the case, but has been the result of the late disturbed state of the Province. These affrays, (often terminating fatally) which are common to the Rajpoots of Malwa, and which, if the individuals who quarrel are men of condition, seldom end without involving villages and tribes, are very rare among the Soodra cultivators. The latter, who are a temperate, cheerful, and peaceable race, live in tolerable harmony with each other; their principal disputes are about lands, but when engaged in these, whether they relate to the boundaries of a village or the claims of individuals, all parties shew a violence quite foreign to their wonted mildness and apa- Ryuts of Malwa.

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* Oujein is notorious for this practice. The same prevails at Gwalior.

† Vide Part Tenth.

‡ Cloth Printers are a community who, on settling in a town, often previously stipulate for the privilege of enjoying their women in common, without question from public authority.

§ Slings are in very general use among the peasantry for purposes of offence and defence.

thy. Interest, honor, pride, and every passion of their breast is roused, and their feelings become so excited, that the certainty of that distress, in which protracted quarrels on such points almost always involve both parties, does not deter them from pursuing their object; they appear satisfied with ruin, so they can bring equal misfortune on their opponent.

70. There are none among the cultivating classes of the population of Malwa, whose character has been more deteriorated than the Zemindars and Putteils of the towns and villages; many of those, who were too weak to resist openly that violence from which they suffered, had recourse to the most criminal means of retaliation. Thieves were protected, and allowed to become inhabitants of the villages; they were not only known, but avowed being of tribes to whom theft and robbery is an occupation from father to son, who in fact lived upon the produce of that petty war which they carry on in a greater or lesser degree, according to the usage of the tribe against the community. Almost every large village in Malwa, which was able to retain its inhabitants subsequent to the ravages of 1800, had a band of this description either living in it, or in communication with the Putteil, who received for his protection and support a fixed share of its booty. Some heads of villages personally engaged in the scene, but generally they limited themselves to the act of giving concealment to the crimes of those whom they made the instruments of attack or retaliation upon others.

Mewattees.

71. The Mewattees, a well-known Mahomedan* tribe in Hindostan, have long resorted to Malwa. They were entertained as Sebundees or militia by the renters and managers of the country, and were deemed faithful to those they served; but great numbers of them who settled in the villages

* Although usually reckoned Mahomedans, it is difficult to say whether they are Mahomedans or Hindus; they partake of both religions, and are the most desperate rogues in India. They are turbulent, vindictive, cunning, cruel, robbers, murderers, and assassins—yet they are faithful, undaunted guards and servants to those whose Namut they eat.

villages became professed plunderers; they were however generally in bodies, which petty Rajpoot Thakoors and Zemindars could alone afford to maintain; but what entitles them to pre-eminence in this list, is the lead which their Chiefs almost invariably took in all robberies, upon a large scale, and their connivance and support of all the other classes.*

72. The bands of Patans, Arabs, Scindees, and Mekranees, who for the last thirty years came annually to Malwa, and who, though they pursued their objects in different modes, may all be said to have lived upon plunder, were most numerous to the west of the Chumbul, where they were hired to defend the Rajahs and Chiefs from Mahrattas and Pindaries, but soon made their nominal masters their own prey. These were all independant bands under particular leaders, and changed from one service to another, as their interest dictated; but wherever they went, though always acting in the name of some local Ruler, they were justly dreaded (particularly the Arabs) by the inhabitants as the most lawless and violent of all their oppressors. There is no act of the British power that has rendered it more popular, than the complete expulsion † of these trained robbers, none of whom remain in Malwa. The character of all of them, during the period (the last thirty years) that they have been in any considerable numbers in that Province, is nearly the same; its chief features were that insolence and ferocity, which a sense of a stronger frame of body and mind inspire in men who, like these foreign mercenaries, were mere soldiers of fortune, with no knowledge whatever beyond that of the profession of arms, by which they were supported, and whose leading principle of action was a contempt of the inhabitants of the country in which they were employed. Patans, Arabs, &c.

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* They were in fact in general both the police soldiers and principal robbers, and the wealth and influence many of this tribe acquired enabled them often to escape detection, and almost always to evade punishment.

† Muzaffir, a Mekranee Chief, who has long been manager of Ally Mohun, and who made himself very useful in expelling his countrymen and others, as well as restoring the peace of the country, is the only leader left, and his adherents are reduced to thirty or forty, most of whom have families in the country where they are settled.

Pindaries.

73. A chapter has been given to describe the Pindaries, or master robbers of Malwa, and indeed of India.—Some individual Chiefs, pensioners of the English Government, and a few poor inhabitants of some villages in Bhopaul and Nimar, are all who now own to the name of this late formidable tribe. In an attempt to ascertain the number of those in another part of Malwa, success was found impossible, from their having completely amalgamated with the lowest of the laboring classes in society; between five and six hundred have been at times in employment at the cantonment of Mhow, where a little colony of them settled as sellers of Toddy; a number of others occupied themselves with making thatch roofs, and others in bringing materials for building. At and near Indore there are sevaral thousands, and a number have been encouraged and aided by the Minister TANTIAH JOGH to obtain a livelihood as grain carriers—they have every where acquaintance, if not old associates; for (as has been stated) the whole Province of Malwa, from the highest to the lowest, fell into the vortex of this system, and the profits of the remote expeditions of these freebooters were common matter of speculation, and share with the principal inhabitants, Sahokārs, renters and Government Officers* of the Province. The Pindaries (as has been stated) were of all classes,† and preserved the common usages of their tribe; but those born in the Durrahs, or Camps, appear to have been ignorant in a degree almost beyond belief, and were in the same ratio superstitious. The women of almost all the Mahomedan Pindaries wore Hindu cloths, and worshipped Hindu Deities;

* ROWJEE TRIMBUCK, in a conversation with MR. WELLESLEY upon this subject, asserted that he had known the payment of large debts dependant on the success of a Lubhur, or expedition of the Pindaries.

† Almost all the Hindus were Ladul, a low class, whose usual occupation was to bring grass and firewood to Camp.

ties;* from accompanying their husbands in most of their excursions they became hardy and masculine; they were usually mounted on small horses or camels, and were more dreaded by the villagers, than the men, being in general more rapacious and merciless robbers.

74. The return of the Pindaries from one of their expeditions presented at one view the character and habits of those plunderers. When they recrossed the Nerbuddah and reached their homes, their Camp became like a fair—after the claims of the Chief of their Durrah (whose right was a fourth of the booty, but who generally compounded for one or two valuable articles) had been satisfied, and their Lubhuree, or chosen leader for the expedition, paid his usual share, and all debts to Bunniahs and others who had made advances were settled, the plunder of each man was exposed for sale; traders from every part of Malwa came to make cheap bargains, and while the women were busy disposing of their husband's property, the men, who were on such occasions certain of visits from all their friends, were engaged in hearing music, seeing dancers and drolls, and in drinking. This life of debauchery and excess lasted till all their money was gone; they were then compelled to look for new scenes of plunder, or, if the season was unfavorable, they were supported by their Chiefs, or by loans, at high interest, from Bunniahs,

* The Deo, said to be worshipped by the Pindary women, (Mahomedan as well as Hindu) is Debee, under her different forms, or manifestations, of

Mooree Tookye,
Munee Maee,
Roobod Maee,
Rulkoo Maee.

Ramassah Peer, called also Deo Dhurm Rajah and Goga Peer, or as the Mahomedans call him Zan Peer, are holy men, who were much invoked by the Pindaree women, when their husbands proceeded on their plundering expeditions. The former was a great warrior who was killed at Ranujah, near Pokum, in battle. Saturday is the day fixed for offering up Poojah to him, upon which occasions small images of horses, in clay or stone, are offered at the shrine of the Saint. The figure of a man on horse-back, stamped on gold or silver, representing Ramassah Peer, was worn suspended from the neck.

niahs, who lived in their Durrahs, and many of whom amassed large fortunes. This worst part of the recent population of Malwa is, as a separate community, now extinct.

Bheels. 75. The history of Bheels has been fully given, and that necessarily included much of their habits and character; the former is such as belongs to their condition; those that live in villages, where they are the watchmen, are similar in their habits to the lowest classes of the inhabitants; they are however deemed faithful and honest, are Wuttundars, and have rights on the village, which gives them the occupation and character of the other peasantry. These village Bheels have not much intercourse with their more numerous and independant brethren, who dwell in the hills; having the same origin, and worshipping the same gods,* they occasionally intermarry with these tribes. The cultivating

* The Bheels are not only in appearance, but in every usage and habit, distinct from the other tribes of India; they worship the same gods, but the religious ceremony of this rude race is much limited to propitiatory offerings, and sacrifies to some of the Hindu minor infernal deities, but particularly the Goddess of Small Pox, whom they invoke under various names, in the hope of averting the dreadful ravages that disorder at times makes amongst them. They pay great reverence to Maha Deo, from whom, as has been stated, they boast descent; but the following list shews the Deities they usually address, and the occasions on which they deem it essential to propitiate their favor:

Kalee.—On many occasions.

Hattipoor.—At the Dewallee and Dusserah feasts, as presiding over village cultivation.

Wagatcha Koonwur.—To protect them against the depredations of wild beasts.

Kalka Matta.—For success in their predatory journey and undertakings.

Koreal Matta.—For protection to their cattle from sickness and plundering.

Dew Hunail.—For a good ripening of their corn, and plenty.

Behroo Batjee.—For Rain.

Ghora Rajah.—Against attacks and plundering.

Hallan.—Worshipped by the Malwa Bheels at an annual Pilgrimage at the large hill of Rutun Waul in Barreah.

Chamoonda Matta.—Is the Goddess of Harvest, or reaping the grain, and the first of every grain cut is offered to her.

Hoween Merra Matta.—Against murrain amongst their cattle, or lameness.

Seetla Matta.—The Goddess of Small Pox, a disease which makes great havock amongst them, and is much dreaded.

Phoolbaee Matta.—In times of epidemic sickness, cholera, &c. &c.

Badree Baee.—Small Pox.

Ghona.—— Ditto Ditto.

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cultivating classes of Bheels, who live in villages and hamlets under their Turwees or heads, are deemed industrious and usually honest ; but they have neither given up the habits or arms of the tribes in a ruder state, and like them indulge in strong liquors to excess. They intermarry occasionally with the wilder Bheels, with whom they have the same superstition and the same diet. All the Bheels excite the horror of the higher classes of Hindus, by eating not only the flesh of buffaloes, but of cows. From this abomination they only rank above the Chumars, who feast on dead carcases, and are in Malwa, as elsewhere, deemed so unclean that they are not allowed to dwell within the walls of the village.

76. The plundering or wild Bheels, who dwell in the hills of Malwa, are a diminutive and wretched looking race, whose appearance shews the poverty of their food ; but they are nevertheless active and capable of great fatigue. They are professed robbers and thieves, armed with bows

The sacrifice or offering to Hattipoor and Wagatcha Koonwur is a bullock ; to the others fowls and he goats, a male bird to the male deities, and a hen to the female ones ; their usual ceremonies consist merely on smearing the idol, which is seldom any thing but a shapeless stone with vermillion or red lead and oil, burning lights before it, making the offering of an animal and some liquor, with prostrations and a petition of their wants. Casting a small portion of each with some grain and liquor on the fire, and then partaking of the flesh and remaining liquor, after giving the presiding Rawut or Bhaut his dues. They also are accustomed to make several mud figures of horses, which they range round the idol and promise to mount him if he will hear their petition, and often actually place one beneath him,--their extreme reverence for the horse is singular; no Bheel legend is without the principal event hinging on the assistance or advice of an enchanted or divine horse. The Bheels never mount this animal, though the Bheelalah will ; whatever are taken are always quickly sold--they build no Pagodas or Temples whatever, but in general select some particular tree, which they reckon holy, and place stones underneath, with the ground cleared around and somewhat raised; in some places however a small, open shed is raised over some particular sacred image. When they attempt any particular forms of idol, it is in general merely a figure with four hands. At the Dusserah many of them resort, it is true, to the principal neighbouring towns to celebrate it, and there sacrifice, outside the village, the Doorjah, the Goddess of the feast, who is only another form of Kalee, a Bheel Deity. But the most singular and probably the original worship of the Bheels is that to their deceased ancestors, or chiefs of note. On the death of one of them, a brass bull or horse is formed and delivered to the Bhaut, who annually brings it round, performing the requisite ceremonies commemorating the deceased chief, and receiving his dues of a piece of cloth, and the vessels and other things used in the sacrifice.

bows and arrows; they lie in wait for the weak and unprotected, while they fly from the strong. Ignorant and superstitious to a degree, they are devoted to their Turwees, whose command is a law which they implicitly obey. The men, and still more the women of these wild Bheels, have their intellect formed by their condition; they are quick, have a kind of instinctive sense of danger, and are full of art and evasion. To kill another when their Turwee desires, or to suffer death themselves, appear to them equally a matter of indifference. The whole race are illiterate, and they are without exception fond of tobacco and liquor to excess. The quarrels with each other begin and end in their drunken bouts; no feud can be staunched, no crime forgiven, but at a general feast, and here the common and popular fine for every offence is more liquor to protract their riotous enjoyment, which sometimes continues for days. The Bheel women have much influence in the society, but it is a curious fact, that their manners and disposition are in general quite opposite to what has been stated, as those of the females of the Pindaries. They never accompany the men in their expeditions, and when prisoners are made by the Bheels, their principal hope of life is, in the known humanity of the women of that tribe. The latter are usually the first sufferers from the crimes of their fathers and husbands, the women and children (when the men are suspected) being always seized, when Government can lay hold of them. They shew in such circumstances great patience and fortitude, as they well know the men will never abandon them, and that the guilty will surrender themselves to any punishment, even death, rather than allow them and their children to continue in confinement. In the recent reform of a great proportion of the Bheels of Malwa, the women have acted a very prominent part, and one worthy of the character of their sex. They have invariably been the advocates of the cause of good order, but the fact is they have always been in

habits

habits of industry and labor, and are happy to see their partners, who have hitherto passed their time between crime and debauchery, compelled to more regular courses.

77. Among the tribes settled in Malwa, who are professed robbers and thieves, the two principal are the Baugrees and Moghees, both Hindus of the very lowest cast. These tribes come originally from the western parts of India, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Chittore. The Moghees can hardly be said to have passed the Chumbul, but the Baugrees have settled in the eastern parts of Malwa in considerable numbers, and sixteen years ago the Solunkee Rajpoots introduced no less than four hundred men of this tribe to garrison the small fort of Sattanbaree in Bersiah, in which district and others in its vicinity there had been for a long period past many settlers of this tribe. The Baugrees are a very brave race of men, and though they till the soil and pursue occupations of industry from necessity, their favorite pursuits are thieving and plundering. In these arts they are at once expert and bold; a few individuals of this class are as ready to combine in undermining the house, and stealing by night the property of a rich individual, as a larger gang are prompt to attack openly a party of travellers, or a village. They are also mercenary soldiers, ready to live with any one, and to engage in any cause for pay. Like other classes of Hindus they have peculiar and distinct usages, which refer to their origin and condition. These men, habituated as they are to crime, are not without principle, and are deemed more than most Hindus true to their salt. This principle however is limited by this artful, though ignorant, people to its literal sense, and they avoid as much as they can tasting salt from the hands of any one but their own brethren, dreading no doubt the inconvenience which would result from the frequency of an act that forced them to abstain from plunder.

Baugrees and Moghees.

78. The Baugrees are foot soldiers; their Jemadars or leaders, whom

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they obey implicitly, are usually mounted; wherever they settle they remain in colonies, and, even when three or four families fix in a small village, they are distinct from the other inhabitants. This tribe, though scattered, preserve a correspondence, which makes them formidable enemies to the internal peace of any country in which they are numerous. The condition of Malwa has been for many years past favorable to them; they have been the soldiers of Rajpoot Princes and predatory Chiefs, the robbers who formed the band around one of their own leaders, and the hired or protected thieves of managers of countries or Putteils of villages, who possessed in such classes the power of injury or retaliation, and often that of encreasing their receipts; for they had in all cases a considerable share of the goods stolen, or robbed by the Baugrees, in their district or village. What added to the reputation of this class, with those that employed or protected them, was the character they had established for secrecy, when taken or convicted of crime; they seldom informed upon accomplices, and as they very rarely added murder to theft or robbery, capital punishments were not often inflicted upon them; heavy fines were usually imposed, and security for future good conduct exacted. The amount paid by the poorest Baugree shewed the support and connection that existed upon them, but that was more frequently evinced in their escape from prison, which occurred sometimes under very extraordinary circumstances.

79. The Baugrees drink strong liquors, but the men are not so dissipated as the Bheels, and are from that cause, and from inhabiting the plains, and having abundance of food, (they eat all flesh even to the cow) a much more strong and robust race; their women are also strong and industrious, but are reputed to be of as rude and violent a character as their husbands, and just as secret regarding their robberies. The numbers of this tribe within the districts of Malwa, that are under the direct

management of the English Government, have given the fullest opportunity of appreciating their character, and great progress has been made in endeavours to change their inveterate habits, and to render them useful subjects.

80. The Moghees,* who are chiefly settled in the eastern parts of Mewar and the countries of Dongerpore, Banswarrah and Purtaubghur, are originally from Marwar, whence they were expelled about sixty years ago by Rajah BIJEY SINGH. Though a distinct class they resemble the Baugrees; the latter are generally reputed to be more brave and faithful to the service in which they engage, but there is neither in their condition in society, nor character, any very material difference.

81. The Meenahs and Goojurs of Hindostan who have come into Malwa (though the greater proportion of them are cultivators) have not forgotten the habits of their ancestors, and there are many of these classes who have made themselves noted in that Province, as expert and successful thieves and robbers; the same may be said of the Goands who inhabit its southern frontier, who, though they till the land and have a high reputation as skilful husbandmen, are prone to plunder. There are, besides these distinct classes of plunderers and thieves in Malwa, some very remarkable associations of men of all tribes in that province, whose object is to live upon the community. That called Gwarriah, whose numbers chiefly infest the towns and villages west of the Chumbul, support themselves by stealing women and children, whom they sell in different distant districts; they seldom have resort to violence, but use every species of deceit that can impose upon youth and weakness. They are quite well known as kidnappers, and reside openly as such under the protection of Rajpoot Chiefs, managers of districts and others, who be- (Meenahs and Goojurs.) (Gwarriahs.)

neft

* There are not more than twelve hundred in the countries of Baugur and Kantiel and their immediate vicinity; their chief leader is HEERAT.

nefit by their crimes. When they have been absent from their homes for some time, their return is anxiously looked for by those who are desirous to obtain female slaves. After the principal person of the place in which they live has had his choice, the remainder are sold to the best bidders. This shocking species of traffic belonged peculiarly to the troubled period of Malwa, but at the worst of times the petty Ruler under whom the Gwarriah lived used (when he was discovered) to restore the stolen wife or daughter of an individual who had found them, and to punish the offender with a mock imprisonment. This abominable practice has already greatly diminished, and will no doubt be in time altogether abolished. Many of the Gwarriahs have lately been seized and punished, and every measure has been taken to break up this community in the districts over which the British influence extends.*

Thugs. 82. Independent of the thieves and robbers who dwell in Malwa, there have been for many years past annual incursions of vagrants from other countries; amongt the most numerous of these bands are a tribe of Brahmins from Bundlekund, who take the name of the sect of Kanonje; they are at once mendicants, pilfering thieves, robbers, and murderers; a number of them are usually found in that singular association called Thugs, who are well known in Hindostan, and have of late years become very formidable in this province, with many of the petty Rulers of which this extraordinary society were during its late troubles intimately connected.

83. A description of these robbers and their usual proceedings, while it shews their character, will suffice as an example of the bands by which the provinces of India, in the condition Malwa has lately been, are liable to be infested, if not invaded.

84. The

* A great number of cases, and some of a very extraordinary nature, have been brought before me, and I have latterly found no reluctance in the Officers of the Native States to second my efforts to put an end to this practice.

84. The Thugs,* who have infested Malwa, are composed of all casts; Mahomedans even were admitted, but the great majority are Hindus, and among these the Brahmins (chiefly of the tribes of Bundlekund) are in the greatest numbers: these latter are generally the directors of the operations of the different bands. Their principal residence is on the banks of the Chumbul and Kuwaree, near the junction of these Rivers north-east of Gwalior, where they have villages, and usually maintain a connection or at least an understanding with the Komisdar, or manager of the district. Their expeditions, which extend as far as Nagpore and the Deckan, have of late years been very frequent in Malwa, and more than three hundred of them were in that province last year. They have fixed rules for their community, particularly as to the division of booty; auxiliaries to their enterprizes are sought for in all ranks, but the most abandoned of the officers of Government of the countries to which they proceed are those they chiefly desire, and, after having ascertained by letter or verbal report that circumstances are favorable, they usually send as precursors, for the purpose of minute local information, spies disguised as religious mendicants, as tradesmen, or as soldiers looking for service. These connect themselves with the loose characters of the country, and all is prepared for the principal party, which often consists of three or four hundred; but these are never seen altogether, though the different bands travel in perfect communication with each other. Some of them have horses, camels and tents, and are equipped like merchants; others are dressed like soldiers going under a leader to take service; some affect to be Mahomedan Fakeers, others Hindu Byragees; in short, they assume

* The Phansigars of Southern India are described with the same habits as the Thugs, and similar associations of plunderers and murderers must be produced in every community in a distracted and unsettled state.

assume every disguise ; parties of the boldest and most active are always on detachment from the main band: these sometimes seek protection from travellers ; at others, afford it : in either case the fate of those who join them is the same. The Thugs have, concealed, a long silken cord with a noose, which they throw round the necks of their heedless companions, who are strangled and plundered. Their victims, who are always selected from having property, are, when numerous or at all on their guard, lulled by every art into confidence. They are invited to feasts, where their victuals or drink are mixed with soporific or poisonous drugs, through the effects of which they fall an easy prey to these murderers and robbers, the extraordinary success of whose atrocities can only be accounted for by the condition of the countries in which they take place. They were at one time at a great height in Malwa, and many gangs of this class passed annually through this province, on their way to the dominions of the NIZAM and PEISHWAH. It is not six years ago since the manager* of Mundissore surrounded a body of Thugs, who had the appearance of being, what they professed themselves, a party of horse and foot soldiers, who were escorting their baggage on camels and bullocks from the Deckan. He had however gained information who they were, and commanded them to submit ; they refused, and an action took place, in which the Thugs were routed, some of them killed, and others made prisoners. The whole of their booty was captured, amounting, it is said, in value to more than a lack of rupees, and exhibiting every variety of personal clothes and ornaments, rich and poor, for they plunder all classes indiscriminately. Among other articles a great number of their strangling cords were taken and exhibited.

Institutions, Festivals, Religious and Superstitious Beliefs, Usages, &c.

85. There are many institutions, festivals, religious and superstitious beliefs,

* APPAH GUNGADHUR.

beliefs, and usages in Malwa, which may be described as belonging equally to all its Hindu inhabitants, and indeed to the greatest proportion of the Mahomedan. Though there is not one public place of instruction endowed or supported by any State in Malwa, yet private schools, both in the towns and villages, are very numerous. In Bhopaul Persian is taught very generally; and, as the correspondence as well as the revenue accounts of the principality are kept in that language, they are obliged to acquire a knowledge of it. At Oujein, Mundissore, Sarungpore, and other towns, a knowledge of reading and writing in the Persian character is imparted to a few Mahomedan and Kait scholars, but this goes no farther than to qualify them to write letters, and transact current business. Nothing, indeed, can be more limited than the learning they acquire, and the Persian Moonshees, (whether Mahomedan or Hindus) employed by the Rulers and principal Chiefs in Malwa, have almost without exception been educated in Hindostan.

Schools.

86. The Sanscrit is taught at Oujein by several, who profess to be Shastrees, each of whom has a few Brahmin pupils; no other tribe of Hindus learn this sacred language. At Indore and Mundissore, and some other towns, there are Shastrees, who instruct a few scholars, but have no regular schools.

87. In the large schools in the towns of Malwa the common language taught is the Malwa dialect of the Hinduvee, termed Rangree,* which, as well as accounts, is learnt by all the children of the citizens who can

* The Rangree Bhaka prevails as far west as the Indus, east as far as the frontier of Bundlekund, south to the Sautpoorah Hills, and north to Jeypore, Joudpore and Jesselmere. There is in different provinces a difference in the pronunciation, and in many of the words, but the language is the same, and is written in the same character. Many books and songs have been composed in this language. The word Rangur, the Rajpoots say, is derived from Run, signifying battle, and Ghur a fort, an epithet asserted to have been given them by one of the Kings of Delhi, expressive of their bravery; but the Mahrattas say, that the derivation is from Ran, which means a Jungle or forest, and Gurree, a man, or metaphorically a barbarian.

can afford it; and in every village that has above one hundred houses there is a schoolmaster, who teaches the children of the Bunniahs or shop-keepers, and those of such cultivators as choose. With the latter, such instruction is not deemed indispensible, but they are all sensible to its value, and when they can afford it they invariably give their children education. The teachers in towns are either Brahmins or Juttees, (the priests of the Jayns); they are paid by the parents of the scholars, from two rupees to two annas per month, according to their respective ability, and sometimes receive voluntary contributions. The town school-master is held in great respect, and has often an annual festival held in his honor at the town, where he goes through the streets in procession with his pupils, and a collection is then made for him. The office is usually hereditary from generation to generation in the same family. In villages the Parsaee, or priest, is usually the school-master; in some that office is performed by a Juttee, and sometimes by a Bunniah, who has become a little more learned than his brethren. In all these schools there is considerable discipline, and some of the masters are very severe with their pupils, with whom their authority is deemed equal to that of a father over his children. There are no schools for females in Malwa, such institutions being quite incompatible with the prejudices and usages of the natives of India; education among them is therefore rare; even in the tribe of Brahmins, not one woman in a hundred can read. The dancing girls here, as in other parts of India, are ofen well instructed, and many of the principal Rajpoot ladies have sufficient learning to carry on their own correspondence.

88. Among the merchants of the Jayn tribe, women are not in general educated, but when they are left widows, at an early age, they are in the habit of devoting themselves to Juttees, or

priests,

Priests, with whom they abide, and from them they learn not only the rites, but to read the sacred books of their religion; they become in fact mendicant priestesses,* and exercise considerable influence over the females of this tribe.

89 Neither the past history of India, or that of their immediate country, forms a part of the instruction of the schools. The natives of this province, like the other inhabitants of India, take no interest in such subjects; their education at its utmost extent has no object beyond making them acquainted with the mythology, fabulous origin, and the rites and usages of their particular sect. A few Brahmins acquire a knowledge of astronomy, so far as it is necessary for the purposes of judicial astrology, (which many of them profess); and to Kaits, Bunniahs and others, sufficient is imparted to enable them to write letters upon common business, and to keep clear accounts; the latter is perhaps the only art which is taught to considerable perfection.

90. The great Hindu festivals of India, particularly the Dusserah, Dewallee and Hoollee, are observed with the same ceremonies in Malwa, as in other provinces. Different tribes have a marked preference for the feast peculiar to each. The Dusserah, with all its associations and sanguinary rites, is particularly adapted to the feelings and habits of the Rajpoots and Mahrattas, while that of the Dewallee is the favorite one of the Bunniahs, who delight in the illuminations that take place at the close of this festival. At this period, also, the accounts for the past year are closed; new books are commenced, and numbers of the younger branches of the community enjoy that latitude of gambling for eight days, which belongs to the festival, and in which almost Festivals, &c.

* Such females are known by the name of Arjah; they are only respected for their knowledge, not conduct; as these women are deemed freed from restraint, from having adopted this vagrant life, they are never again allowed to dwell in families.

almost all join,* who come within the vortex of its celebration. But the Hoollee festival appears in Malwa the joyous period, in which every sect (including the Mahomedan cultivators) join; it is, beyond all others, the popular festival with the lower classes. During this carnival, which lasts four weeks, men forget both their restraints and distinctions; the poorest may cast the red powder upon his lord, the wife is freed from her habitual respect to her husband, and nothing but the song and the dance is heard. This festival extends to the lowest inhabitants equal, if not more, enjoyments than to the higher, and for the last eight days the labourer ceases from his toil, and the cultivator quits his field, deeming it impious to attend to any thing but the voice of joy and gladness.

Amusements

91. Though it is principally at their festivals that the natives of Malwa enjoy themselves, they partake fully of the games and amusements common to other parts of India. In the towns, gambling with dice is a prevalent vice, but it is little known in villages. The military part of the population, who have horses, pass a great part of their time in training and exercising them, and in learning the use of the spear. Both these and the poorer classes, who follow the profession of arms, study the use of the sword under competent teachers, and practise with their matchlocks till they come to great perfection as marksmen; they also improve their activity and strength by those exercises which are common all over India.

92. Dancing girls are the luxury of large towns, but every cluster of villagers in Malwa has attached to them (living in huts or tents) men and women of the Nutt or Bamallee tribes. The former are tumblers and rope dancers; the latter are jugglers. Both of them have small

* In the principal towns in Malwa Government derive a very considerable profit from the licences they grant to gambling houses during this short period of general joy and dissipation.

small drums and minstrels, and it is their music and songs that form the common entertainments of the peasantry. The villages are also frequently visited by drolls and strolling players; many of the latter in Malwa are very clever. The satire of the plays, or rather farces, which they represent, are alike directed at the demi-gods of their mythological fables, and earthly rulers and governors. The figure of the god Hunamun, with his monkey face,—Gunneiss, with his elephant head and great belly, are brought upon the stage to the great entertainment of the spectators. The incarnation of the Hindu Deities is a common subject with these players, and the frisking of the figure of a large fish, which represents one of the principal incarnations of Vishnoo, always excites bursts of applause. The Rajah, his Dewan, and all the Ministers of his court, are frequent objects of ridicule with the actors in Malwa; but what gives most delight to the peasant are, those plays in which all the scenes that he is familiar with are exhibited. The new manager or renter of a district, for instance, is exhibited on the stage with his whole train of Furnaveeses, Zemindars, Canoongoes, Peons, Putteils, Putwarrees and Cultivators; every air of consequence is assumed by the new superior, every form of office is ostensibly displayed, the Putteils and villagers are abused and threatened one minute, and flattered and cajoled the next, till they succeed in pacifying the great man by agreeing to his terms, or by gaining one of his favorites, who appears in the back part of the scene whispering and taking bribes. In some of these representations the village Putteil is described as losing his level, by his communication with courtiers, and becoming affected and ridiculously great among his poor friends, and this commonly closes in some event that shews him in a condition of ludicrous degradation and repentance. Such representations are received with acclamation by the village audience of men, women, and children, who sit for whole nights looking at them. The actors are fed by the principal people, and a little

tle money is collected for their reward; they also receive a mite* from the village revenue. The place of exhibition is usually a green near the village, but on particular occasions, such as marriages or festivals, a temporary building is erected.

Habits and Character of the Peasantry.

93. The peasants of Malwa, both male † and female, and of all tribes, appear a remarkably cheerful race; they are particularly fond of singing: the men, after the labor of the day is over, will sit for hours in circles singing in chorus, or listening to some story. The subject of these is generally religious, or tales of their former Princes, interspersed with the deeds of their forefathers. The women all sing, and it is usual to see them returning in groupes from a well or river, with water for the use of their families, chaunting in chorus some favorite songs. At the village marriages the women mix in dances, and in every other scene of innocent merriment, with a liberty that is not exceeded by the usages of the same class in any part of the world. In all the ceremonies of their worship, and those observed at birth and marriages, there is no difference between those of the natives of Malwa and the same tribes in other provinces of India.

Slavery.

94. Slavery in Malwa is chiefly limited to females, but there is perhaps no province in India, where there are so many slaves of this sex. The dancing girls are all purchased, when young, by the Nakins, or heads

* It forms, as has been stated in the chapter on Revenue, a regular item of collection.

† The lower classes of inhabitants have much of that simplicity of manners, which belongs to those of the Mahrattas. They seat themselves on the ground without ceremony when in presence of a superior, and express what they have to state with freedom. There is, indeed, in the habits of all classes a difference which must strike persons from Hindostan, where the remains of that distance between superior and inferior, established by a proud despotic race of Mahomedan Lords, is still found, and constitute a species of manner which those that have not visited other countries think is, or ought to be, that of the natives of all India. Such are however surprised, if not offended, at an usage quite common in Malwa of men making the Salam with the left hand. This often originates in a superstitious vow, which consecrates the right hand to the offices of religion alone.

heads of the different sects, who often lay out large sums* in these purchases; female children and grown-up young women are bought by all ranks. Among the Rajpoot Chiefs these slaves are very numerous, as also in the houses of the principal Brahmins; the usage however descends to the lowest ranks, and few merchants or cultivators with any property are without mistresses or servants of this description: male slaves are rare, and never seen but with men of some rank and property, with whom they are usually the confidential servants.

95. There are a variety of ways in which slaves are procured in Malwa; numbers date their condition from a famine or scarcity, when men sold their children to those who were able to support them, with a natural view of preserving the lives of their offspring, at the same time that they obtained means of protracting their own. A great number of the slaves of Malwa are from Rajpootana,† where the excesses of the Mahrattas drove the inhabitants to exile, and to such distress as to be compelled to part with their children. But besides these sources of slavery there are others of a more criminal nature.

96. There are many instances of Rajpoots, and men of other tribes, particularly Soandees, selling the children whom they have by their slaves, and who are deemed to be born in a state of bondage. This only takes place when the father is in distress, or when he is tempted by a large price. The sale, however, of the offspring of these women by other fathers than their masters is more common. The slaves bred (to use a term suited to their condition) in this manner are not numerous, but the further demand is supplied by the Binjarries, who import females into

* They obtain advances from Sahokars, upon interest, like other classes.

† Marwar is the province from which the greatest numbers are obtained. In the famine 1813-14, Ameer Khan formed in that country a battalion of children and youths of this class 1200 strong.

to and from Goozerat* and other countries, which they usually pretend to have bought, and by the tribe of Gwarriah, who have been noticed as open and professed stealers of female children.

97. When these slaves are bought, an enquiry is made as to their tribe, and the general answer (particularly from the Gwarriahs) is, that they are Rajpoots. The children are taught to make pretensions to high birth, and daily instances occur of whole families losing cast, in consequence of these being too hastily credited.† When persons of inferior tribes discover their daughters, or husbands their betrothed wives, in the houses of Brahmins, which often happens, the latter are compelled to undergo long and expensive penances to recover the purity from which they and their family have fallen, in consequence of being defiled by intercourse with females so far below them. It is a remarkable fact, and one of the few creditable to the late community of the Pindaries, that among the numerous prisoners of all ages and sexes, whom they took, though they employed them as servants, gave them to their Chiefs, and accepted ransoms for them from their relations; they never sold them into bondage, nor carried on, like the Binjarries, a traffic in slaves.

98. Females in Malwa, except in times of scarcity, or general distress from any cause, (when they are very cheap) are sold from forty and fifty to one hundred and one hundred and fifty rupees; the price is accordant with their appearance. They have been at times an article of considerable commerce, many being annually sent to the southward, particularly to the Poonah territories, where they sold high. This trade, which has of late

* Goozerat has, during the late troubled state of Malwa, drawn annually a large supply of female slaves, chiefly through the Binjarries from that province.

† Among the numerous females whom my efforts have recovered from slavery, several of low tribes have been discovered in the houses of Brahmins.

late years decreased, was principally carried on by the Mahratta Brahmins,* some of whom amassed great sums by this shameless traffic.

99. Male slaves, it has been stated, are few in Malwa, and are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. The case is very different with females, who almost in every instance are sold to prostitution; some, it is true, rise to be favorite mistresses of their master, and enjoy both power and luxury, while others are raised by the success in life of their sons, but these are exceptions. The dancing women, who are all slaves, are condemned to a life of toil and vice for the profit of others; and some of the first Rajpoot Chiefs and Zemindars† in Malwa, who have from fifty to two hundred female slaves in their family, after employing them in all the menial labors of their house during the day, send them at night to their own dwellings, where they are at liberty to form such connections as they please; but a large share of the profits of that promiscuous intercourse into which they fall is annually exacted by their master, who adds any children they happen to produce to his list of slaves. The female slaves in this condition, as well as those of the dancing sets, are not permitted to marry, and often very harshly treated, so that the latter, from this cause, and the connections they form, are constantly in the habit of running away. If discovered they are always given up, provided the deed of purchase can be produced, which, with them, above all others, must be registered at the Cutwall's Chabootree, at the period the slave is bought.

100. It

* Bunaick, Pundit, a Karkoon Brahmin, who resided about twenty years ago as the chief Government Officer of Dhar, in the district of Bersiah, made a large fortune by this trade. He used to send from fifty to sixty of these females every year to Poonah.

† The present Rajpoot zemindar of Taul on the Chumbul has at least one hundred and fifty slaves. The father of the present Zemindar of Jowrah had at one time three hundred. The principal Brahmin ministers at the Courts of Scindiah and Holkar have from ten to fifty and sixty of these female slaves in their families. The Rawul of Banswarrah has two hundred.

100. It is not the habit of the native Governments of Malwa to take any cognizance of the punishment which masters inflict upon slaves, except such extend to their life, when they are responsible; they are in some cases cruelly treated, but this is not general; it is, indeed, against the interest of the master to do so, when there are so many opportunities of escaping from his authority.

101. The State of Malwa for the last thirty years has been favorable to the species of slavery described, and that province is filled with the mixed progeny of these unfortunate women. This traffic must, however, now decrease, as the Gwarriahs and others who carried it on can no longer steal or conceal children, with that confidence of impunity which they had long done. A few years ago no man dared leave his own district to enquire after his wife or daughter; the whole country can be now traversed in safety: from this cause, and the discoveries of guilt that have recently been made, these stealers of women and children have taken alarm, while the restitution to their relatives of slaves bought of them at high prices must deter future purchasers.

Mendicity.

102. *Mendicity* in Malwa, as in other parts of India, is the pursuit of two classes; to the one it is a profession, by which those who follow it live, and by devoting themselves to be objects of charity have no other means of support; but with the other class it is the result of accidental necessity or distress: the one body of mendicants is a permanent infliction on the community, while the numbers of the other fluctuate with the state of the season, or general condition of the country. In the first class are to be included all Brahmins, who are religious functionaries at temples, or who, devoted to that life, are without employ; these are numerous in Malwa; their general pretext is, to obtain money to marry their daughters, or to proceed on a pilgrimage. There are few Brahmin females that are mendicants. The Mahomedan Fakeers, and the

Hindu

Hindu Gossains, Byragees, Joggees, Bhats and Juttees, are all religious beggars. The Pursaie of the village is also a mendicant upon the same principle.

103. Among those who are beggars from distress, besides the blind and lame, may be enumerated, in Malwa as elsewhere, great numbers whom real misfortune has reduced to poverty, and as many who are the victims of idleness and vice. The numbers of the latter are greatly increased by that casual and ostentatious charity, so common to rich natives, of feeding indiscriminately a number of poor; but this is limited to large towns, and even in them there are sects, such as the Kaits, among whom the beggars are unknown; they are also very rare among the large tribes of Bunniahs. In villages it is uncommon, except in times of scarcity, to meet a beggar, unless of the religious class, with whom, as has been stated, the begging of alms is a profession; but in almost all the hamlets, as well as villages of Malwa, there is, as the attendant of its humble shrine, (which it is his duty to sweep and keep clean) a holy mendicant, who is termed a Bopah, and is usually of the Goojur or some low tribe. There are few pretenders even to medical knowledge* in Malwa, and these reside in the principal towns. An offering of a handful of grain, and a pice to his Bopah, is the usual means to obtain relief, to which the villager has resort, when himself or any of his family are indisposed; and the remedy is perhaps a few grains of his offering returned, after they have been sanctified by laying on some shrine, or by a few incantations or a charm. When (as is often the case) a peasant believes that he suffers from witchcraft, he has also recourse to the Bopah; but this subject will be noticed hereafter.

104. The

* In Malwa it is usual for the village Hujum, or barber, particularly the Mahomedan ones, to have some knowledge of medicine; they are expert also at setting broken limbs, and their women sometimes act as midwives.

Suttees and Infanticide.

104. The practice of Suttee, or self-immolation of widows,* was formerly very common in Malwa, as is proved by the numerous gravestones, on which the figures of the husband and the wife who burnt herself after his death are both engraven. This usage prevailed most when the Rajpoots had power and influence. The Mahomedan Rulers endeavoured, as much as they could without offending their Hindu subjects, to prevent it; and the Mahrattas, since they acquired the province, have by a wise neglect and indifference, which, neither encouraged by approval, nor provoked by prohibition, rendered the practice of very rare occurrence. In the whole of Malwa there have not been, as far as can be learnt, above three or four Suttees annually for the last twenty years. They are much limited† to particular tribes of Brahmins and Rajpoots, but it is consolatory to state, that those shocking scenes which still occur on the death of the Princes of Jeypore, Joudpore and Oudipore, to swell whose funeral honors numbers of unwilling females are forcibly thrown upon the pile, have long been unknown in Malwa. There has not been a Suttee with any of the three last Rajahs of Ragooghur; the Sesodee family of Purtaubghur have had none, either, for three generations, and the present Rajah Sawut Singh (an excellent man) is not only the declared enemy of this shocking usage, but of female Infanticide. When the Rajah of Banswarrah died last year, not one of his wives desired to burn, though the bards of the family sung to them the fame of the former heroines, who had acquired immortality by perishing in the flames which had consumed the body of their lords. Among the Rajpoots the females of the Bhuttee tribe are the most prompt to sacrifice themselves; indeed with most of them it is a point of honor not to outlive their husbands. There are few of this class in Malwa

* It is not always confined to widows among the few Suttees which have occurred this last year; two (one at Amjerrah and the other at Katchrode) have been mothers, who burnt on the death of their only sons.

† They sometimes happen amongst the Bheels, but the instances are rare.

Malwa, where no Suttee has been known to take place for many years, that was not only voluntary, but against the advice and remonstrance of the friends of the female and the public officers.

105. Infanticide in Malwa is not known among the lower classes; this shocking usage still prevails among some Rajpoot Chiefs* of high rank and small fortunes, who from a despair of obtaining a suitable marriage for their daughters are led by an infatuated pride to become the destroyers of their own offspring. This usage is, however, on the decline, and every effort has been made to prevent the frequent recurrence of such crime.

106. According to former accounts of Malwa self-destruction among men,† by casting themselves, during public festivals, from a rock at Oonkar Mundatta, on the Nerbuddah, and from a precipice near Jawud,‡ was once common. These sacrifices have of late years occurred seldom;

* The present Rajah of Purtaubghur abolished female Infanticide within his territories about thirty-eight years ago. Bishen Singh, Rawul of Banswarrah, about the same period prohibited the practice within his own territories, where it prevails only to a very limited extent. Various causes combine to excite or introduce this usage into a family. The petty Thakoor or Lord of Cherawul (a relation of the Amjerrah family) married a daughter to the Rawul of Banswarrah thirty-four years ago. The pride of the Thakoor's family was so excited by this, that it was resolved no female should make an inferior match, and the despair of such good fortune again has led to every female child being killed. Suntook Ram, Minister of Amjerrah, told me he was sitting with Puddum Singh, the present Thakoor, when he heard the birth of a female infant whispered in his ear. He saw him preparing between his fingers the fatal pill of opium, (the usual signal, but he implored that the child might live; his request was granted, and this little girl, (added Suntook Ram) now eight years of age, is always called my daughter.

† Two cases have recently occurred of self-inhumation in the district of Shujauhalpore. In one instance no reason could be assigned but that the person expressed, viz. That he was tired of his existence; and the other, the subject was afflicted with an incurable malady. A large excavation was made, so as to admit the person to be buried to stand with his head about a foot below the surface of the ground, the earth was then filled in very gradually by the relations and neighbours of the victim till it reached the head, when, at a signal given by him, the cavity was rapidly filled. Such was the anxiety of all concerned and present, that those acts of self-devotion might not be interrupted, that these were hurried through before the answer to the reference made to superior authority could be received; the result of all the enquiries instituted proved, that the act was in both cases entirely spontaneous.

‡ The name of this place is Suk Deo; there is also a rock called Gantimjee near Purtaubghur, from whence devotees cast themselves.

seldom; there had not been one at Mundatta for the last five years, but this year,* when the pilgrims were numerous, there were three infatuated creatures who threw themselves head long.† These men are generally of low tribes, usually Bheels, Dhers, or Chumars. One of the leading motives, by which they are said to be actuated, is a belief that they will be re-born Rajahs in their next state of transmigration; but it is no slight means that can bring the human mind to the resolution of committing such an act, and nine out of ten of these victims of superstition have been bred up to the continual contemplation of the sacrifice which they make; they are generally the first-born sons of women who have been long barren, and who, to remove what they deem a curse, have vowed their child (if one is given them) shall be devoted to Oonkar Mundatta. The first knowledge imparted to the infant is this vow, and the impression is so implanted upon his mind, as an inevitable fate, that he often appears for years before he comes to the rocky precipice, which overhangs the Nerbuddah, like a man haunted by his destiny. There is a tradition, supported by popular belief at Oonkar Mundatta, that it is incumbent to make a person, whose life is saved after the tremendous fall over the rock, (which is more than one hundred and twenty feet) Rajah of the place, and it is further stated that the rule was so obtained about one hundred and fifty years ago. To prevent, however, the possibility of the recurrence of such a succession, poison is mixed with the last victuals given the devoted man, and its action is increased by stimulants before the dreadful leap is taken there, as at the pile of the Suttee; retreat is not

* A. D. 1819.

† Lieutenant Douglas was detached from Mundlasir with a Company of Sepoys in November, 1820, to keep the peace at Oonkar Mandatta during the Jatha, and had directions to prevent these voluntary sacrifices by every means short of force. A Gossain, who had vowed a pilgrimage to Buddri Nath without the means of performing it, was the only person who offered to become a victim, and he was easily persuaded to relinquish his intention by Moojgeer, the Manager of Burwamee, who happened to be present, and promised to pay the expence of the Gossain to Buddri Nath.

Lieutenant Douglas stated, that the confidence inspired by the presence of the Company's Troops at this religious festival was unbounded.

not permitted, and armed men are ready to compel the completion of the scene, as well as to finish any remains of life that may appear after the fall. Women sometimes, but rarely, sacrifice themselves in this manner.*

107. The belief in witchcraft is common to all India, but it prevails in an extraordinary degree in the Province of Malwa and the Rajpoot States adjoining it. From the most learned Brahmin, to the lowest Bheel, all share in this superstition, the consequences of which have been, and are, too fatal to those who are its objects and victims to admit of its being passed over with a slight notice. Witchcraft.

108. The idea entertained of the Dhakuns, or witches, is that certain women (generally the old and wrinkled) are endowed with a limited supernatural power, which, though it does not extend to seeing into futurity, or of obtaining what they wish, enables them, with the aid of their familiar or Bheer, and by their incantations, to inflict pains, diseases, or death upon human beings or animals, as they may desire to gratify their malice or resentment. The common means to which they are believed to have resort to fulfil their vengeance is, by causing the gradual decay of the liver of the person or animal they wish to destroy. Their power of witchcraft exists on the 14th, 15th and 29th of every month. It is also very strong during certain periods of the year, particularly nine days before the Dusserah; but the Dewallee is the time when they have most power. At other times Dhakuns appear, dress, talk, and eat, like other women; but, when the fit is on them, they are sometimes seen, with the eyes glaring red, their hair dishevelled and bristled; and their head is often tossed around in a strange convulsive manner. On

* In April, 1819, a man and his wife of the Koombee tribe, belonging to a village in the Mundissore territory, sacrificed themselves; the brother of the Rajah of Partaubghur endeavoured, but without effect, to dissuade them. The man was twenty-seven years of age and the woman twenty; they threw themselves head-long, hand in hand.

On the nights of these days they go abroad, and casting off their garments ride upon tigers and other wild animals on land, and if they desire to go upon the water the alligators come, like the beasts of the forest, at their call, and they desport in rivers and lakes upon their backs till near dawn of day, about which period they always return home, and assume their usual forms and occupations. Such absurd belief would not merit mention, did not the numerous murders, (they can be called by no other name) which it annually produces, force it into notice. It is calculated, and on tolerable data, that within the last thirty years between two and three thousand women have been put to death as witches in Malwa, and a very large proportion of these have perished by the orders of ZALIM SINGH, Regent of Kotah, who for all his talent is remarkable for his weak, childish superstition upon this point* His reputation has gone far to confine the belief of others, and in many late murders of supposed witches his example has invariably been brought forward, † while the acknowledged superiority of his understanding has been urged as an infallible proof of the existence of sorcery, and of its guilty supernatural agents. The usual mode of proving, whether an accused woman is a witch, is through a religious mendicant of low tribe, who is termed a Bhopah, ‡ and is believed to have the talent of discovering those who have the latent power of sorcery; but, generally, for a woman of a village to be old and haggard, and bad tempered, is sufficient to make suspicion

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* The following extract from a Kotah Akbar, dated 5th September, 1819, furnishes another proof of the weakness of this otherwise great and able Ruler, and is worth recording, from the singular coincidence of the very same prejudice against cats having existed in our own country not a century ago.

"The RAJ RANAH gave orders this day to the Kutwall to seize all the cats in the cantonment, and to take them over the river Scinde. Every man who caught and brought a cat was promised a present of one rupee. The reason of this proceeding is, that the Tashen-i-Goorbah, or influence of cats, is like that of Dhakuns, or witches."

† Captain HENLEY, in his Dispatch under date———

‡ Vide Page———

suspicion fall upon her. If a man, his wife or child, or any of his cattle, are seized with illness or die suddenly, and any old woman is supposed to have an ill-will against him or his family, she is seized, and red pepper* is stuffed into her eyes; if they do not water the unfortunate creature is condemned; sometimes she is flogged with the branches of the Nuxvomica, or root of the Palma Christi, or castor-oil tree, and if these (after other stripes have failed) make her call out, she is deemed a witch; for they alone can inflict pain upon such a being. On other occasions the witch is tied in a bag, and thrown into a pool, where, sinking at the hazard of her life, is the only proof of her innocence. If her struggles keep her afloat she is inevitably condemned and punished, either by being obliged to drink the water used by the leather dressers, (which is a degradation from all cast) or by having her nose cut off, or being put to death. The latter often occurs through the superstitious fears of rulers, or among the lower classes through the violent resentment of individuals; nor are the latter exposed to suffer for such crimes, when they can produce any ground whatever for their suspicion.

109. After these facts it appears almost incredible, that, though the accusation of being Dhakuns, or witches, is usually denied by the unfortunate women to whom it is affixed, some encourage the opinion that they possess supernatural powers, which give them both influence and profit in the community; they are propitiated, particularly by women with child and others whose infants are sickly, by presents and requests for their prayers, and as they alone are supposed to possess the power of counteracting

* The Bhopahs use these means also, but not before they have tried others, and their supposed knowledge is turned by these village mendicants into a source of profit; their testimony will usually clear a woman of suspicion.

In a case of murder brought before me in December, 1819, the husband of an unhappy female, whose brains had been beat out as a witch, produced the certificate of a Bhopah of some celebrity, that his wife was not acquainted with the black art; he told me that a desire to clear her from suspicion had led him to obtain this at the cost of eighty rupees.

teracting the incantations of other Dhakuns they are often secretly employed for this object. Among the inhabitants of Rhat and Baugur men will not marry into a family in which there is not a Dhakun to save them from the malice of others; but this name, which is odious, is not given to these persons by their family or friends; they are termed Rekwallee, or guardians. In these countries this belief is more in extreme than in Malwa, and they have many wizards, as well as witches; but enough has been said upon the subject. Though this superstition is general and too deep-rooted to give way, except gradually, as knowledge is introduced, sufficient has been already done* to diminish greatly the murders committed upon the unhappy class of beings who are branded with the imputation of sorcery.

Military Establishments and Chiefs of Malwa.

110. The different tribes which compose the population of Malwa having been described, it remains to take a review of the military establishments of the different Princes and Rulers in that province. These, as may be imagined, principally consist of Hindu soldiers, but the proportion necessarily varies in different States. Among the troops in military service with SCINDIAH, HOLKAR and ZALIM SINGH, we may reckon that there are five Hindus to one Mussulman. The troops of the petty State of Bhopaul give a much greater proportion of Mahomedans; almost the whole Horse and a considerable number of Infantry, including one thousand Affghans from Pishore and Cabul, being of that class.

111. The six hundred Horse belonging to the Jaghiredar, GHUFFOOR KHAN, are all Mahomedans; but the States of Dhar, Dewass, Dongerpore, Banswarrah,

* Mr. WELLESLEY, the Resident at Indore, in his dispatch under date the 28th July, 1820, details a remarkable case in which his insisting upon the accusers undergoing the same ordeal, (of being thrown into a deep pool) as the accused, was attended with a happy effect. TANTIAH JOGH, the Dewan of the HOLKAR State, was, though imbued with this superstition, amused and instructed by this example, and declared to me his resolution to have it followed on all occasions of a similar nature.

Banswarrah, Purtaubghur, Rutlam, Seeta Mów, Sillanah, and the whole of this class of petty principalities, whose armed followers may be estimated at six thousand five hundred Horse and Foot, are almost without exception Hindus. The Mahomedans in Oujein, Indore, Mundissore, Saurungpore, Seronge, and many other towns, who still maintain Horses in expectation of employment, and live upon the remains of their broken fortunes, do not certainly exceed one thousand. But the disproportion between Mahomedans and Hindus is much greater among the military part of the population of Malwa, who, though not in the service of any regular State, still deem themselves soldiers by birth and profession. These, including Rajpoot followers of Grassiah Chiefs, Soondees, Bheelalahs, and other half-subdued races, who have latterly been suppressed, but yet continue tenacious of the habits of their forefathers, have all bee ntaken into the calculations made of the military population of the tracts they inhabit. According to the best data we have, the Military establishments of the different Princes and Chiefs in Malwa may be computed as follows:

In the Service of SCINDIAH.		*Total.*
Horse.—Mahomedans, - -	4,605	
" Hindus, - - -	4,866	
	———	9,471
Foot.—Mahomedans, - -	1,400	
" Hindus, - - -	12,300	
	———	13,700
Sebundies and Garrisons of Forts,		6,435

In the Service of HOLKAR.		
Horse.—Mahomedans, - -	820	
" Hindus, - - -	2,645	
	———	3,465

Foot.—Mahomedans,	- -	50	*Total.*
Hindus,	- - -	150	
		——	200
Sebundies, Garrisons, &c. &c.			1,000

In the Service of Dhar.

Horse.—Mahomedans,	- -	40	
Hindus,	- -	230	
		——	270
Foot.—Irregulars, Sebundies, &c. Hindus,			887

In the Service of Dewass.

Horse.—Hindus,	- -	140	
Foot.— " (Irregulars, &c.)		200	
		——	340

In the Service of Kotah.

Horse.—Mahomedans,	- -	700	
Hindus,	- -	3,500	
		——	4,200
Foot.—Mahomedans,	-	1,960	
Hindus,	- -	8,010	
		——	10,000
Foot.—Hindus and Rajpoots, Sebundies, Garrisons, &c.			10,700

In the Service of Bhopaul.

Horse.—Mahomedans,	- -		2,000
Foot.—Mahomedans, Affghans,	-	1,000	
Hindus,	- -	600	
		——	1,600
Sebundies, Irregulars, &c.	-		2,400

In the Service of Dongerpore.		*Total.*
Horse.—Rajpoots, - -		278
Irregulars.—Do. Gossains and Moghees, -		853
In the Service of Banswarrah.		
Horse.—Rajpoots, - -	302	
Foot.—Mahomedans, -	250	
Hindus, - -	337	
	——	1,087
In the Service of Purtaubghur.		
Horse.—Rajpoots, - -		156
Irregulars, of all kinds, - -		798
In the Service of Seeta Mhow.		
Horse.—Rajpoots, - -		270
Foot.—Irregulars, of all kinds, -		660
In the Service of Oomutwarrah.		
Horse.—Hindu Feudatories, - -		600
Foot.—Irregulars, Sebundies, &c. -		1,000
In the Service of Keecheepoor.		
Horse.—Rajpoots, - -		60
Foot.—Irregulars, of all kinds, -		300
In the Service of GUFFOOR KHAN.		
Horse.—Mahomedans, - -		600
Foot.—Sebundies, Irregulars, &c. -		150
	Total,	73,812

112. This calculation, which gives a Military establishment of only twenty-one thousand eight hundred and forty-two Horse, and fifty-one thousand nine hundred and seventeen Foot, however inconsiderable in point of

of numbers, or at variance with the experience of former times, is nevertheless perfectly reconcileable with the present condition of Malwa, where, after twenty years of violent convulsion, things have subsided into a state of peace and tranquillity, which, guaranteed as it is by the paramount strength of the British Government, leaves little inducement for the native Princes to continue in their service larger bodies of troops than what are actually necessary for the purposes of state, and for the collection of the revenues.

Classification and Census of the Population of Malwa.

113. As an object intimately connected with the internal prosperity of Malwa, an early inquiry was instituted regarding the population of that province, and, with a view to obtain as correct an estimate as our present means afforded, the annexed Tables have been framed. No. 1 exhibits a census of the Pergunnahs in Malwa belonging to HOLKAR and the PUARS of Dhar and Dewass. No. 2 gives a census of the possessions of these States in the province of Nemaur; and No. 3 is added, with a view to give a general idea of the extent of the Bheel population of the Vindhya range, for although it has been included in the first table, yet a separate one was thought necessary to shew the principle on which the calculation was made, namely, of estimating the inhabitants by the number of ploughs and the quantity of land cultivated. The tract occupied by the tribes here enumerated extends, with some variations, sixty miles from east to west, and ten miles from north to south. It includes one hundred and twelve Parahs, or hamlets, each Parah containing on an average 9½ huts and 3¾ persons to each hut.

114. As a census of every hut could not be obtained, the number of ploughs and the quantity of land cultivated in each hamlet has been outed in the table. This gives on an average four ploughs to each and hamlet, nearly thirteen beegahs of cultivated land to each plough, or about one beegah and nine beeswahs to every inhabitant.

115. These

115. These, as far as they go, may be depended upon for general accuracy, having been compiled from voluminous and minute documents specifying the trade and occupation of every family. None of these, however, include soldiers receiving regular pay, garrisons, or Sebundies, all of whom have been already noticed. But the civil classes, such as Brahmins, priests, merchants, shopkeepers, artizans, and peasants, who are unarmed, and are rarely induced by any extremes to become soldiers, have been carefully separated from those predatory and turbulent classes that lie loose upon the country, and consider their profession that of arms. Such an arrangement enables us to form a tolerably correct idea of the numbers of those branches of the community which in extraordinary times might be called into action, either for or against the States to which they are subject. This of itself, though a matter of importance, is of very secondary consideration, when compared with the encreased power these censuses give of effectually establishing and maintaining the internal peace of Malwa.

116. With materials such as we now possess we are enabled at once to ascertain, not only the numbers, but the residence of a great proportion of those plundering classes, such as Mooghees, Baugrees, Bheels, Soandees and Bheelalahs, who, being thieves by birth and profession, have for many years past been the worst of enemies to the prosperity of this province. In the Malwa dominions of HOLKAR and the PUARS these tribe, alone give a population of 13,888 souls, and they may be calculated to be full as numerous in the territories of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, and his tributaries west of Shahjehanpore and Augur.

117. The Rajpoots of Malwa, whether we consider their numbers, their pride and ignorance, or the attachment they have for their Rulers, claim, notwithstanding their want of union, and the debased state into

into which they have fallen, our most particular attention. Although not so numerous as in some of the adjoining countries, their character is the same, and they must at all times be governed with minute attention to their prejudices. The censuses we possess of the territories of HOLKAR and the PUARS in Malwa amount to 71,191, which is a little more than an eighth of the whole; but in SCINDIAH's dominions they are much more numerous, and may with certainty be calculated as forming a sixth part of the population.

118. Other facts connected with the population of Malwa, though of less importance, do not fail to present themselves. Among them may be enumerated the small proportion of children compared with the grown-up part of the community, viz. less than one-third and the disproportion of Mahomedans to Hindus, which is as 1 to 21½. The cause of the former is, perhaps, to be found in that anarchy which has prevailed for the last twenty years over the whole of this part of India, while the latter fact serves to illustrate most forcibly how very rapid and complete the annihilation of the Mahomedan power has been in this part of India. In the short period of little more than a century Malwa may be said to have returned to its former condition of a Hindu province.

119. In contemplating the benefits likely to result from the statistical information obtained of the HOLKAR and PUAR Governments, it cannot but be a subject of regret that the jealousy of SCINDIAH and other States has rendered fruitless all attempts at similar enquiries in their territories: sufficient, however, may be deduced, from what we know of other parts of Malwa, to form an estimate of the total population. The Purgunnahs of Indore, Saweir, Haseilpore, Baitmah, Depalpore, Allote, Ringnode, Dewass, Dhar, Budnawur, Mehidpore, Turanah,

Kaitah,

Kaitah, and Naulcha,* contain as near as can be calculated 5,471 square miles, and 542,077 persons, being in the proportion of about 98 to a square mile. If, therefore, we take these as data, we shall have in the whole of the 26,767 square miles, which Malwa Proper † is supposed to contain, a population of two millions, six hundred and forty-two thousand, six hundred and seventy-seven souls.

TABLE

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* These Purgunnahs or districts have been selected, as including a fair proportion of thinly and well-inhabited tracts.

† The great difference between the actual and political boundaries of Malwa has been already noticed in the first part of the Report. This calculation of the contents of that province in square miles is taken from what is conceived from enquiry and observation to be its actual limits as one of the ancient provinces of India. It takes Mandoo as a southern point, and from it a line along a branch of the Vindhya, runs west rather northerly to Bopawar, from whence it runs almost direct north to the Chittore range, being bounded to the west by the petty provinces of Rath, Bagur and Kauntel, and at its northern termination by the districts of Neemutch and Jawud, which belong to Mewar. From this extreme western and northern point the Chittore range, which here forms the limit, runs direct east as far as Rampoorah, from whence the same hills take a north easterly direction to the Mokundra pass, and between that and Mooshhgurh (formerly Cundwah,) which lies nearly direct east a line of low hills, forming an obtuse re-entering angle, separates Malwa from Harowtee. Moosahgurh, according to this, is the extreme northern part of the former province. The line of its limits then runs nearly south-east to Chanderee, and from that it stretches south with deviations to the eastward caused by boundary ranges to the Vindhya mountains, leaving Datoory Saugar and other districts of Bundelkund to the east. From Seermhow, where this line terminates the southern boundary, which is the Vindhya range, runs nearly west to Mandoo and divides Malwa from Goandwarrah and Nemar. Mr. SMIDT, who computed the contents of square miles within the above limits, adds the following remarks upon his calculations: "The computation of the number of square "miles cannot be much wrong, according to the boundary taken; it is rather less than that given by "the true area, because the plain surface or map is always less than the spherical or true surface. "The area of each triangle has been computed by drawing aside into half the perpendicular let fall "from its apposite angle, and the aggregate sum of the areas of these triangles gives the round number "of miles stated in the text. Fractional parts were omitted in the calculation, as it was impossible, "with the imperfect information on the limits of the province, that the computation of its extent could "be made quite correct."

No. 1.

TABLE, exhibiting the population of the Territories of Maharajah MULHAR *Row* HOLKAR, *and the* PUAR *Rajahs of Dhar and Dewass, in Malwa.*

HOLKAR'S TERRITORIES.	Total number of Houses or Families.		Families of the Civil Community.	Families of the Military and Predatory Tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children	Total Population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan						
Purgunnah of Mahidore, containing 213 inhabited towns and villages,	10,191	253	7,496	2,948	15,018	11,181	14,902	44,101
Ditto of Machilpore, 56 ditto,	2,214	56	1,72[illegible]	545	4,253	3,782	4,127	12,162
Ditto of Ryepore, 21 ditto,	1,430	7	897	540	2,399	2,204	1,886	6,483
Ditto of Depalpore, 139 ditto,	8,159	365	6,985	1,541	10,874	11,412	12,024	34,310
Ditto of Zeerahpore, 64 ditto,	2,631	31	11,089	984	4,335	3,607	4,132	12,073
Ditto of Hasilpore, 17 ditto,	637	51	453	233	841	857	840	2,538
Ditto of Soneil, 26 ditto,	1,941	121	1,622	443	2,614	2,671	3,156	8,471
Ditto of Saweir, 108 ditto,	5,381	218	4,275	1,326	7,407	7,724	7,733	22,864
Ditto of Soondursee, 11 ditto,	1,268	115	935	444	1,825	1,730	1,861	5,416
Ditto of Baitmah, 42 ditto,	1,872	159	1,349	682	2,637	2,574	2,406	7,617
Ditto of Indore, 185 ditto,	12,582	507	10,187	2,902	13,723	13,772	13,966	41,461
City of Indore, Holkar's Capital,	3,577	656	3,590	64				63,560
Holkar's Camp and Court computed at								20,000
Purgunnah of Kaytha, 22 villages,	1,412	49	1,035	426	2,250	2,203	2,165	6,618
Ditto of Nundwae, 23 ditto,	429	1	284	140	777	639	522	1,938
Ditto of Sonarah, 8 ditto,	1,197	11	1,014	194	1,817	1 657	1,659	5,133
Ditto of Bampoorah, 49 ditto,	3 064	209	2,617	650	4,570	4,431	4,399	13,400
Ditto of Taranah, 141 ditto,	6 361	216	4,421	2,156	8,442	8,315	9,414	26 171
Ditto of Rampoorah, 364 ditto,	17,489	762	14,018	4,238	25,400	24,745	23 344	73,489
Ditto of Naraingbur, 49 ditto,	3,162	46	2,132	1,076	4,858	4,328	3,391	12,577
Ditto of Katkoot, 12 ditto,	148	3	72	79	159	149	178	486
Cantonment of Mhow, not including troops, viz. Natives of Hindostan,								13,000
Ditto of Malwa and the Dekhan.								2,731

GUFFOOR

No. 1. *Continued.*

	Total Number of Houses or Families.		Families of the Civil Community.	Families of the Military and Predatory Tribes	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total Population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan						
GHUFFOOR KHAN'S JAGHIER.								
Purgunnah of Jowrah, ...	4,760	126	3,508	1,378	7,485	6,755	5,970	20,210
Ditto of Taul, 42 villages, ...	2,653	133	1,708	1,071	4,386	4,001	3,921	12,308
Ditto of Sunjeed, 47 ditto, ...	1,786	10	1,312	484	2,774	2,309	2,068	7,151
Ditto of Mundawul, 35 ditto, ...	1,471	10	949	532	2,813	2,440	3,863	9,116
Ditto of Burowdah, 22 ditto, ...	1,590	67	1,178	479	1,407	2,448	2,193	6,048
Ditto of Mulbarghur, 49 ditto, ...	*Not received.*				4,192	4,012	3,921	12,125
DHAR POSSESSIONS.								
Purgunnah of Budnawir, 150 villages, ...	7,484	251	5,016	2,719	11,011	10,709	9,399	31,119
Ditto of Dhar, 151 ditto, ...	7,042	531	4,806	2,767	10,392	10,338	10,065	30,795
Ditto of Naulcha, 10 ditto, ...	546	11	340	217	779	773	661	2,173
DEWASS RAJAH'S POSSESSIONS.								
Purgunnah of Allote, 68 villages, ...	2,269	47	1,466	850				8,685
Tuppah of Gurgoocha, 19 ditto, ...	913	14	707	220				3,476
Purgunnah of Sarungpore, 54 ditto, ...	2,797	251	2,445	603				11,430
Ditto of Ringnode, 31 ditto, ...	1,452	37	1,365	124				5,583
Ditto of Dewass, 232 ditto, ...	6,458	512	5,092	1,878				26,137
Town of Dewass	981	206	1,002	185				4,451
Ditto of Barotha, ...	261	7	132	36				1,105
Purgunnah of Ragooghur, 11 villages, ..	560	20	352	28				2,250
Bheel Population, particularized in Table No. 3, ...								3,865
Total	1,28,168	5,974	1,07,676	35,977	1,5[illegible]72	1,42,767	1,54,098	6,34,732

No. 2.

No. 2.

TABLE, shewing the Population of the undermentioned Possessions in Nemaur.

POSSESSIONS OF HOLKAR.	Total number of Houses or Families.		Families of the Civil Community.	Families of the Military and Predatory tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total Population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan.						
Purgunnah of Maheipoor, containing 14 villages and towns, ...	3,520	356	3,464	412	3,806	4,395	3,285	11,486
Purgunnah of Chooly, 5 ditto ditto, ...	369	4	284	89	477	526	433	1,436
Sirkar Bijaghur, called also Butteessee from containing 32 Pergunnahs, viz.								
Purgunnah of Kurgond, 56 villages, ...	3,893	380	3,775	498	5,976	6,804	6,312	19,092
Ditto of Chynpoor, 29 villages, ...	565	8	220	353	742	681	778	2,201
Ditto of Bulwanah, 29 villages, ...	931	39	760	210	1,337	1,344	1,294	3.975
Ditto of Beeswah, 35 villages, ...	736	31	441	326	1,033	909	876	2,818
Ditto of Mahomedpore, 27 villages, ...	1,178	52	1,026	204	1,640	1,778	1,896	5,320
Ditto of Murdanah, 11 villages, ...	376	35	233	178	574	534	440	1,548
Ditto of Umlatah, 8 villages, ...	175	0	94	81	247	233	279	759
Ditto of Woon, 13 villages, ...	416	5	297	124	577	567	566	1,710
Ditto of Jelalabad, 32 villages, ...	1,285	16	770	531	1,642	1,628	1,655	4,925
Ditto of Beekungaum, 15 villages, ...	420	6	259	167	539	553	557	1,649
Ditto of Nagulwaree, 6 villages, ...	268	0	125	143	333	331	301	965
Ditto of Beroob, 11 villages, ...	167	3	39	131	228	219	229	676
Ditto of Bunmallah, 4 villages, ...	180	1	74	107	234	225	249	708
Ditto of Bramingaong, 12 villages, ...	146	0	68	78	190	169	168	527
Ditto of Khoorgong, 8 villages, ...	163	4	126	41	200	192	173	565
Ditto of Russeeapore, 6 villages, ...	157	5	103	59	232	250	187	669
Ditto of Sauglee, 3 villages, ...	147	0	66	81	172	177	220	569
Ditto of Akburpore, 1 village, ...	18	0	14	4	27	20	16	63
Ditto of Naudsee, 3 villages, ...	67	2	25	44	87	79	70	236
Ditto of Seresghur, 3 villages.	79	0	25	54	107	93	85	285
Ditto of Akaipoorah, 11 villages, ...	255	14	208	61	355	298	283	936
Ditto of Baugdurah, 7 villages, ...	429	5	345	89	516	537	446	1,499

No. 2 —Continued.

No. 2.—*Continued.*

POSSESSIONS OF HOLKAR.	*Total Number of Houses or Families.* Hindu.	Mahomedan	*Families of the Civil Community.*	*Families of the Military and Predatory tribes.*	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Children*	*Total Population.*
Punj Mahal, viz.								
Nimawur, 24 villages, ...	1,055	28	822	261	1,447	1,405	1,64	4,497
Rajour, 24 villages, ...	2,364	2	1,638	746	3,031	3,015	3,492	9,53
Kantapore, 30 villages, .. .	2,133	54	1 520	607	2,727	2,70	3,269	8,70
Hurngong, 16 villages, ...	490	24	340	174	640	62	691	1,957
POSSESSIONS OF THE DHAR RAJAH, &c.								
Purgunnah of Dhurrumporee, 45 villages, ..	1,193	25	797	4?6				4,586
Ditto of Kooksee, 31 villages, ...	1,890	125	1,640	375	2,577	2,745	2,42	7,74
Ditto of Loharee, 16 villages, ..	454	5	37	87	607	602	512	1,721
Ditto of Kunwarrah, 9 villages, ...	187	0	137	50				701
Ditto of Bulkeer, 14 villages, ...	221	9	148	8				873
Ditto of Sooltanabad, 20 villages, ..	464	42	393	113				1,897
Ditto of Kotrah, 53 villages, ...					3,789	3,631	2,906	10,326
BRITISH DEPENDENCIES IN NEMAUR.								
Purgunnah of Kasrowde, 31 villages, ..	1,480	32	1,309	203	2,055	1,924	1,691	5,67
Kusbah of Mundleesir, -- ..	382	12	297	97	58	1,690	725	2,00
Purgunnah of Kannapore, 17 villages, ..	600	15	31	297	998	1,041	695	2,734
Ditto of Burdiah, 13 villages, ...	364	8	171	201	553	540	503	1,596
Total..	29 225	1,365	22,745	17 847	40,286	41,466	30 353	1,20,16

No. 3.

No. 3.

BHEEL Population of the Vindhya Range.

NAMES OF BHEEL VILLAGES. NADIR BHEEL'S DEPENDANCIES.	No. of Ploughs the property of each Village.	Quantity ploughed and cultivated.		Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs.		No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Total.
		Beghs.	Beswas	Beghs.	Beswas				Male.	Female.	
1 Jamniah,	8½	62	19	,,	19	39	42	34	37	29	142
2 Kownaponah,	4	32	,,	,,	,,	6	12	11	,,	3	26
3 Kotrah,	1	8	,,	,,	7	7	10	10	,,	,,	20
4 Ambapoorah,	2	20	,,	4	,,	12	15	16	6	3	40
5 Peerghattah,	1	10	14	1	7	7	7	10	5	1	23
6 Maul,	2	17	12	1	12	12	12	12	7	2	33
7 Burwah,	2	16	7	,,	7	4	4	4	12	,,	20
8 Auleepoorah,	½	4	7	,,	7	2	2	2	2	3	9
9 Chup Kodrah.	,,	5	,,	5	,,	4	7	4	1	2	14
10 Tupkiah,	½	4	18	,,	18	4	8	6	2	2	18
11 Avahburdlah,	,,	1	13	1	13	5	5	7	5	1	18
12 Moureepoorah,	1	9	,,	1	,,	9	10	10	10	2	32
13 Bunjurree,	1	8	12	,,	12	5	6	8	4	2	20
14 Chouree,	4	32	3	,,	,,	10	15	17	9	2	43
15 Bourkooah,	2	16	8	,,	8	4	4	4	5	1	14
16 Heerapoor,	2	16	9	,,	9	6	5	10	12	6	33
17 Moorkiraiah,	½	4	7	,,	7	2	3	3	2	2	10
18 Doorga Poora,	,,	,,	4	,,	4	1	2	2	2	3	9
19 Puthara,	½	4	12	,,	12	4	4	4	4	3	15
20 Chota Jamnee; (Cultivated by Inhabitants of another Village,											
Total of Nadir Bheel's, ...	32½	275	5	19	15	143	173	174	175	67	539

No. 3.—*Continued.*

No. 3.—Continued.

DEPENDANCIES OF RAJGHUR.	No. of Ploughs the property of each Village.	Quantity ploughed and cultivated. Beghs.	Beswas	Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs. Beghs.	Beswas	No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children. Male.	Female.	Total.
1 Rajghur, ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	4	5	,,	,,	,,	15
2 Kalleekeerah, ...	9	65	,,	3	,,	15	,,	,,	,,	,,	57
3 Dherlowlee, ...	1	19	,,	,,	,,	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	19
4 Gawindah, ...	2	16	10	3	10	6	,,	,,	,,	,,	23
5 Bukaukherah, ...	1	9	4	2	4	4	,,	,,	,,	,,	15
6 Tullao, (near Serau)	6	53	,,	2	,,	16	,,	,,	,,	,,	60
7 Gooleepoorah, ...	2	22	3	2	3	6	,,	,,	,,	,,	23
8 Boorhoorah, ...	1	10	,,	,,	,,	1	,,	,,	,,	,,	4
9 Kalee Bal, ...	4½	54	4	3	4	7	,,	,,	,,	,,	26
10 Jamunjeree, ...	1	10	10	,,	10	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	19
11 Hela Bawun, ...	3	21	5	1	5	10	12	,,	,,	,,	38
12 Bhawanee Tullaee, ...	1	12	,,	2	,,	2	,,	,,	,,	,,	8
13 Bheedhah, ...	4½	46	19	1	19	11	,,	,,	,,	,,	42
14 Kuneerah, ...	55	63	10	7	10	7	,,	,,	,,	,,	26
15 Nyapoorah, ...	,,	11	,,	11	,,	4	,,	,,	,,	,,	15
16 Heekleapoorah, ...	2	18	4	2	4	6	,,	,,	,,	,,	23
17 Simralee, ...	3	44	,,	2	,,	13	,,	,,	,,	,,	49
Total of Rajghur.	46½	470	9	41	9	122	By Computation.				462
Dependancies of BURJOOR *&* HULLY SINGH											
1 Kolah Dhye, ...	2	20	,,	,,	,,	2	,,	,,	,,	,,	8
2 Peeplah, ...	6	45	10	,,	10	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	29
3 Belajoorah, ...	,,	2	15	2	15	6	,,	,,	,,	,,	23
4 Tulla Panee, ...	2½	22	9	,,	9	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	29
5 Maulee Poorah, ...	2	16	14	,,	14	4	,,	,,	,,	,,	15
Total	12½	107		4	8	28	By Computation.				104

No. 3. Continued.

No. 3.—*Continued.*

DEPENDANCY OF HIMMUT SING.	No. of Ploughs the property of each Village	Quantity ploughed and cultivated.		Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs		No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Total.
		Beghs.	Beswas	Beghs.	Beswas				Male.	Female.	
1 Byroo Ghaut.	1	10	9	1	2	5	"	"	"	"	19
Dependancy of SEO SINGH, *of Neemkerah*											
1 Neemkerau, ...	3	....	....	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	34
2 Kooah, ...	6	....	....	....	....	10	....	....	....	....	38
3 Beerpoor, ...	5	....	....	....	....	10	....	....	....	....	38
4 Searee, ...	2	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	19
5 Baldee Kherah, ...	1	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	19
6 Boonee Mal, ...	0	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	8
7 Gowalee, ...	2	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	15
8 Peerbutpoorah, ...	3	....	....	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	34
9 Jooua Pauee, ...	9	....	....	....	....	19	....	....	....	....	72
10 Saonge, ...	14	....	....	....	....	30	....	....	....	....	113
11 Macuakheree, ...	2	....	....	....	....	6	....	...	....	....	23
12 Amkah, ...	2	....	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....	29
13 Arındiah, ...	7	....	....	....	....	14	....	....	....	....	53
14 Khurkiah, ...	3	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	19
15 Kooshalghur, ...	2	....	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....	29
16 Burree Burrah, ...	8	....	....	....	....	22	....	....	....	....	83
17 Chotah Burrah, ...	3	....	....	....	....	13	....	....	....	....	49
18 Waklee Burree, ...	6	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	19
19 Chotee Waklee, ...	3	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	15
20 Peethapoorah, ...	4	....	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	56
Total of Seo Singh's.	85	1028*	12	"	"	203	By Computation.				765

* The average of Land ploughed in all the rest of the Bheel dependancies, is taken for the aggregate quantity cultivated in this tract, calculating by the number of Ploughs

No. 3. *Continued.*

No. 3.—Continued.

NAMES OF VILLAGES, HAMLETS, &c.	No. of Ploughs the property of each Village	Quantity ploughed and cultivated. Beghs.	Quantity ploughed and cultivated. Beswas	Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs. Beghs.	Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs. Beswas	No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children. Male.	Children. Female.	Total.
Dependancies of BHARUT SINGH.											
1 Kuchawidah, ...	5	....	....	...	....	21	..	..	..	..	80
2 Garaghaut, ...	5	....	....	....	....	10	..	..	..	..	38
3 Bookooah, ...	5	....	....	....	....	10	..	..	..	..	38
4 Deweepoorah, ...	8	....	....	....	....	14	..	..	..	..	53
5 Bhowawidah, ...	15	....	....	....	....	24	..	..	..	..	91
6 Khaudpoorah, ...	0	....	....	....	....	3	..	..	..	..	11
7 Jhuggupoorah, ...	7	....	....	....	....	9	..	..	..	..	34
8 Sadieghee, ...	3	....	....	....	....	3	..	..	..	..	11
9 Kamtha, ...	7	....	....	....	....	17	..	..	..	..	64
10 Neemtokah, ...	1	....	....	....	....	3	..	..	..	..	11
Total of Bharut Singh's.	56	*677	12	"	"	114	By	Computation.			431
Dependancies of KALAPANEE.	3	36	9	4	9	12	..	..	..	..	45
2 Bheeperee Mal, ...	2	29	8	3	18	11	..	..	..	..	41
3 Deweecha Mahul, ...	3	43	13	6	13	14	..	..	..	..	53
4 Nanaghattee, ...	1	23	0	2	0	4	..	..	..	..	15
5 Deeplee Mal, ...	6	80	0	7	2	16	..	..	..	..	60
6 Pudmaee Chouk, ...	2	27	11	1	16	3	..	..	..	..	11
7 Monunpoor, ...	0	46	3	46	3	39	..	..	..	..	147
Total,	17	286	4	72	1	99	"	"	"	"	372

No. 3. Continued.

No. 3.—Continued.

DEPENDANCIES OF BOOMIAH SAWUD SINGH.	No. of ploughs the property of each village	Quantity ploughed and cultivated.		Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs		No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Total.
		Beghs	Beswas	Beghs.	B.swas				Male.	Female.	
1 Jeenpoorah, ...	5	62	„	„	„	4	......	......	......	......	15
2 Bundi ttiah, ...	3	44	„	„	„	6	......	......	......	......	23
3 Dewee Bawarre, ...	4	17	10	2	10	5	......	......	......	......	19
4 Pauthi, ...	5	63	10	„	10	10	....	......	......	......	33
5 Ramgnur, ...	3	37	12	„	10	5	....	......	......	......	19
6 Bheewapoorah, ...	5	67	10	„	10	15	......	......	......	......	57
7 Kowree Mowiee, ...	11	131	„	8	„	24	......	......	......	......	90
8 Mahadeopoorah, ...	3	65	„	„	„	5	......	......	......	......	19
9 Jamunah, ...	5	62	„	„	„	9	......	......	......	......	34
Total	44	[illegible]80	2	6	10	83	By	Computation.			314
Dependancies of NAULCHA.											
1 Oornniah, ...	10	107	19	11	16	35	„	„	„	„	„
2 Soulee Buldee, ...	„	5	13	6	13	9	„	„	„	„	„
3 Jhirinah, ...	1	14	3	3	10	5	„	„	„	„	„
4 Deeplee Mal, ...	1	27	7	13	7	18	„	„	„	„	„
5 Kolhrah, ...	1	4	„	„	„	2	„	„	„	„	„
6 Kawopadiah, ...	1	15	2	6	2	11	„	„	„	„	„
7 Keerae, ...	„	2	14	2	14	1	„	„	„	„	„
8 Pautree Bouriah, ...	4	52	7	8	12	15	„	„	„	„	„
9 Sikarpoorah, ...	„	„	16	„	16	8	„	„	„	„	„
10 Komdah.	2	22	13	„	10	5	„	„	„	„	„
11 Golpoorah, ...	4	45	6	„	12	7	„	„	„	„	„
12 Googlee, ...	3	57	14	7	„	13	„	„	„	„	„
Total	27	[illegible]35	14	59	12	129	By	Computation.			488

No. 3. Continued.

No. 3.—Continued.

MUNDROOP SINGH'S DEPENDANCIES.	No. of Ploughs the property of each Village	Quantity ploughed and cultivated.		Portion of land ploughed by hired ploughs.		No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Total.
		Beghs.	Beswas	Beghs.	Beswas				Male.	Female.	
1 Bharoodpoorah, ...	4	62	,,	,,	,,	16	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
2 Bhurkiah, ...	8½	51	10	1	,,	7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
3 Sewaree, ...	7	104	18	2	8	12	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
4 Ambapoorah, .. .	10	142	2	9	2	25	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
5 Bhaudah K,ho, ...	6	75	4	3	4	9	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
6 Musheed Poorah, ...	2	70	,,	40	,,	1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Total	37½	505	14	55	14	70	By Computation.				264
KHOMAN SINGH'S DEPENDANCY.											
1 Hohlee Mal, ...	12	157	,,	,,	,,	15	,,	,,	,,	,,	57
KHOOPAH BELALAH'S DEPENDANCY.											
1 Baugmarah, ...	12	172	10	,,	10	16	,,	,,	,,	,,	60
Managed by Cheyn Singh and Futteh Singh.											
1 Jehangheerpoor, Hired Cultivators, ...	18	277	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	......	......	......	
2 Purnspoorah, ditto, ...	2	40		,,	,,		......	......	......	......	
3 Sudmabad, ...	16	195	14	5	14	25	......	......	......	......	
Total,	36	512	14	5	14	25	,,	,,	,,	,,	90

No. 3.—*Continued.*

ABSTRACT OF STATEMENT.	No. of Ploughs the property of each Village.	Quantity ploughed and cultivated.		Portion of land ploughed by hired Ploughs.		No. of Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Total.
		Beghs.	Beswas	Beghs.	Beswas				Male.	Female.	
20 Parabs of Nadir Bheel, ...	32½	275	5	19	15	143	173	174	125	67	539
17 Ditto of Rajghur, ...	46½	470	9	44	9	122		By Computation.			462
5 Ditto of Kotah Dhye, ...	12½	107	8	4	8	28	"	"	"	"	104
1 Ditto of Byrooghaut, ...	1	10	9	1	2	5	"	"	"	"	19
20 Ditto of Neemkerah, ...	85	1028	12	By comparison		203	"	"	"	"	765
10 Ditto of Kychawidah, ...	56	677	12	"	"	114	"	"	"	"	431
7 Ditto of Kala Panee, ...	17	286	4	72	1	99	"	"	"	"	372
9 Ditto of Teeteepoorah, ...	44	580	2	6	10	83	"	"	"	"	314
12 Ditto of Naulcha, ...	27	335	14	59	12	129	"	"	"	"	488
6 Ditto of Bharoodpoorah, ...	37½	505	14	55	14	70	"	"	"	"	264
1 Ditto of Hohlee Mal, ...	12	177	"	"	"	15	"	"	"	"	57
1 Ditto of Baugmarah, ...	12	172	10	"	10	16	"	"	"	"	60
3 Managed by Chyn Singh, &c.	36	512	14	5	14	25	"	"	"	"	90
112 Grand Total,	419	5119	13	269	15	1052	"	"	"	"	3965

PART THIRTEENTH.

CONTRASTED VIEW OF MALWA IN A. D. 1817 & 1820.

1. The former condition of Malwa has been very fully given in the preceding parts of the Report; but it will be useful to take a short retrospect of the power of its Rulers and Chiefs, and the condition of their territories in 1817, when the British armies entered the province; and by contrasting their past with their present state, and giving a minute account of the means taken to introduce and maintain order and good government, we shall be enabled to bring the whole effects of the great change, which has taken place, into one view, and to estimate more correctly, than we otherwise could, the results that have followed that interference, to which we have been compelled, in the affairs of Central India.

2. The political situation of Dowlut Row Scindiah, at the close of A. D. 1817, has been fully described, as well as his disposition towards the British Government, by the presence of whose armies he was at that memorable epoch forced to abandon his cherished prospects, and to become, at the very moment he was recognised as its most powerful Chief, the marked deserter of the cause of his nation. It only remains to notice his past and present military means and the condition of his districts in Malwa.

3. His army* in A. D. 1817 consisted of about twenty-six thousand regular Infantry, thirteen thousand Cavalry, and three hundred and ninety-

six

* The Army of Dowlut Row Scindiah was computed in 1817 at fifteen thousand five hundred horse and thirteen thousand regular infantry, with a train of light Artillery; attached to which there

was

six pieces of cannon. There was, besides these, a large body of Pindarries who gave him general obedience, and a number of garrison and local corps and guns in different fortresses. Only a few of the latter were of much strength. Asseerghur had perhaps the best defences, Gwalior next. Both these are hill forts, as are Powaghur, Nerwur, Chanderee, Ragooghur, Bujrunghur, and Rathghur;—while Sheopoor, Esaghur and Gohud are upon the plain. There were likewise several other places of strength, but of less importance than those mentioned, belonging to this Ruler.

4. The territories of SCINDIAH, though not so desolate as those of HOLKAR, were in a disturbed and deteriorated state. The army and military adherents of that Ruler were sufficiently disposed to war with the British Government, the progress of whose influence and power they justly viewed as tending to their reduction; but the cultivators of the soil, and the Rajpoot Chiefs, who recognized him as their sovereign looked anxiously for any change that could bring relief from distress and oppression.

5. The army of HOLKAR in 1817 consisted of about ten thousand infantry,* fifteen thousand horse, and one hundred field guns. This was independent of Pindarries, Sebundies and garrisons. The strongest forts belonging to this State were, Galna and Chandore, in Candeish; Hinglaisghur, in Malwa; and Scindwa, in Nemaur. In all of these, but particularly the latter, there were a number of cannon.

6. The territories of the HOLKAR State presented in 1817, without the exception of a single district, one scene of desolation and anarchy, in which

was a proportionate number of Golundauze for about three hundred guns. This was independent of large guns in park, local corps of horse and foot employed for the collection of revenue and maintaining peace, and a number of loose corps of Pindarries and others.

Vide Captain CLOSE's Correspondence.

* Fourteen Battalions in Malwa, and two in Mewar.

which there was an absence of almost all government. There were, however, a few links that held together the loose materials of which this State was composed; and towards the end of A. D. 1817 the military part took a more formidable and united shape, from the approaching crisis, than it had known for some time.

7. The army of AMEER KHAN had been long separate from that of HOLKAR. It was fully equal to the latter in strength, as it consisted of eight thousand regular infantry, twenty thousand horse, and about two hundred guns, a few brigades of which were drawn by horses. The lands belonging to this Chief in Malwa were in rather a better state than those of HOLKAR. This was owing to the Patan being much dreaded by the Chiefs of those predatory bands, which lived at large upon the unprotected part of the province.

8. ZALIM SINGH, the Regent of Kotah, had in 1817 an army consisting of twelve thousand infantry, four thousand horse, and upwards of one hundred field guns. This regular, well-paid, and well-equipped force was independent of two thousand Rajpoots, (of whom three hundred are horse) who owe service to the State of Kotah, as also of the Sebundy of the country, and the garrisons of his numerous forts, which were all well furnished with cannon. The principal of these are Kotah,* (which

* The Chumbul, here unfordable, covers the western face. The greatest length of the town is from south to north.

The city wall which surrounds the habitations, particularly to the east, is the most substantial in the north of India; the diameter of the base of the Larpoorah bastion cannot be less than seventy yards. The north is where this is most substantial, in the South the least so, and incomplete. Guns are mounted throughout, but merely sufficient for salutes; there is no want of good brass cannon, and I hear there are at least one hundred in the city.

The ground at a little distance, particularly along the eastern face, forms a natural glacis; to take a position between the crest of this swelling ridge and the walls would hazard destruction. At the north-east angle, a lake covers one half of that flank of the city: in the dry weather it is fordable.

(which is a fortified town) Shahabad,* Gangroun,† Sheaghur,‡ and Narghur.§ There are besides these a number of Ghurries,‖ or lesser fortifications, in the territories of Kotah, which are or have been the residence of the numerous petty Chiefs who owe allegiance to the Rajah. The territories of this principality were, from causes before mentioned, in a very prosperous state, and rendered more striking, from the condition of the neighbouring countries.

9. The Prince of Bhopaul was in 1817 almost limited to the possession of his fortified capital,¶ and the forts of Ambapaunee,** Rahseen†† Gunnoorghur,

* Shahabad is situated on the very verge of the table land of Harowtee. Much labor has been expended on a natural cleft, which in some degree separates it from the main land. The descent from the *Steppe* to the table land below is about three hundred and fifty feet. Shahabad is well fortified, with a substantial wall and bastions, but being in a line with the terroplain of Harowty would be untenable against mortars. The town underneath is situated in a re-entering angle of the range, and is perfectly secured by the fort. A small rivulet runs below it. It is well garrisoned, in complete repair, and is the personal Jaghier of Madhoo Sing, being actually not considered an appendage of the Maha Rao's, but the personal acquisition and property of Zalim Singh.

† Gangroun is the best fort in the Kotah territories. It is situated at the confluence of the Kale-Soind and Ao rivers. A river runs to the north of the fort, and to the south a cut has been effected, which in the rains, at least, isolates it. The walls are strong and substantial and cost several lacs of rupees. It is an ancient place, and was the Rajisthan of the *Keelchees*, when they first emigrated from Johib, which with Mhow also belonged to them. Gangroun is in the southern skirt of Harowtee Proper.

‡ Sheaghur is next in the scale, on a gentle eminence and with good walls, but could be easily breached; the works are in perfect repair, and mount several guns.

§ Narghur, a small fort of six bastions on the Purbutty; but I believe mounts no guns, and is in no estimation.

‖ Hurry-Gurh, Indur-Gurh, Gyntah, and Antedah, have all Ghurries, which are in good order, and repairs are constantly going on.

¶ The fortress of Bhopaul is called Futtyghur; it is extensive, with high and strong walls, but has no ditch, and but imperfect defences.

** Ambapaunee, a small but strong fort, in very good order, about fifteen miles from Rahseen.

†† Rahseen, a very extensive hill fort, in good order; one angle of the hill, however, appears tolerably accessible.

Gunnoorghur,* and Chokeyghur,† and his force consisted of about fifteen hundred horse and twelve hundred irregular infantry.

10. The Jaghiers of the PAISHWAH, and some belonging to southern Mahratta Chiefs in Malwa, were unprotected, and consequently in A. D. 1817 might be numbered among the most deteriorated in that province; a few Sebundees were their only defence, and these were hardly equal to oppose common plunderers.

11. The state of Dhar in 1817 could hardly be said to exist, except in name, as a Government. Its territories had been usurped or laid waste, and the Regent BAE, with her minor son, were at the head of eight or ten thousand horse and foot, who subsisted wholly upon plunder. The Puar Rajahs of Dewas had lost Sarungpore, while the countries left to them produced little revenue, and that had been for years collected, as the season came, by Pindarries and other freebooters.

12. The condition of the Rajahs of Banswarrah, Dongerpore, Purtaubghur, Rutlam, Seeta Mow, Jabooah, Amjerah, and all others of this class, was nearly similar; and their distress was aggravated by the means they took to avert it: for, in almost all cases, the foreign mercenaries they employed to secure them from the Mahrattas proved still greater enemies. The revenues of their territories were reduced to the lowest ebb, and it was in some of these principalities difficult to understand how the inhabitants could subsist; but there was still some protection near

* Gunnoorghur, a hill fortress of considerable extent and strength, and difficult to be assailed, from there being no water except at a small well, within some miles of it.—This fort is considered as almost impregnable by the natives. It has been constantly undergoing repairs and additions, and is now in the best order. It is situated about fifteen miles from Hussingabad. Gunnoorghur is used as a state prison, from whence criminals, once sent, are seldom if ever removed.

† Chokeyghur, a strong and extensive hill fortress, but less than Gunnoorghur, situated within a few miles of Chynpoor Baree. Lieutenant JOHNSON, who has seen the fort, reports that it would be assailed with difficulty. The late Nawaub NUZZUR MAHOMED was continually engaged in repairing and improving the works.

near towns and walled villages. The latter, which were not common in Malwa, have multiplied greatly during the late troubles, and were sufficiently fortified to keep out horse and ordinary plunderers. It was only in those tracts that were near the Vindhya range and the Nerbuddah, where the Pindarries, Goands, and Bheels dwelt, that hundreds of villages were to be seen deserted and roofless ;* for with these barbarous tribes no contribution could redeem the defenceless from violence, nor was any pledge of faith, however sacred, to be trusted. There were, however, amid these scenes grades of suffering among the inhabitants of Malwa, who still clung to the soil, and those who dwelt in the southern districts of that province had the choice of association with their oppressors or of exile. A great proportion chose the former, and became active intruments in spreading the desolation by which they had been ruined.

13. The contrast presented by a review of the condition of Malwa in 1820, to what it was three years before, will appear almost incredible to every person who has not contemplated, upon the spot, the rapid

* This tract of country might almost be said to have been usurped by wild beasts, who literally fought with the returning inhabitants for their fields. I had detached Captain AMBROSE to protect the countries near Oonchode and Bauglee, and hearing accounts of the ravages of tigers in his vicinity, I directed that Officer to transmit a specific account of the number of men killed, within the year 1818, by these animals near the villages in his neighbourhood. The following is his statement :

At Oonchode, ...	39
Bauglee, ...	17
Bhyre and Gorara, ...	8
Argooley, ...	15
Choussy, ...	5—84

And two travellers wounded mortally between Ragooghur and Kurnawud, making a total number of eighty-six. Capt. AMBROSE, in the memorandum he transmitted to me, mentions the names of the individuals killed and the villages they belonged to.

A subsequent statement from an intelligent native swelled this amount of men killed to about one hundred and fifty. A number, but much fewer, lost their lives in 1819, and last year hardly one. In many other parts of this country, the tigers have been as formidable to the returning population as near Bauglee.

rapid progress of the change, and studied the causes by which it has been produced.

14. The last campaign in Malwa was not an attack upon a State, or on a body of men, but upon a system. It was order contending against anarchy, and the first triumph was so complete, that there ceased almost from the moment to be any who cherished hopes of the contest being either prolonged or revived: the victory gained was slight, comparatively speaking, over armies, to what it was over mind. That general distress which a series of revolutions must ever generate, had in Malwa gone its circle, and reached all ranks and all classes. The most barbarous of those who subsisted by plunder had found, that a condition of continued uncertainty and alarm could not be one of enjoyment. There were left among the unsettled and divided states, and inhabitants of this province, no national feelings, no confidence, no one principle of union. But when a government too strong to be resisted took military possession of their territories, (with acknowledged power to keep them) it proclaimed every district to be the right of its proprietor, on the simple condition of his proving himself the friend of peace and good order. When men found that the choice between such a course, and that of continuing the promoters of anarchy, was an option between the friendship or hostility of that Government, no one hesitated. There appeared in a few a difficulty of conquering habits, but in none a spirit of opposition. The very reduced state of the country was favorable to the change, for it presented an ample field for the revived industry of peaceful occupations; but the paramount influence, which the results of the war gave to the British Government over some of the resuscitated States of Malwa, was the leading cause of the rapid restoration of that Province. Its officers were enabled to

to give shape and direction to the efforts of these States, which became an example to others; and that tone of improvement was given to the whole, that has worked a complete revolution in the condition of Central India. This, however, to be understood, must be more minutely described.

15. Dowlut Row Scindiah has already derived a double benefit from the change, in the reduction of his army, and the encrease of his revenue. The former has been considerably reduced since A. D. 1817. The whole of this Ruler's force does not now exceed thirteen thousand regular infantry, and nine thousand horse. The artillery continues much the same, but the local horse and Sebundies have been decreased more than one half in numbers; and there is not left one of those loose corps, commanded by insubordinate Chiefs, which formerly belonged to that Prince, and which were beyond all others destructive to the resources of his country. The saving to Dowlut Row Scindiah in actual expenditure, from reductions alone, cannot be less than twenty lacs of rupees per annum; and it is difficult to calculate the amount of money and tranquillity gained by the extinction of leaders, like Bappoo Scindiah, Jeswunt Row Bhow, and other Chiefs, who commanded these bodies of his army, which were at once the most useless, insubordinate and expensive. In A. D. 1817 there was not one district belonging to Scindiah in Malwa, that was not, more or less, in a disturbed state. In A. D. 1820 there is not one enemy to the public peace. The progress of improvement in his territories differs in every part, but it is general. In the countries of Mundissore and Nolye, which were throughout preserved in comparative tranquillity, the advance of the revenue has not been more than ten or fifteen per cent. within the last three years; while the city and districts of Oujein, which border upon it,

it, have risen within that period from a rent of about one lac and twenty five thousand rupees, in 1817, to one of nearly three lacs. That of Bhilsa is still greater. It rented in 1817 for forty * thousand rupees, and yields this year two and a half lacs of rupees.

16. On the whole of SCINDIAH's territories in Malwa, we may safely compute a rise of about twenty five per cent. on the revenue, and a deduction of at least fifteen in the expences of its collection; that does not now exceed twenty-five per cent. but still the system of forestalling the revenue exists in full force, producing as much loss to the ruler as oppression to the subject. The whole of SCINDIAH's possessions in western Malwa are in a state of repose. The excesses of DHOKUL SINGH, which for the last two years disturbed the district of Ragooghur, are terminated by his being made prisoner, and the clamours of the mutinous infantry (lately under the command of BAPTISTE) are stopped for the moment. In short, the country of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH enjoys, at this period, as much tranquillity as can be obtained under such a system of rule. Many Ryuts who had been induced to take shelter in his territories, from their affording comparatively more safety than those of other Rulers, have gone to their native districts; but their places have been more than supplied by distressed and disbanded soldiers, who have returned to their former occupation as cultivators, or adopted from necessity habits of industry. In the territories of this Ruler few villages were

roofless,

* CUNDEE ROW was the renter; this fact was stated to me by his Karkoon ANTAJEE.

roofless, as was the case in those of HOLKAR and other less powerful States; but many were reduced to four or five families. The number of inhabitants of all these, as well as of the towns, has been encreased, but in no proportion equal to that of HOLKAR and the possessions of the Chiefs of the Puar family, whose recovery from a state of desolation and ruin to one of prosperity has been rapid in an extraordinary degree.

17. The numbers of the army of the HOLKAR State in 1817 have been given; the battalions which were defeated and dispersed at Mahidpore have never been re-embodied, and two hundred men to guard the palace are all the Infantry now in the service of that Prince. Three thousand Horse are still kept up, and the Artillery amounts to thirteen guns, of which eleven were presented by the English Government from among those captured at Mahidpore.

18. The revenues of HOLKAR, from his possessions in Malwa and Nimaur, were in *A. D. 1817* four lacs, forty-one thousand, six hundred and seventy-nine rupees. In A. D. 1819-20 they are sixteen lacs, ninety-six thousand, one hundred and eighty-three. The expences of collection were three years ago from thirty-five to forty per cent.; they do not now exceed fifteen per cent., there being in fact hardly any Sebundy kept up, and the proximity of the British troops, with the knowledge of the support and protection which that Government affords to the HOLKAR territories, has hitherto proved ample to preserve them in tranquillity. Nothing can, however, convey so complete an idea of the rapid resuscita-

tion

tion of this State as the annexed Table,* which exhibits in one view the villages in its different Pergunnahs that have been re-inhabited since 1817. From this official document it appears, that of three thousand seven hundred and one Khalsa villages, which belong to the present possessions

* Table, exhibiting the progress of restoration of villages in HOLKAR's actual possession from 1874 Sumbhut A. D. 1817 to 1877, A. D. 1820.

MAHALS, &c. &c.	*Number of Villages.*	*Assigned Villages.*	*Balance Khalsa Villages.*	*Villages inhabited in 1874*	*Villages uninhabited in 1874.*	*Villages restored in 1875.*	*Villages restored in 1876.*	*Villages restored in 1877.*	*Balance uninhabited Villages.*
Rampoorah, viz. 731 Khalsa Villages, 37 Assigned	768	110	658	417	241	80	38	73	50
Nandroye,	26	2	24	23	1	0	0	0	1
Nurrainghur,	51	1	50	50	0	0	0	0	0
Sundhara,	12	0	12	12	0	0	0	0	0
Soreil,	32	4	28	20	8	4	4	0	0
Raepore,	24	1	23	23	0	0	0	0	0
Jeiapore,	76	1	75	44	31	16	15	0	0
Machepore,	73	2	71	44	27	13	14	0	0
Kotry,	24	0	24	20	4	4	0	0	0
Turana,	175	3	172	156	16	0	16	0	0
Kulah,	22	1	21	13	8	3	5	0	0
Jawur,	120	8	112	97	15	15	0	0	0
Mahidpore,	240	8	232	225	7	4	3	0	0
Depalpore,	150	2	148	136	12	10	0	0	2
Indore,	362	8	354	248	106	5	25	45	31
Baitmah,	42	0	42	31	11	6	5	0	0
Katkote,	81	0	81	0	84	0	9	60	15
Ranilpore,	32	1	31	17	14	4	4	0	6
Alumpore,	25	0	25	25	0	0	0	0	0
Sundary, viz. 2 Scindiah's Sahay, 6 Puhar Sahay, 2 Holkar Sahay, 1 Kusbah Sahay,	11	1	10	10	0	0	0	0	0
Choley Shuhains, 44 Shuhains, 20 Choley, 20 Bugdanne, 4 Kurrye,	88	7	81	33	48	5	24	5	14
Nimawur,	268½	8	260½	71½	189	23	64	75	27
Bissaghur, viz. 1032 Bijaghurpore, 45 Burrode, 66 Aaguiwara, 61 Sindwa, 31 Brammgadu,	1225	85	1140	299	841	77	117	250	397
Narrainghur, viz. 1 Sehory, 1½ Tullain,	1½	0	1½	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chundore,	9	0	9	9	0	0	0	0	0
Argur Dewlah,	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Kailwarah Kolah,	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Walgadu,	9	0	9	9	0	0	0	0	0
Total,	3954	253	3701	2038	1663	269	343	508	543

sessions of HOLKAR, there were in 1817 only two thousand and thirty-eight inhabited, sixteen hundred and sixty-three were deserted, or, as the natives emphatically term it, without lamp.* In 1818 two hundred and sixty-nine villages were restored. In 1819 three hundred and forty-three, and in this year five hundred and eight, leaving only five hundred and forty-three deserted; and there can be no doubt, that these will, within three years, be re-populated. It is true that in many of these eleven hundred and twenty villages, which have been restored within this short period, there are in some only a few houses with inhabitants, but, in almost all, the native hereditary officers, such as Putteil and Putwarree, have returned; cultivation is commenced, and will annually encrease.

19. The administration of HOLKAR's territories is good, and all the intelligence and energy of a native government is at present well directed to the encrease of its resources, by the most legitimate means, and the industry of its subjects. The class of cultivators in this country has had, and continues to have, numbers of recruits, from the encouragement given; and the Minister, TANTIAH JOGH, is himself now of opinion that the condition of the HOLKAR territories in Malwa will within five years be prosperous beyond what has ever been known even in the days of AHLIA BAE. An account of the encreased population has been given,—that of Indore is surprising. This city has within the short space of three years changed from a desolate town to a plentiful capital.

20. The Puar States of Dhar and Dewass, whose territories had been equally depopulated with those of HOLKAR, present, when viewed in contrast between the years 1820 and 1817, an equally pleasing picture. The revenues of the Dhar State were last year two lacs and sixty-seven thousand, and in 1817, when the British troops entered Malwa,

* See Cheragh.

Malwa, they certainly were not twenty thousand rupees. In that year this petty State had a predatory army of eight thousand men; it has now a well-paid body of nearly three hundred horse, and eight hundred irregulars and Sebundees. The restoration of villages in this country is exhibited in the annexed Table,* and presents an encrease as great in proportion to the extent as that of HOLKAR, and indeed in some Pergunnahs, as that of Dharumpooree on the Nerbuddah, much greater; for that fine district has been wholly reclaimed from desolation. The administration of this petty State is conducted by BAPPOO RUGHONAUTH, who, acting in complete confidence of meriting and receiving the support of the British Government, is incessant in his labors to restore the country to prosperity. He is emulated in his efforts by SUCCURAM BAPPOO, the Brahmin Dewan of the two Rajahs of Dewas.

21. The

* Table, exhibiting the progress of restoration of villages in the petty State of Dhar, from A. D. 1817 to A. D. 1820.

MAHALS, &c. &c.	No of villages.	Villages inhabited in 1817	Villages deserted in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818	Villages restored in 1819	Villages restored in 1820.	Villages remaining uninhabited.
Dhurumpooree,	138		138	20	2	13	103
Bulkier,	26		26	4	3	6	13
Nalcha,	55	1	54	4	3	2	45
Kooksee,	52½	25	27½			10	17½
Lahoree,	22½	10	12½			10	2½
Sultaunpore,	57		57		10	11	36*
Total	351	36	315	28	18	52	217

N. B. The Pergunnah of Budnawur has continued in the same state it is at present in, for many years past, owing to the protection of SCINDIAH, who held it throughout the worst period of anarchy.

* Nineteen of the desolate villages in Sultanpore have been re-peopled within the last two months, which leaves only seventeen desolate.

21. The territories of these two Princes in 1817 were reduced to a revenue of ten thousand rupees. They collected last year one lac, nine thousand, three hundred and seventy-five rupees. In 1817 they had only a few followers; they now keep one hundred and fifty horse, and two hundred foot, a small party of which act in aid of the general peace, with the contingent maintained in Soandwarrah. Dewass, which was almost deserted, is again a populous town; and within the small territories of these Chiefs no less than one hundred and forty-one villages have been re-peopled* since A. D. 1817, and their revenue promises in a very few years to exceed any amount they have ever reached since under the present family of rulers. The same spirit of improvement, grounded on the pleasing contrast of their past and present condition, and their confidence of continued support from the British Government, pervades the governments of HOLKAR and the two States of the PUARS.

22. The principality of Kotah is less changed by the late revolution than any other in Malwa. The districts of Gungrar, Dug, Putchpahar and Ahor, granted to this State by the treaty of Mundissore, were in a disturbed state, but have partaken of the benefits of restored tranquillity. The extraordinary talent of *ZALIM SINGH* had, as has been fully shewn, derived

* Table exhibiting the progress of restoration of villages in the Dewass State, from A. D. 1817 to A. D 1820.

NAMES OF PERGUNNAHS, &c. &c.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Total of villages restored
Dewasss,	130	24	70	94
Sarungpore,	41	2	11	13
Allote,	60	1	17	18
Ringrode,	21	7	3	10
Talook of Gurgoocha,	15	1	5	6
Total	267	35	106	141

derived profit to his territories from the distressed state of those of his neighbours. He had gained not only cultivators, but the power of exacting to the utmost from the produce of their industry. The general restoration of peace and good order has caused him to lose population in a degree beyond what he has gained by the dissolution of the predatory bands in Malwa; and he has been compelled to stop emigration, by a great relaxation of his severe system of collection. To give more effect to such measures, as well as to conciliate the English Government, he has publicly proclaimed* his intention of abolishing in future all exactions from the subjects of that Government over which he presides. The subtle old Ruler even talks of erecting pillars in every district to perpetuate this act: on the whole, therefore, it may be pronounced, that, if the revenues of this Government are not improved since 1817, the condition of the inhabitants, particularly the cultivators, is so, in a very essential degree.

23. The Army of Kotah is, in 1820, of much the same strength as it was in 1817. A strong corps of Infantry was reduced in this latter year, and no other was since raised in its place; but the remainder of Zalim Singh's force is maintained in the same efficient manner it has been since he became Regent.

24. The revenue and forces of Bhopaul in 1817 have been noticed. Its Rulers were then a family of Chiefs at the head of a colony of their tribe struggling for existence, and the small army it maintained to protract the contest called for an expenditure far beyond their means. Bhopaul is now a substantial State in Malwa, with territories encreased by the liberality and friendship of the British Government, whose object has been to give it as much consideration, and power, as its most prosperous Princes ever enjoyed.

25. The

* Vide Captain Tod's correspondence.

25. The revenues of last year (1820) may be computed at nine lacs of rupees, and the country is in a state of rapid* improvement. The [illegible] forces

* Table, exhibiting the progress of restoration of villages in the possession of the Nawaub of Bhopaul from 1874 Sumbhut A. D. 1817 to 1877 A. D. 1820.

MAHALS, &c. &c.	No of Villages.	Assigned Villages.	Balance Khalsa Villages.	Villages inhabited in 1874.	Villages uninhabited in 1874.	Villages restored in 1875.	Villages restored in 1876.	Villages restored in 1877.	Balance uninhabited Villages.
Bhopaul,	43	2[illegible]	23	0	23	0	0	4	19
Bhowrie,	81	2[illegible]	58	0	58	0	0	2	56
Bunchore,	28	8	20	20	0	0	0	0	0
Chitchullie,	21	0	21	0	21	5	0	7	9
Barhee,	221	81	140	42	98	31	40	15	12
Bareilley,	55	8	4	47	0	0	0	0	0
Chokeyghur,	174	57	117	2	115	1	1[illegible]	8	71
Kurgere,	88	23	65	15	50	0	0	0	50
Beaikairee,	24	0	24	24	0	0	0	0	0
Kamkherah,	12	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Droseepoorah,	74	32	42	33	9	0	0	0	9
Oodeypoor,	105	35	70	69	1	0	0	0	1
Taul,	313	313	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peeklore,	13	0	1	0	1[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	2
Draha,	44	41	3	0	3	0	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sehore,	8	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jehtahree,	49	43	6	0	6	0	6	0	0
Sewass, Ghrutgune, Betwandee, Purrareah, Jureah, Bussodey, Jheennee,	434	19	415	15	400	89	5[illegible]	108	151
Sumsghur,	77	20	57	37	20	0	0	0	20
Shujawulpoor,	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ramghur Goboreah,	125	100	25	5	20	0	0	[illegible]	15
Goolgaon,	130	81	49	39	10	0	0	0	10
Sulwaney,	209	126	83	20	63	0	10	14	39
Ramgurh Bummorey,	124	10	114	21	93	[illegible]	1[illegible]	3	69
Muidnnpoor Kallah,	302	159	143	56	8[illegible]	17	11	[illegible]	60
Chippaneer Gopalpoor,	85	4	81	41	40	1	4	0	35
Rasheen,	111	69	42	15	27	0	[illegible]	0	27
Dilhoud,	59	19	40	0	40	[illegible]	7		17
Ambapanee,	81	14	67	20	47	0	23	9	15
Mahulpoor,	11	43	67	42	2	0	0	0	26
Sancheit,	91	22	69	68	[illegible]	0	0	0	1
Sehore,	151	8	14[illegible]	43	10[illegible]	6[illegible]	17	20	[illegible]4
Ashta,	317	73	244	226	1[illegible]	1[illegible]	[illegible]		1
Ichawur,	162	40	122	30	9	34	25	0	33
Davepoorah,	3[illegible]	3	3	0	3	0	0	7	5
Dorahs,	138	8	130	30	10	10	[illegible]	28	[illegible]
Kote Kho,	12	0	1[illegible]	5		1	5	1	0
Satanwaree Chundwar,	21	9	1	1	1[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	10
Grand Total,	4130	1534	259[illegible]	96[illegible]	160[illegible]	302	248	267	813

† The connections and influence of this Chief protected his Jaghiers from that desolation to which other parts of HOLKAR's territories were exposed.

force of this favored ally has been encreased to two thousand horse, of which a great proportion are of a very good description. It numbers four thousand infantry of all classes, with about one hundred and eighty guns, of which thirty-six are field pieces. In addition to the fortresses that were before in possession of the Nabob of Bhopaul, he has, through the mediation of the British Government, obtained Islamghur.

26. The districts belonging to AMEER KHAN, in Malwa are Seronge and Peerawah.—they are both much improved since 1817, but particularly the latter, which is well managed, and has more than doubled its revenue since last year.

27. The Jaghire of GHUFFOOR KHAN has also known a considerable change. Its revenue last year was three lacs seventy-six thousand three hundred and eighty-seven rupees, which gives an encrease of at least fifty thousand rupees since A. D. 1817. Instead of the disorderly body this Chief before maintained, he has now a well-mounted corps of six hundred horse, which are employed under the direction of the English Government to aid in maintaining the general tranquillity of the country.

28. The territories of Dongerpore, Banswarrah and Pertaubghur, have experienced (particularly the two former) as great a change as any in Malwa. The encrease of the revenue has been stated; that of the population and cultivation has been as great in proportion; but it is in the change of the habits of its actual inhabitants, more than their encrease, to which we must look for the restoration of these desolate countries, and that is in rapid and happy progress. The description which has been given of the great change that the three last years have effected in these petty States applies, with a few shades of difference, to all the Rajpoot principalities west and east of the Chumbul. In every one of these the foreign mercenaries have been disbanded, and no troops are employed beyond a few adherents of the family, and some natives of the

country

country as Sebundies. The encrease in revenue and cultivation has been proportionate to the confidence imparted, by the extension to them, of the general protection of the English Government.

29. The numerous Grassiah Chiefs and their adherents, who were in 1817 living at large upon the country, are now (what they have not been for a century) in repose, and will lose, as their habits change, both the inclination and the power of resuming their turbulent courses.

30. The alteration in the condition of Soandwarrah has been noticed, and is perhaps as remarkable as any that has occurred in Malwa. That country, instead of being desolate, presents this year an encrease of as many ploughs as any part of the province; and of the twelve hundred mounted robbers, who in 1817 found shelter in its fastnesses, from whence they plundered the adjoining districts, there is not one who now follows a predatory life.

31. It is equally gratifying to contemplate the extraordinary change which has occurred among the Goands, Bheelalahs and Bheels in the Vindhya range, and along the banks of the Nerbuddah. When the British armies entered Malwa, and so late as February, 1818, that country was not safe for even troops to pass, and till the end of 1818, when the cantonment had been established at Mhow, those robbers and thieves, who had so long desolated this part of Malwa, continued their depredations. In the year 1820 these have not only been repressed, but the vicious and depraved part of the community, by whom they were committed, has become sensible to the blessings of a better course of life; and from the territories of Bhopaul to those of Goozerat along the right bank of the Nerbuddah, and as far as from Hindia to the country of Burwanee on its left, the spirit of industry and improvement has been spread. Men, long noted as the chiefs of plunderers, are now contending for rights belonging to their ancestors, as

hereditary

hereditary cultivators ; new villages are rising every where, and forests long deemed inaccessible are fast clearing on account of the profit derived from the timber required to rebuild towns and cities. Between Jaum and Mandoo, the Bheels, before subject to NADIR SINGH, are cultivating every spot, and their hamlets are rising with a rapidity that gives promise of an early and complete change in the whole face of the country. Many districts in this quarter might be mentioned that are literally recovered from a complete waste. Maunpore, which belongs to SCINDIAH, has not paid revenue for sixty years,—and in 1817 had not one inhabitant, It has now more than twenty families, but none have undergone a greater change within the last few years than the districts of Burdiah and Kaunapore, which are situated on the left bank of the Nerbuddah. By an account taken in 1818, when these came into the possession of the English Government, there was only one inhabited village in Kaunapore, and in Burdiah none. By a report of their state in A. D. 1820, there are fourteen in Kaunapore and thirteen in Burdiah; and it appears in the Company's districts on the Nerbuddah, (which beside the above include Mundlasir and Kusrawud) no less than thirty-one villages have been re-populated within the last two years.

32. These changes in the revenue of States in the amount of industrious inhabitants, and the restoration of towns and villages, are slight and comparatively unimportant to what have been effected in the minds of the inhabitants of Malwa. Never was the reign of terror and anarchy more complete than it existed in 1817 in that Province. No contrast can be more strong than what is now presented. The natives are probably at this moment happier and more contented than they will be hereafter ; their recollection of the dangers and miseries they have endured gives encrease to their enjoyment of present security and comparative

tive good government. A few districts of SCINDIAH's, where misrule still prevails, are in exception; but, take it all in all, there never was a country where the industrious classes of the population were more contented with their condition than they now are in Malwa; nor is this feeling much checked by the moody turbulence of military classes, who have been deprived of their occupation. Almost all of this description, that were actually natives of Malwa, have, in the numerous settlements made, been in one way or another considered; while a great proportion of the foreign mercenaries (who constituted the chief part of the armies of this Province) have been compelled to leave it; nor will these, though they have still correspondence and connections, ever return to disturb its peace, while the measures and principles by which this salutary change has been effected are preserved and supported. It will however be necessary, in order to understand these principles fully, to notice our relations with the Rulers and Chiefs of this Province, and to add an account of every settlement and agreement which we have made, or to which we are guarantee between them and their tributaries, dependants, or subjects. The treaty,* which fixed our present relations with DOWLUT ROW

* This Treaty, consisting of twelve articles, was concluded the 5th day of November, 1817. The principle of this engagement was a common desire in the contracting parties to suppress the predatory system.

Article 1st.—Stipulates for their employing their forces against Pindaries and other freebooters.

2d.—The resumption of all lands granted to Pindaries in Malwa, and stipulates to prevent such ever being again possessed by that class.

3d.—An engagement on the part of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH to expel and destroy the Pindaries, and not to admit them to remain or settle in his territories.

4th.—Stipulates for a contingent of five thousand horse of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH, acting with British troops, and British officers being nominated to act with them as channels of communication with those British officers with whom they may serve. All officers of SCINDIAH to be instructed to aid and co-operate with British forces against the Pindaries.

5th.—All the payments made to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH and his relations to be applied by the British Government to pay his contingent serving with the English army, and the Maha Rajah grants to the English Government his tribute from Kotah, Boondee and Joudpore, to be applied to the same purpose.

6th.

ROW SCINDIAH, was concluded a few days before the British troops entered Malwa, but the short period that has since elapsed has produced a very complete change in the substance, though none has been made in the form, of our connection with that Ruler.

33. Before the battle of Mahidpore APPAH GHUNGADHUR, the principal manager of SCINDIAH's possessions west of the Chumbul, sent a Vakeel to the British head-quarters, praying protection against the predatory bands of HOLKAR and the Pindaries. The kindness and attention shewn to the manager led others to apply, and they were aided in their efforts to preserve and promote the peace of their country, in a degree beyond what the obligations of subsisting treaties demanded. Jawud, which had been taken from JESWUNT ROW BHOW, after being cleared of the

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6th.—The different divisions of SCINDIAH's army to occupy the positions pointed out by the British Government, and not to move without its consent. English officers to be sent, if deemed expedient, to reside with each of these divisions.

7th. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH agrees not to augment his army during the war, unless with the concurrence of the British Government. No officer of his to entertain or harbor Pindaries; any one doing so to be considered as his enemy, and that of the British Government.

8th. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH agrees to surrender the fortresses of Hindia and Asseerghur to the British Government, to be held during the war, and then to be restored. This article contains minute stipulations as to the garrisons, stores, and dependant lands of these fortresses.

9th. Abrogates the 8th article of the Treaty concluded between DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH and the British Government, on the 22d November, 1805, as far as relates to the Rajpoot States of Joudpore, Kotah, Boondee, and other principalities on the left bank of the Chumbul, with which the British Government is declared to be at liberty to treat and form alliances; but this does not extend to any of SCINDIAH's actual dependants in Malwa or Goozerat. The British Government, however, engages, that no connection it forms with any Rajpoot Prince shall affect DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH's established claim to tribute, but that is to be paid through the British Government and SCINDIAH agrees never to interfere in the concerns of these States, except with its concurrency.

10th. In the event of the contracting parties being involved by their operations against the Pindaries in war with any other power and be successful, the English Government, in the event of DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH's zealous performance of his engagements, to make "the most liberal arrangements for the consolidation and encrease of his territories."

11th. Confirms all articles of former engagements, not affected by this treaty.

12th. Specifies number of articles and date of treaty.

the Pindaries, long settled in that town and its dependant districts, was made over to the direct authority of the Court of Gwalior. These events, by restoring peace and encreasing revenue, gave a degree of popularity to the exercise of the English influence and power, which silenced the jealous fears that would at another period have been excited. The arrival of BAPPOO SCINDIAH in A. D. 1819, with an army of plunderers to enforce his claims to tribute upon the Rajahs of Rutlam and Sillanah, led to the arming of all the Rajpoot Chiefs of their family. The interference of the British Government to preserve the peace was solicited by both parties, and engagements were concluded through its mediation, which, while they secured the regular payment of the tribute to SCINDIAH without the expence of collection, expelled his predatory troops from the country, and procured for the British Government the gratitude and allegiance of the petty Rajpoot Rulers, who were emancipated from a tyranny under which they had suffered for nearly a century. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH offered no objections to those settlements, and considerations of convenience, as well as a desire to promote the continued tranquillity of his country, have since led to his approving of similar engagements with the Rajahs of Saonte and Lunewarrah, and to a request that they should be formed with the petty Rajahs of Seeta Mow and Amjerrah.

34. This proceeding amounts to a virtual surrender of supremacy over all SCINDIAH's tributaries west of the Chumbul to the British Government, and an abandonment of that right of ruinous interference in the affairs of these petty States, which has been so long cherished by this Mahratta Ruler as the source of profit, and of large, though indirect, emoluments to himself and his officers. The chief motive, which led to these settlements, was the disturbed state of the countries at the moment they were made, which caused a despair of realizing even just dues under any

other

other course. Similar considerations, and the local weakness of his administration, have induced DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH to solicit the interference of the British Government in the settlement of many of his other Rajpoot dependants, and particularly of those Grassiah Chiefs who have long plundered his country. A detailed account of these settlements will be given: suffice it at present to observe, that they have placed almost all the military classes of the western and southern districts of SCINDIAH'S possessions in Malwa under British control, in a manner that would enable it (should measures ever provoke such an extreme) to employ them for his destruction. Of this, however, he cannot but be sensible, and the conduct he has pursued in other respects would lead to a conclusion, that this Prince (whatever may be the views of some of his discontented Chiefs and adherents) has personally taken a decided line, and having abandoned all idea of ever opposing the British Government is alone anxious to benefit by its friendship: he has, indeed, acting on this principle, not only removed officers* from high charge, against whom representations were made by British authorities, but has refused, even when bribes were offered, to appoint others whom he knew were obnoxious from being bad characters,† and would on that ground be denied that support of the English Government, which is extended to those Chiefs and managers, who shew themselves desirous of maintaining internal peace, and the prosperity of the country. DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH has, in short, without any formal obligations, since A. D. 1817, fallen

* The late removal of BAPPOO KHAN, of Augur, from the charge of that country, on my representation of his notorious conduct, is a most striking instance, as this Chief has been personally supported by SCINDIAH in cases where his conduct was more flagrant than even the present.

† MUKHON LAL JOSEE, the brother of RAM DEEN, has been twice nominated to high situations, once to the management of Jawud, and the other to the country of Sonekutch; but on both occasions, and more particularly the latter, my concurrence has been required. The consent of SCINDIAH, with this reserve, has been communicated to me by MUKHUN LAL, with an earnest request I would permit him to visit me. This, on account of his former bad character, has been refused, and he remains unemployed

len into a state of dependance upon the British Government, and appears at present to look to it alone for relief from his embarrassments, and for that tranquillity which at this moment seems to be the chief object of his ambition.

35. In 1817 the British Government stood totally unconnected with the Government of HOLKAR: by the treaty of Mundissore, that Prince became one of its dependant allies. The substance of the articles of the treaty that was concluded is annexed.* No connection was ever formed with

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* *Substance of Treaty with the* HOLKAR *State, dated 6th January,* 1818.

The British Government to punish all that commit any outrage or hostility against the territories of the MAHA RAJAH MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, who is to give aid by employing his troops in co-operation with those of the British Government. The Maha Rajah to concur in the engagements made by the British with the Nabob AMEER KHAN, and to renounce all claim to the territories guaranteed to the said Nabob and his heirs.

The Maha Rajah to renounce all claims to the Pergunnahs of Putchpahar, Dug, Gungrour, Ahor, and others rented by ZALIM SINGH, they being ceded in perpetuity to that Chief.

The Maha Rajah to renounce all claims of tribute on the Rajpoot Princes, such as those of Oudipore, Jeypore, Joudpore, Kotah, Boondee, Harrowtee, &c. &c.

The Maha Rajah to renounce all right and title to any territories within or north of the Boondee hills.

The Maha Rajah cedes all his territories and claims of every description within and south of the Sautpoorah range of hills, including the fort of SCINDWAH, with a glacis of two thousand yards, also all territories in Candeish, including those intermixed with the possessions of the NIZAM and PAISHWAH.

The British Government to maintain a field force of competent strength to preserve the tranquillity of HOLKAR's country, and to defend it from foreign enemies; this force to be stationed where deemed best by the British Government.

The Maha Rajah to grant a place of security as a depôt for its stores; supplies of all kinds, materials for wearing apparel, camels, horses, and cattle required for the use of this force, to be exempt from duties.

The Maha Rajah to commit no act of hostility against the Honorable Company's allies or dependants, or against any powers or state whatever, and to acquiesce entirely in all adjustments of differences the Company's Government may determine.

The Maha Rajah to send or receive no Vakeels from any other State, nor to have any communication whatever with other States, without the knowledge and consent of the British Government.

The Maha Rajah to be absolute in respect to all that concerns his children, relations, dependants, subjects, or servants.

The Maha Rajah to discharge all superfluous troops, and not to keep a larger force than his revenue will afford; but he is to retain three thousand horse ready to co-operate with the British troops, and to make arrangements for their regular payment.

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with a native power, that has in so short a period produced more benefit to both Governments. The Prince being a minor facilitated all those economical arrangements necessary to an impoverished country; and the entire support of the British Government has been given to a firm and able Dewan, TANTIAH JOGH, who, aided by our decided support, has within the period of three years restored the country to prosperity, and raised the Court from a condition of misery and distress to one of comfort and respectability. The alliance between this State and the British Government has taken the happiest shape, and, while the latter preserves without an effort the general peace of the HOLKAR territories, it neither exercises nor claims a right of interference in their internal administration. The consequence is, that the officers of the Native Government feel themselves, and are, competent to their sovereign functions, nor have that jealousy and uneasiness which belong to their condition, yet appeared. A strong sense of benefit, produced by the change from a state of anarchy and danger to one of quiet and safety, is the prevailing sentiment of all ranks, while those who conduct the administration add a just appreciation of the manner in which they have been treated; and those feelings of alarm which at first existed, *from* their

The Maha Rajah to guarantee to the Nabob GHUFFOOR KHAN and his heirs his present Jaidad, on condition that he and they shall keep up in constant readiness a body of six hundred select horse, independant of Pergunnah Sebundies and personal attendants. The above quota of horse to be encreased hereafter in proportion to the encreasing revenue of the districts granted to him.

The Maha Rajah never to entertain in his service any European or American, without the knowledge or consent of the British Government.

An accredited Minister from the British Government to reside at the Court of the Maha Rajah, who shall be at liberty on his part to send a Vakeel to the Most Noble the Governor General.

All cessions made by this Treaty to the British Government, and its allies, to have effect from the date of this Treaty, and the Maha Rajah to have no claims to arrears from them.

All possessions lately conquered from the Maha Rajah to be restored without delay. The forts to be given up with their military stores, and in all respects in their present condition.

The English Government engages never to permit the Paishwah SREE MUNT, nor any of his heirs, and descendants, to claim or exercise any sovereign power whatever over the Maha Rajah MULHAR ROW HOLKAR, his heirs and descendants.

their not comprehending our principles of action, have given place to confidence, which may be expected to be more lasting, as it has been evidently the result, not of the professions we made, but of the measures we have adopted, in the general exercise of our influence and control over this part of India. There was a party at this Court whom loss of office had rendered dissatisfied, but this faction have been removed, and we may pronounce that there is at present an unreserved spirit of cordiality in those who administer its affairs, and that its territories contain a very small portion of men, who can be considered discontented with its connection and dependence upon the British Government. No tributary of any consequence remains to the State of HOLKAR, except the Rajpoot Rulers of Jabooah and Nursinghur. The British Government has mediated satisfactory arrangements with both these States, and it has also made, and became guarantee to, a number of settlements with Grassiah Chiefs who have claims upon the Government; but these will be noticed hereafter.

36. The substance of the Treaty formed with Dhar is annexed.* A minor Prince, the adopted son of MEENAH BAE, the widow of the late

* *Substance of Treaty with the Dhar State, dated 10th January, 1819.*

Perpetual peace, friendship and unity to exist.

The Rajah to have no intercourse, public or private, with any other State, but to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government.

The Rajah to furnish troops, according to his ability, when called upon.

The British Government to protect the State of Dhar, and its dependencies, and to secure the tribute of Allee to the Rajah, his heirs and successors.

The British Government to cause the Pergunnah of Koohsee to be restored by the Rajah of Allee to Dhar, and to aid him in all his legitimate claims on the Rajpoot States of Budnawur.

The Dhar State to give over to the British Government all the tributary rights on the principalities of Banswarrah and Dongerpore in consideration of its protection.

The British Government to restore the province of Bairsah to Dhar when five years have elapsed, commencing from the 29th day of March, 1819. The revenues of these five years to be retained by the British Government, in lieu of *two lacs and fifty thousand* rupees lent to the Dhar State. At the expiration of that time the British Government is to have the option of continuing to hold the Pergunnah, from the Dhar State, or to let it to any other State. The Dhar Government to exercise no authority in the Bairsah Pergunnah, but to receive the revenue from the British Government, which will make the collections.

late Rajah, has given the same advantages in carrying into execution economical reforms, as with the state of HOLKAR; nor is the Minister, BAPPOO RAGHONAUTH, inferior to TANTIAH JOGH in zeal, or in a just appreciation of the generous policy of the British Government, which has restored the ruined fortunes of the Dhar family, and given it once more a rank and place among the Rulers of Malwa. The relations with the principality of Dhar are of the same character as those with HOLKAR; and the alliance has hitherto been alike conducive to the cause of order and good government. We have, perhaps, a right to the more unqualified gratitude of this State, for, though HOLKAR's Government has derived great and substantial benefits from the connection, it has been deprived of nominal independence and territories; while the Rajah of Dhar has had almost the whole of his former estates (many of which he had lost) restored,* and has been elevated by the policy of the English Government to a condition which he could never have hoped to regain by his own efforts. This observation applies with more force to the two Rajahs of Dewass, who may be said to owe all they possess to those principles of liberal justice and policy, which actuated the British Government in the settlement of Malwa.

37. The substance† of the Treaty formed with Dewass is annexed. The

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* The districts of Dug and Gungraur, now possessed by the State of Kotah, and those of Tal Mundawul, which form part of the Jaghire of GUFFOOR KHAN, formerly belonged to Dhar, but they were alienated by the Treaty of Mundissore, and could not be restored; but except those it obtained from its connection with the British Government, all its other possessions and some claims (particularly the tribute on Ally Mohun) which had laid long dormant.

† *Substance of Treaty with Dewass.*

The Dewass State to be under the protection of the British Government, to keep in service a contingent of fifty good horse and fifty infantry, to be at the disposal of the British Government. The remaining troops, Sebundies, &c. to be at command when required. After three years the contingent to be encreased to one hundred horse and one hundred foot. Dewass, Sarungpore, Attole, Gurgootcher, Ringnode, and Bajoda Pergunnahs to be under the exclusive authority of the Rajah, who is also to receive 7 per cent. from the collections made by Dhar from Sundoorsee and Dongalah. The British Government to assist the Rajah in reducing any of his refractory Thakoors, and to mediate any differences between him and others. The

The Rajahs early acceded to a request to appoint one Minister*, for the management of their joint interests, and the choice fell on SUCCARAM BAPPOO, an active intelligent Brahmin, who has labored most successfully to restore their country to prosperity, and to improve and confirm their relations with the British Government, towards which these Chiefs and their subjects have alike feelings of regard and attachment. A late cession was made by them, and the Ruler of Dhar, of the rights of the Puar family to a third share of the district of Soondursee, in favor of WUTTUL ROW PUAR, the only Chief of this respectable family unprovided for; and the relief, which this liberal provision gave him, made him as content, as the other branches of his house, with the liberality and justice of the English Government, who proposed and guaranteed this settlement.

38. The annexed abstract† of the Treaty with Bhopaul will shew the nature of our relations with that State. Nothing can exceed the sentiments of gratitude which this family of Mahomedans (insulated in a Hindu country

The Rajah to enter into no engagements, or have any communications with other States without the consent of the British Government. The Rajah to have sovereign power in his own country, and no interference to be exerted in disputes between the Rajah and his family or relations.

In consideration of the desolate state of Doongla, the Rajah renounces all claims on Dhar for 7 per cent. on the collections made for the next three years from the above Pergunnah.

The State at present ruled by two Rajahs, conjointly, they agree to have one and the same Karbaree, for the purpose of connecting the affairs of both.

* This arrangement was fortunately facilitated, by the hereditary Minister of one of these Rajahs being a minor.

† *Abstract of Treaty between the British Government and the principality of Bhopaul, 26th February, 1818.*

Perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests to exist between the British Government and the Nawaub, his heirs and successors, and the friends and enemies of either to be the same to both.

The principality of Bhopaul to be protected. The Nawaub, his heirs and successors, to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to have no connection with other Chiefs or States, with whom he is to enter into no negotiations without the sanction of the British Government; but the usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations to continue. The Nawaub, his heirs and successors, to commit no aggressions, and if disputes arise with any one, they are to be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. The Bhopaul State to furnish six hundred horse and four hundred infantry for the service of the British Government, and the whole of the disposable force to join the British army, if necessary.

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country) regard the restorers of their prosperity and former greatness: but they are a race, who have both prejudice and feelings of pride, that require attention. There are also some seeds of future discord in the condition of the family, but with care, there can be no doubt, the alliance will be found efficient to all the objects for which it was formed.

39. The Treaty with the Rajah of Kotah has been hitherto very happy in its operation; our relations with its Ruler, (the substance of which is given in the margin*) vests us with the rights of a paramount Sovereign, but with no rights of interference in the internal administration, beyond what is required to maintain the general tranquillity. There is, as in Bhopaul, an awkwardness in the obligation, which the policy of the moment rendered necessary, for supporting the descendants of a Regent, whom we found in the actual exercise of power, against any efforts of their nominal Rulers to displace them. This, however, is a condition

The British army to be at all times admitted into the Bhopaul territory, and to canton there when necessary, in which event the fort of Nuzzur Ghur or of Goolgaon shall be ceded to the British Government as a depot, and all articles of supply to pass through the Nawaub's territory free of duty.

The Nawaub, his heirs and successors, to remain absolute Rulers of their country, and the jurisdiction of the English Government not to be introduced.

In consideration of the Nawaub's zeal and fidelity in the late service against the Pindaries, the British Government grants him, his heirs and successors, the five Mahals of Ashta, Itchawur, Sehore, Dorala and Duiypoor.

* *Substance of Treaty between the British Government and the Kotah State, dated 20th February 1818.*

Perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests, to exist between the contracting parties, and the friends and enemies of one to be the same to both. The State of Kotah to be protected. The Maha Row, his heirs and successors, to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to have no connections with other Chiefs or States. No negotiations to be entered into with any other Chiefs or States, without the sanction of the British Government. The customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations may however continue: no aggressions to be made on any one, and if disputes arise, they are to be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. The tribute heretofore paid by Kotah to the Mahratta Chiefs, the Paishwa, &c. &c. to be henceforward paid to the British Government; and no other power to have any claim to tribute from the principality. Troops, according to its means, to be furnished by the Kotah State, at the requisition of the British Government. The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the English Government not to be introduced into the principality of Kotah, of which the Maha Row, his heirs and successors, are to remain absolute Rulers.

A supplementary article stipulates that, after Maha Row Omed Singh, the present Rajah, the principality shall descend to his eldest son and heir, Kowar Kishore Singh, and his heirs, in regular succession,

dition common to many States in India. It arises out of that respect for families, and for the path in which their ancestors have trod, that in India tempers even usurpation, and makes those, who hesitate at no acts of violence to obtain and preserve their power, leave its name to others rather than hazard outrage on tribe or national feeling. In such cases the British Government has no option but to support its pledged faith, and the firm and decided manner, in which it has attended to the letter and spirit of its engagements during late agitations at Kotah, will have the best effect, both on that State and others in Malwa.

40. The Treaties with the Rajahs of Purtaubghur, Dongerpore, and Banswarrah, (abstracts of which are annexed*) are all formed on similar principles. They are tributary Princes, whom we desire to make popular instruments of rule, and they will, under able and liberal control and direction, attain a prosperity to which they have long been strangers. These Princes have never been independant, and their condition under their present relations with the English Government is so superior to what they or their ancestors have ever known under any of their former lords

succession, and the administration of the affairs of the State is to be vested in RAJRANAH ZALIM SINGH, and after him in his eldest son, KOWAR MADHOO SINGH, and his heirs, in regular succession

* *Abstract of Treaty with the Rajah of Purtaubghur, dated 5th October, 1818.*

The Rajah to receive aid and assistance from the British Government, on condition that he holds no intercourse whatever with any State or Chief, and no one shall be allowed to demand Paishkush as long as he remains the ally of the British Government.

The Rajah to pay to the British Government all arrears due to the HOLKAR State, amounting to one lac twenty-four thousand six hundred and seventy-five rupees six annas, by instalments, commencing in 1818, and ending in 1823; and in case of failure in payment of any of the instalments, a native agent of the British Government is to collect taxes at the custom house of Purtaubghur, equal in amount to the sum due.

The Paishkush, formerly paid by Purtaubghur to the HOLKAR State, is to be transferred to the British Government, which is also to receive the tribute formerly paid to HOLKAR, in consideration of the assistance it is to grant to Purtaubghur.

No Arabs, Scindees, or foreign mercenaries, to remain in the pay of the Rajah, who is to entertain fifty horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers of his own country. These soldiers to be employed by the British Government, in time of necessity, in co-operation with its own troops in the vicinity of the Purtaubghur district.

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lords paramount, that there can be little doubt, while we continue to give that consideration to which their rank entitles these Chiefs, and to respect the usages of their subjects, we shall preserve their attachment

The Rajah to have entire control over his own dominions, but is to consult with the British Government the best means of keeping in check the Bheels and Meenahs, and of contributing to the prosperity of his country.

The Rajah is not to impose any taxes additional to what were formerly levied upon merchandize passing through his country, nor on his mint. The Rajah to be assisted in reducing to obedience all refractory subjects, including Bheels, Meenahs, &c.

The British Government not to interfere with the Rajah in the collection of his revenue, so long as he does not oppress the Ryuts.

The Rajah to settle all disputes between himself and his Nobles in any way he pleases, without the interference of the British Government. The British Government also agrees to act as mediator in any disputes between the Rajah and his Thakoors.

The British Government not to interfere with any charitable endowments of the Purtaubghur States; and will pay every attention to all points connected with the religion of the Rajah, or the ancient customs of the country.

2. *Abstract of Treaty with Dongerpore, dated 11th December*, 1818.

Perpetual friendship and alliance between the Maha Rawul and the British Government, his heirs and successors; the enemies of the one to be the enemies of the other. The State of Dongerpore to be protected. The Rawul to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to have no connections with other Chiefs or States. The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government not to be introduced into the State of Dongerpore, of which the Rawul and his successors are to be absolute rulers. The British Government to advise in the affairs of the State, and to pay every possible attention to the wishes of the Rawul, his heirs and successors. No intercourse to be kept up with any other State or Chief, without the consent of the British Government; but the customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations to continue. No aggressions to be made on any one; and, if a dispute arise, it shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. The Rajah and his heirs, &c. to pay all arrears of tribute due to Dhar or other States. The amount of tribute to be paid by Dongerpore to be settled with reference to the actual revenue and receipts of the Rawul. A tribute, not exceeding six annas in the rupee, to be paid to the British Government, in lieu of the protection afforded. Troops, agreeable to the means of the Dongerpore State, to be held at the call of the British Government whenever required. No Arabs or foreign mercenaries to be kept in the pay of the Rawul, whose troops are to be composed of inhabitants of his own country. The British Government to assist the Rawul in reducing to obedience any refractory relations or Thakoors. In case of any failure on the part of the Rawul to pay the tribute, a Karkoon or Native Agent of the British Government is to be allowed to reside at the custom house at Dongerpore, for the purpose of collecting the taxes on goods in payment of the tribute.

3. *Abstract of Treaty with Banswarrah, 16th September*, 1818.

Perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests, to exist between the British Government and the Maha Rawul, his heirs and successors; the enemies of either to be the same to both. Banswarrah to be protected. The Maha Rawul and his heirs to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to have no connection with other States or Chiefs. The civil and criminal jurisdiction

ment and allegiance; but we must not expect to escape those embarrassments to which such relations are occasionally subject. The extent of these will be according to the character of the rulers. The Rajah of Purtaubghur is very efficient, and the young Rawul of Banswarrah gives fair promise; but the Chief of Dongerpore is weak and depraved in a degree that gives little hopes of benefit from his personal exertions, and his conduct has compelled us to give support to a respectable minister, who has been entrusted with the management of the country.

41. An agreement has been concluded with the Rajah of Allee Mohun through MOOZAFFIR, a Meckranee Jemadar, who has long been in possession of the country, and who is continued in its management during the minority of its Prince. We virtually have contracted nearly similar relations (but without any formal engagement) with the petty Rajah of Burwanee, who, being himself incompetent to rule, has placed his affairs in the hands of MOOJGHEER, a Gossein of energy and talent; and he, supported by our friendship, is making every effort, not only to restore the small but fertile territory of his Chief upon the left bank of the Nerbuddah, but to aid in bringing into order the neighbouring Bheels of Nimaur, and those who inhabit the Vindhya range westward of Burwanee towards Goozerat.

42. With

jurisdiction of the British Government not to be introduced into the territory and principality of Banswarrah, of which the Maha Rawul and his heirs shall remain absolute rulers. The British Government to advise in the affairs of the principality, and the Rawul to pay all practicable attention. No negotiations with any Chief or State to be carried on without the sanction of the British Government, but the customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations to continue. No aggression to be committed on any one; and, if any dispute arise, it shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. Tribute to the extent of three-eighths of the revenue to be paid to the British Government. Troops, agreeable to its means, to be furnished by the State of Banswarrah at the requisition of the British Government.

42. With the different Rajahs of Rutlam, Loonewarrah, Saonte, and Sillanah, tributaries to SCINDIAH, west of the Chumbul, settlements have been guaranteed, on principles that have been noticed. Similar settlements have been made with the tributaries of the Dhar State, the Mundlovee of Budnawur, and the petty Rajahs of Katch Barode and Moultan; but the annexed Tables will shew, at one view, the engagements and settlements which have been made with Grassiah and Goand Chiefs, and Bheelalah leaders, Bhomeahs and Turwees, as heads of Bheel tribes. These engagements, though they have been quite essential to establish and maintain the internal tranquillity of the country, have been all effected in perfect concurrence with the wish of the different parties concerned. From the highest Mahratta Ruler to the leader of freebooters, all have been alike compelled by necessity, and by a total want of confidence in each other, to appeal to a common superior on whose good faith they reposed, and whose strength they dreaded.

Vide pages 668, 669, &c.

43. Besides the relations which have been described, we have several others in Malwa, some districts of which belong to AMEER KHAN, who is now an ally of the British Government, and as such entitled to its friendly aid and support. His connection, GHUFFOOR KHAN, holds his Jaghire under an article of the treaty of Mundissore. It is, in fact, a grant dictated by policy from the British Government, of which he is (though ostensibly an Omrah of HOLKAR's Court) a real dependant.

44. VENKETRAM SHASTREE, who was Jaghiredar of Mundlasi, when that district and Kusrawud belonged to the PAISHWAH, receives for his support a proportion of its revenue, the country continuing under the direct management of the British Government, on account of considerations connected with the tranquillity of the province, and its being on the line of communication with the Deckan and Candeish.

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45. The numerous treaties, engagements and agreements, amounting altogether to upwards of one hundred, with the Rulers, Chiefs, and leaders of Malwa and adjoining provinces, to which we are either parties or guarantee, present, at first view, a prospect of future, if not immediate, embarrassment; and, what appears to favor this conclusion, is the certainty of their encrease; for we are the acknowledged preservers of the peace, and consequently the arbitrators of all differences and disputes by which it can be disturbed. But it will be noticed that the tenor of all our ties is of similar principle, that the obligations are simple and well defined, and that we possess in the impression of our faith, justice and strength, very powerful means, which must encrease with our encreasing duties as lords paramount of Central India.

46. The first, and one of the most important principles laid down for the regulation of our interference in the affairs of Malwa, was to date that from the Treaty of Mundissore: to consider disputes and crimes before that period, as associated with bad times, the very recollection of which, with all the injuries and resentments that belonged to them, it was better to banish for ever from the minds of the population of this country. There was as much of expedience as of policy, in the adoption of this principle; for it saved us from mixing even as arbitrators in affairs which could never be satisfactorily settled. There were many petty Rajpoot Princes and Chiefs who had no just claim to the power they enjoyed; many of these and some of the Mahratta Rulers had villages, lands, and rights, to which they had no title but possession. All power, possessions and rights, which had been recently taken, or usurped, were claimed by others; but the *statu quo* of January 1818 was pleaded in answer to every appeal. It was assumed, and with truth, to be the only principle of action that could give repose, and though many of those who suffered and were disappointed might challenge the justice of the proceeding, even they were compelled to acquiesce in its expediency and wisdom. A few departures

partures have been made from this general rule, but only in cases where the peace of the country was disturbed, or when both parties referred for our decision, or that was required by our obligations under treaties, which forced us to decide on disputes between States with whom we were in alliance. The complaints and appeals during the first two years of the introduction of our control and authority into Malwa exceeded all belief; but the trifling cases, which were at first so numerous, have gradually decreased, as the inhabitants of the province perceived that our interference was limited to matters affecting the public peace, and that we would not on principle attend to any thing relative to the internal administration of justice or revenue in the territories of our allies and dependants. But though we cannot remedy their grievances, (and they are never encouraged to bring them forward) they are patiently heard, and the poorest man is never denied direct communication at any moment he desired with the Governor General's Agent, and with every officer acting under his orders. This is of the utmost importance; for, though disappointed, the complainants are gratified by the consideration with which they are treated, and, having heard the reasons for their case not being enquired into, they spread a knowledge of the principles upon which our control over these territories is exercised, which has a good effect, both as it makes them more satisfied, and as it tends to elevate their Rulers, whose exclusive power in the conduct of the internal administration is impressed upon every person who brings forward a real or supposed grievance. In addition to this we may state, that the Princes and Chiefs of Malwa, while they cannot but be grateful to a Government, which, with the power of depressing, seeks to raise them, are kept in salutary check by the right which their subjects enjoy of complaining; for, though they may have a confidence that such complaints will not be attended to, still they must feel that an impression,

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good or bad, will be made, and that they will receive favor from the British Government in the proportion that is merited by the character of their rule.

47. Where any circumstances call for the interference of the British Government, and an engagement or guarantee is given, no departure from that is permitted. It is indeed by the maintenance of the impression that the signature and seal of a British officer is, to whomsoever granted, the completest of all securities for his rights, privileges or possessions, that our power over the multiplicity of States and Chiefships depends; and it is, above all others, a point upon which we can never with safety admit the slightest evasion, much less deviation. The greatest importance was from the first attached to establishing, upon a footing of familiarity and confidence, a personal intercourse between the petty Rulers and Chiefs of Malwa and the Governor General's Agent in that Province, and those acting under his direct orders. This was more essential, as it related to those Leaders of loose bands of robbers, who had so long ravaged the country, and plundered and murdered its inhabitants. The return of order and strength to that community, which they had so deeply outraged, was considered as a prelude to their exemplary punishment; and their desperate courses were continued from a conviction that they could not be evaded. But they were not merely pardoned; they were invited to enter the ranks of industry under the most favorable circumstances, benefits were extended to them, and means of livelihood devised, which offered employment to their immediate relations, suited to their rank and feelings, but which was of a character to give them habits that made them sensible of the benefits and repose of a more civilized life, and by doing so rendered them the instruments of the reform of their kindred and adherents. A further step was taken with many of this class, and with the best effect; the

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younger branches, even to children of the families* of their Chiefs, were much kept about the person of the Governor General's Agent. These were pleased and flattered, and their parents and relations conciliated by the notice taken of them, without any display of the object. Pains were taken to have them instructed in a manner that would make them useful in completing the task that had been begun, and of which they alone were capable, for a very long period must elapse before these tribes will cease to follow and obey with a blind devotion their example and command.

48. The relations that we have contracted with the Rulers and Chiefs of Malwa may be easily defined and strictly observed; but there are other duties, connected generally with them and their subjects, which are of a more delicate nature, and more difficult to fulfil. To shape and temper our intercourse so as to preserve and improve those limits of society that were essential to preserve good order, and to conciliate the lower classes, at the same time we supported the authority of their superiors, were early viewed as objects of great magnitude, but of no easy attainment. The line adopted, however, has hitherto proved successful. Accustomed to military violence, the inhabitants of Malwa shewed, on our first entering that province, a feeling of doubt and alarm, † that was by some mistaken for dislike, if not aversion, to our supremacy

* Among several others ROSHUN, the son of MUZZAFFIR, the Meekranee Jemadar of Ally Mohun, and BHEEMAN SINGH, the eldest son of NADIR, Bheel, have been with me for more than two years, and are both fine lads. ROSHUN is a tolerable scholar, and BHEEMAN SINGH (a boy of fourteen years of age) not only reads well, but understands accounts, and promises to be able to manage personally his wild adherents and country, which is in a state of progressive improvement.

† A most remarkable instance occurred, in the beginning of A. D. 1818, to shew the credulous character and disposition to alarm of the inhabitants of Malwa. Cocoanuts were sent in every direction from village to village, and every breathless messenger who brought one threw it down, and exhorted those to whom he gave it to speed it to its destination. In this part of Malwa was my tent, and I received in one day about fifty. The frighted Poteyls who brought these entreated me to take them, which I readily did, laughing at their folly, and saying, what they did not understand, seemed to me to be an offering of gratitude sent by some holy men, if not saints, in gratitude for restored peace; all my efforts to discover in what this occurrence originated were vain, but I found it had extended over a vast tract of country.

supremacy ; but it was only fear of insult or outrage, and the strict orders under which our troops, both stationed and marching, have acted. The prohibitions latterly enforced against pressing men or cattle, and the absence of all that assumption and arrogance which they expected to meet in their conquerors, have given a complete turn to their feelings, and, wherever either corps or individuals move, they are received with cordiality, as the friends and protectors of the country. To preserve this impression, it will be necessary, for a long period, to regulate our conduct, on all points connected with the inhabitants of Malwa, with great care. The preservation of its peace, as well as its advancement to prosperity, depends upon our admitting nothing into the manner or substance of our general control, that can revive that jealousy or fear, which is now at repose. The natives of Malwa will long be very tremulously alive to apprehension regarding our ultimate views. It is for this reason essential, that all communication with its Rulers and Chiefs should be limited to specific persons. Any acts of public officers, or of individuals permitted to come into or settle in the province, which conveyed a different opinion of our disinterestedness and high honor, or that made them fear for cherished civil and religious usages, would change their whole sentiments, and suspicion and hatred would take the place of confidence and attachment. We must be most careful, therefore, in regulating, by the strictest rules, our intercourse with the different States and their subjects ; and we must, above all, guard, in the most vigilant manner, against the presumption and malpractices of the natives in our own employ. This can be only done, by the public officer placed in the high station of power in Central India being active and vigilant, and admitting all ranks and classes of the natives to constant and familiar intercourse with him. The sacrifices of time, and the inroad upon comfort, may be great ; but the experience of the last three years in Malwa might be adduced as a convincing proof

of the vital importance of this practice to our reputation and success. By it alone we can hope to keep in order that spirit of insolence and abuse, to which our lowest native servants are prone, and which, if not checked, would soon destroy our influence and popularity, in a country in such a condition as this. It has been hitherto judged better to forego advantages, both as to information and power of direction, rather than employ men who could not be trusted beyond direct check, and of whom there was found to exist a dread that exceeded all belief.*

49. The necessity of diffusing the principles upon which we act, and making ourselves understood by all ranks, was from the first felt; and the detachment and employment of honourable and intelligent European Officers in every part of the country was resorted to, as the only expedient that could meet the object. The result has been fortunate beyond anticipation. These agents, within their respective circles, have not only, by their direct intercourse with all classes, established great influence, but spread a knowledge of our character and intentions, that has encreased respect and confidence, and they have, almost in all cases, succeeded by the arbitration of differences, and the settlement of local disputes, to preserve the peace of the country without troops. The most exact observance of certain principles have been required from these officers, and their line has been very carefully and distinctly prescribed. The object has been to escape from every interference

* Many instances of this might be given; but it will be sufficient to mention, that only three months ago the ploughs of two districts were stopped during the cultivating season for three days, on a common Hukurrah of the Dawk establishment stating that it was General MALCOLM's orders that they should leave off their labors. Several discharged Mootsuddees and Chuprassees have made petty collections from great numbers of villages on the pretext of orders from English Officers: others have presumed so far upon the ignorance and alarms of the natives of Malwa, as to institute petty Courts for the settlement of disputes. But it is satisfactory to add, that the exemplary punishment of more than fifty offenders, and the issuing of warning proclamations, have given such confidence to the inhabitants, that they have on all late occasions seized those pretending to have authority for exactions, and brought them to me as delinquents.

ference with the internal administration of the country, beyond what the preservation of the public peace demanded. This course was at first difficult, even to the agents employed. The success of our arms had made all prostrate. The change from danger to security was so great, that obedience to our lowest menials was proffered as a return for the blessings we had brought. The temptation to do obvious and great good was almost irresistible ; but it was necessary to commence a system that could be steadily pursued, for to have given the inhabitants of Malwa the benefit of our minute interference for a few months or years, and then to have withdrawn it, was at variance with both principles of faith and policy, and likely in its results to create much and serious embarrassments. The different Princes and the higher officers of this province were, therefore, from the first, left to the free and full exercise of their power, in all that concerned the internal administration of their respective countries. Every effort was made to elevate and support them, that they might become, what we desired, high and respectable instruments of rule. The great difficulty was to impart to persons, who were in fact so really dependant, sufficient confidence in the controlling and protecting power, to make them equal to their high functions. This however has in a great degree been done, and a better example of success, both as it relates to them and their subjects, cannot perhaps be given, than the full censuses of the population of their respective countries, which have been furnished by the Governments of HOLKAR and the Puars of Dhar and Dewass. There cannot be a point of greater jealousy in India, than any attempt of numbering houses, much less families, casts, and sexes ; but the expression for the wish of such information has not only been followed by spontaneous and prompt compliance, but the spirit which has led to its being asked has been so fully appreciated, that, since these accounts of the population were collected,

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an office under the Dewan has been instituted to register them, and the district officers have been instructed to transmit to it annual lists of births, deaths, new settlers, and those that remove their habitations. This measure was taken from a sense of the benefits derived from the first census made, which, as TANTIAH JOGH, HOLKAR's Minister, expressed himself, was, to him and other Ministers of the State, like coming into light from darkness, and would be of most essential use, both in the regulation of their police and revenue department.

50. The character of the government of control, which we have established over Central India, is not more remote from that species of influence and direction which we have on most occasions exercised over native Princes, who are our dependant allies, than it is from the forms and usages observed in those countries under our direct government. But that decided and open assumption of paramount sovereignty, which was forced upon us by our late successes, has in itself made comparatively easy the task of complicated rule. Our supremacy is recognized by all ranks, and there is, from that being undisputed and unchallenged, a pride in submission. Rulers and Chiefs are alone anxious for their rank on the scale of our dependants; and, while we can preserve such feelings, we shall succeed in maintaining on its present basis the peace of this country, and, whatever defects may belong to the system, no person who understands the whole subject can desire any alteration, that is not very progressive, and which does not include the maintenance of that order and good feeling which we have established, but which will not be more exposed to hazard from neglect and ignorance, than from over eager efforts at improvement, either in the habits of the people, or the condition of the province. Such changes, to be safe, must work themselves; and the slower our march, the more certain we shall be of attaining our object,—the peace and prosperity of the country, and the happiness of all classes of its inhabitants.

JOHN MALCOLM,
Major General,
Pol. Agent to Govr. Genl.

MHOW,
Feb. 11, 1821.

No. 1.

List of Petty Chiefs, Thakoors, Zemindars, &c. who pay Tribute through the medium or under the guarantee of the British Government to different Rulers in Malwa.

No. of Chiefs.	*Names of Chiefs paying Tribute, and to whom paid*	*Amount and Conditions under which Tribute is paid.*
1	PURBUT SINGH, Rajah of Rutlam, to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.	84,000 Salim Shye Rupees, to be paid regularly in four kists—on failure, land to the value of the kist not paid to be taken. SCINDIAH agrees never to send any troops into the country, or to interfere with the succession or in its internal administration in any way whatever. This agreement between BAPPOO SCINDIAH and the Rajah of Rutlam was mediated by Sir J. MALCOLM, 5th January, 1819.
2	Rajah of Sillanah to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.	12,000 S. S. Rupees, same conditions as with Rutlam, between BAPPOO SCINDIAH and the Rajah of Sillanah, mediated by Sir J. MALCOLM, 5th January, 1819.
3	Rajah of Lunawarrah.	12,000 } Salim Shye Rupees, same conditions. These two are included in one agreement, between MAUN SINGH, ROW PATUNKUR, and the two Rajahs, mediated 10th August, 1820.
4	Rajah of Soante to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.	7,000 }
5	Rajah of Seeta Mhow to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.	60,000 Salim Shye Rupees, same conditions, mediated by Sir J. MALCOLM, 21st November, 1820.
6	Rajah of Amjerrah to DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH.	35,000 Hallee Rupees, ditto.
7	PRITHEE SINGH, Mundlovee of Budnawur, to the Dhar State.	16,502 Hallee Rupees, ditto, mediated 16th December, 1818.
8	THAKOOR BUGWUNT SINGH to the Dhar State.	9,459 Hallee Rupees, ditto, ditto ditto.
9	THAKOOR SEWAI SINGH to the Dhar State.	18,014 Hallee Rupees, ditto, ditto ditto.

MUZAFFER

No. 1.—Continued.

No. of Chiefs.	*Names of Chiefs paying Tribute, and to whom paid.*	*Amount and Conditions under which Tribute is paid.*
10	MUZAFFER MEEKRANEE to the Dhar State.	20,000 Hallee* Rupees; former tribute commuted for the Sayur duties of Ally Mohun. Badrah to be made over to KISSURY SINGH. MUZAFFER agrees to keep up a body of 50 men only, and to maintain the security of the road between Ally and Dhar. mediated by Sir J. MALCOLM, 8th December, 1818.
11	PRITHEE SINGH, THAKOOR, to GHUFFOOR KHAN.	28,000 Salim Shye Rupees; annual tribute in lieu of former tribute of 25,000 Rupees, and of arbitrary assessments amounting to upwards of 3,000 Rupees. This fixed tribute to be paid in three kists of the Kutcherry of Jowrah. GHUFFOOR KHAN agrees to discontinue the practice of sending horsemen into the country to collect the tribute.

No. 2.

List of Grassiahs and other predatory Chiefs who have ceased to plunder, and under the guarantee of the British Government to receive an amount annually from the collections on which they had established claims.

No. of Chiefs.	*Names of Chiefs and those on whom they have claims.*	*Amount and Conditions under which it is paid.*
	RAO RUTTUN SINGH, MUNDROOP SINGH, and CHEETOO BAE, Chiefs of Sillanah and Bukutghur, on SCINDIAH and HOLKAR.	These persons are heads of a family and had long been plunderers on the Nerbuddah. In May, 1818, they submitted to Sir JOHN MALCOLM, who took some of their adherents into service under CHEETOO BAE, (commonly called CHUTTER SINGH) to whom, and to RAO RUTTUN SINGH

No. 2.—*Continued.*

No. of Chiefs.	Names of Chiefs and those on whom they have claims.	Amount and Conditions under which it is paid.
		SINGH and MUNDROOP SINGH, a pay of 100 Rupees per mensem was assigned to each. Their claims for Tankah upon the Governments of SCINDIAH and HOLKAR were settled at half the amount, and SCINDIAH now pays 4038 Rupees, and HOLKAR 778½ Rupees. An engagement was given to these Chiefs, dated 13th May, 1820, securing to them the above amount of Tankah, in all 4816½ Rupees, in the event of the English Government discontinuing their pay and discharging their adherents.
4	NADIR, Putteyl, on HOLKAR.	2,561 Hallee Rupees annual Tankah. To be paid from the Kutcherry and not to be collected by NADIR himself. He is to protect the country from Jaum to Nalcha, and to be accountable for all excesses committed within his limits.
5	BHEEMAN SINGH on HOLKAR.	After NADIR's banishment from Malwa in May, 1820, an agreement was given to his son BHEEMAN SINGH, guaranteeing to him from the HOLKAR State all Tankah, &c. which his father received under the same conditions. This agreement is dated 8th May, 1820.

The following Settlements were mediated by Major HENLEY.

6	RAO KOSHAL SING on the British Government, SCINDIAH, HOLKAR and the Nabob of Bhopaul.	8,615 Rupees, annually, to be paid from the Kutcherry.
7	RAO NEWUL SINGH on SCINDIAH and HOLKAR.	5,400 Rupees, ditto.

DEWAN

No. 2.—*Continued.*

No. of Chiefs.	*Names of Chiefs and those on whom they have claims.*	*Amount and Conditions under which it is paid.*
8	Dewan SALIM SINGH on SCINDIAH and HOLKAR.	7,675 Rupees, annually, to be paid from the Kutcherry.
9	SOUDHAM SINGH on the British Government, SCINDIAH, and the Nabob of Bhopaul.	4,480 ditto, ditto.
10	OODAJEE on SCINDIAH and British Government.	4,600 ditto, ditto.
11	GOBURDUN SINGH on SCINDIAH and the Nabob of Bhopaul.	5.000 ditto, and to pay 800 Rupees annually from this amount to KOKOORGEE BURGOOGUR.
12	SOOBAH SINGH on SCINDIAH, HOLKAR and the Nabob of Bhopaul.	4,250 ditto.
13	Row BHYROE SINGH on ditto.	6,449 ditto.
14	MUKOOND SINGH on SCINDIAH and HOLKAR.	1,540 ditto.
15	ANOOP SINGH on ditto,	852 ditto.
16	PEIM SINGH on SCINDIAH	112 ditto.
17	RAWUL NEWUL SINGH on the Nabob.	5,001 ditto.
18	KOWUR CHYNE SINGH, on the Nabob and SCINDIAH.	6,201 ditto.
19	SALIMJEE and HUTTA SINGH on SCINDIAH, HOLKAR and Bhopaul,	3,426 ditto.
20	RAO ANOOP SINGH on SCINDIAH.	1,750 ditto.
21	RAO FUTTEH SINGH ditto.	1,200 ditto.
22	THAKOOR NEERBY SINGH on the Nabob of Khoonoy.	522 ditto.

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No. 2.—*Continued.*

The following were settled by Captain BORTHWICK.

No. of Chiefs.	*Names of Chiefs and those on whom they have claims.*	*Amount and Conditions under which it is paid.*
23	GOOLAB SINGH, on SCINDIAH.	1,400 Rupees.
24	HUTTY SINGH, ditto.	1,570 ditto.
25	SAHIB SINGH, ditto.	3,200 ditto.
26	ANOOP SINGH, ditto.	180 ditto.
27	GEERWAR SINGH, ditto.	320 ditto.
28	RAO RUTTUN SINGH, ditto.	2,776 ditto.
29	UTCHIL SINGH, ditto.	1,400 ditto.
30	SALIM SINGH, ditto.	2 200 ditto.
31	PERTAUB SINGH, ditto.	2,400 ditto.
32	BHARUT SINGH, ditto.	114 ditto.
33	SIRDAR SINGH, ditto.	186 ditto.
34	NAHUR SINGH, ditto.	190 ditto.
35	PEERTAGEE, ditto.	470 ditto.
36	NEWUL SINGH, ditto.	430 ditto.
37	SAWUT SINGH, ditto.	2,824 ditto annually.
38	SAHIB SINGH on HOLKAR.	800 ditto.
39	RAO UTCHEEL SINGH, do.	350 ditto.
40	SAWUNT SINGH, ditto.	1.000 ditto.
41	NAHIR SINGH, ditto,	190 ditto.
42	SALIM SINGH, ditto.	An abatement in the rent of land has been allowed to SALIM SINGH in lieu of grass claims.
43	PURTAB SINGH, ditto.	960 Rupees annually.
44	GHOLAB SINGH, ditto.	600 ditto.
45	NEWUL SINGH, ditto.	40 ditto.
46	GEERWUR SINGH, ditto	430 ditto.
47	HUTTY SINGH, ditto.	1,600 ditto.
48	RAO RUTTUN SINGH, do	1,150 ditto.
49	RAO ZALIM SINGH on Kotah,	400 ditto.

No. 3.

No. 3.

List of Miscellaneous Settlements, &c. with petty Chiefs, Thakoors, &c. through the medium or guarantee of the British Government, regarding Lands, Disputes. &c.

No. of Settlements	Names of Chiefs, &c. with whom Settlements were made.	Conditions under which Settlements were made.
1	CHUNDER SINGH THAKOOR, with the Dhar State.	To pay the Dhar State 2501 Rupees annually. In case of failure, land to the amount of the deficiency to be taken, mediated 16th December, 1818.
2	RANNEE of ALLY MOHUN, with the Dhar STATE.	The Dhar State to pay the Rannee 1200 Rupees annually from the proceeds of the duties collected in Ally Mohun by that Government.
3	MOHUN SINGH and FUTTEH SINGH, with the Dhar State.	To pay the Dhar State 1425 Hallee Rupees annual Tankah for a grant of 11 villages in Dhurrumpooree Pergunnah, to keep the roads free from thieves, and be accountable for all robberies, &c. committed within their limits
4	SEO SINGH of Neemkhairah, with the Dhar State.	A grant of the village of Tirlah, subject to an annual payment of 500 Rupees.
5	PRITHEE SINGH and MOHUN SINGH, with the Dhar State.	A grant of 7 villages, subject after the 7th year to an annual payment of 752 Rupees, and for another village a Paishkush of 101 Rupees annually
6	MUNDROOP SINGH, with the Dhar State.	A grant of 7 villages, subject after the 7th year to an annual payment of 726 Rupees.
7	HUTTEH SINGH with the Dhar Government.	A grant for 6 villages, to pay 525 Rupees annually to the Dhar Government
8	FUTTEH SINGH and CHYNE SINGH, with the Dhar State.	A grant for 6 villages, subject to an annual payment of 1425 Rupees, and a Paishkush for another village of 101 Rupees annually.
9	THAKOOR of Baglee with the Komisdar of Sonekutch.	The Thakoor withheld for 6 years part of the revenue for lands in the Pergunnah of Sonekutch, paying only 3488 Rupees instead of 5562 to the Komisdar, who complained to Sir John Malcolm; settled that the Thakoor should have an Istumrar grant for the lands in dispute, paying annually 5562 Rupees, mediated 31st October, 1819.

No. 3.—*Continued.*

No. of Settlements.	Names of Chiefs, &c. with whom Settlements were made.	Conditions under which Settlements were made.
10	Thakoor of Baglee with the Komisdar of Sonekutch,	This settlement is nearly the same as the foregoing: agreed that the Thakoor pay 909 rupees instead of 809 for 5 villages, which he held 31st October, 1819.
11	Thakoor of Baglee with ditto.	The Thakoor held 9 villages on an Ijareh Puttah for 5 years. The Komisdar, thinking the assessment too small, resumed the villages; the former complained to Sir J Malcolm, who decided that the Puttah held good till the expiration of the lease, on which the Komisdar might, if he pleased, increase the assessment, 31st October, 1819.
12	Thakoor of Baglee, with ditto.	The Thakoor cultivated lands in the vicinity of Chayn rent free. The Komisdar produced a document, by which it appeared the former had paid 24 years ago 150 Rupees rent for the lands, in consequence of which he demanded the same amount: decided that, as no rent had been paid for the last 24 years, the demand was unjust, 31st October, 1819.
13	Bishen Singh, Mundlovee with Bikajee, Komisdar of Durgong.	Bishen Singh claimed certain dues from the Pergunnah, which the Komisdar refused, as being unjust. On reference Sir J. Malcolm decided that the former should have 5 per cent. Damee land, agreeable to the existing Sunnud; 4 Rupees Bheit from each village; 1 rupee Bheit for each renewed Puttah; 2 villages in Inam, and ¼ of the collections on Sayer, &c. 29th November, 1819.
14	Futteh Singh & Chyne Singh, Bhomiahs, with the managers of Sagore.	The Bhomiahs paid a Tankah of 1503 Rupees annually for 3 villages, which having become deserted, the Tankah could not be realized. The managers required them to pay the Tankah or give up the

No. 3.—*Continued.*

No. of Settlements.	Names of Chiefs, &c. with whom Settlements were made.	Conditions under which Settlements were made.
		the villages. They now agree to pay a progressive rent till the 4th year, when it will be 1503 Rupees, and in failure of annual payments to lose their villages, 6th April, 1820.
15	NADIR SINGH, Poteyl, with the managers of Deecktaun.	NADIR held 4 villages in the Pergunnah, 14 years ago, on condition he was to pay a certain sum annually. The Managers complained that nothing had been paid from that time: settled that an Istumrar grant of 251 rupees be given, and if not paid within 3 months, after it is due, the villages to be resumed, 8th October, 1819.
16	BHEEMAN SINGH, with do.	NADIR SINGH, BHEEMAN SINGH's father, held the villages of Koonjrode for 81 Rupees annually. Nothing however had been paid to the managers for the last 14 years, and it was settled to the satisfaction of both parties, that an Istumrar grant be given to BHEEMAN SINGH, he paying 401 Rupees annually on account of the prosperous state of the village, 8th October, 1819.
17	GOPAL SINGH, with LETCHMUN SINGH.	GOPAL SING held of LETCHMUN SINGH 455 beegahs of land in Enam, for service, and another village, paying for it a Tankah of 500 Rupees. The latter wished to resume the village and the beegahs of land, as there was no service required to be performed: settled that GOPAL SINGH pay 500 Rupees for the village, and 200 Rupees for the land, also a batta of 12½ per cent. on the above amount.
18	BUGWUNT SINGH, Rajah of Kachee Barode, with PRITHEE SINGH, Mundlovee of Bukrutghur	The discontinuance of Mundlovee dues on certain of the Kachee Barode villages, which had been extinct for upwards of 30 years, is by this settlement decided, and the claims of the Rajah to the villages of Doodwul

No. 3.—*Continued.*

No. of Settlements.	*Names of Chiefs, &c. with whom Settlements were made.*	*Conditions under which Settlements were made.*
		Doodwul and Donjakaire were recognized, 15th October, 1819.
19	HOLKAR and DHAR Government.	Both States brought forward claims for lands near Bijore and Depalpore : as it was impossible to ascertain correctly the boundary, it was agreed that the lands be left neutral for the purpose of pasturing cattle, mediated 15th April, 1820.
20	SOODHAN SINGH of Bheelwarrah with BOWANY DOSS.	This was a dispute between SOODHAN SINGH and BOWANY DOSS, because the latter appropriated to himself the donations to the God Devy ; settled that SOODHAN SINGH pay BOWANY DOSS a certain sum, and the latter not to interfere with the collections made from devotees, 4th December, 1819.
21	KOSHAL SINGH Row with the HOLKAR State.	KOSHAL SINGH claimed Heerapore in Jaghire : settled that he shall hold it 5 years Pugris, after which to pay 600 Rupees annually, 20th May, 1820.
22	BHEEMAN SINGH with do.	NADIR SINGH held the village of Kairee in lieu of 150 Rupees per annum, for maintaining the security of the Doorjunpore Ghaut. HOLKAR's Government wished to resume the village and pay the amount from the Kutcherry : settled that BHEEMAN SINGH hold the village and pay after 5 years 601 Rupees, deducting 150 Rupees for the protection of the Ghaut, 4th October, 1820.
23	MOHUN SINGH with do.	MOHUN SINGH's father held 300 beegahs of land for village service from the Government, but on his death the land was resumed : settled that MOHUN SINGH receive a grant of 100 beegahs in Enam, June, 1820.
24	PURBUT SINGH and RAGHONAT SINGH, Zemindars, with ditto.	The Zemindars to maintain the security of the Simrole Ghaut, and to receive the taxes on merchandize, &c. levied in ALIAH BAE's time, March, 1819.

ONKAR LAL

No. 3. –*Continued.*

No. of Settlements	Names of Chiefs, &c. with whom Settlements were made.	Conditions under which Settlements were made.
25	ONKAR LAL, Zemindar, with MANICK RAMJUNNEE.	ONKAR LAL to pay 500 Rupees annually to MANICK RAMJUNNEE, whose nose had been cut off at the instigation of ONKAR's mother, and who also was plundered of all her property, September, 1820.
26	TAIZA TURWEE, with the HOLKAR Government.	HOLKAR State agrees to entertain in its service 7 of the Turwees' adherents, and to give him two villages in Ijareh, subject after the 7th year to a payment of 1 Rupee per beegah, on condition that the Turwees make no further collections on passengers and goods, between Mhow and Jaum, and be responsible for all robberies, &c. 25th January, 1819.
27	CHEEMAH TURWEE with ditto.	Same conditions for protecting the roads between Sumole Ghaut and Sigwar.
28	KISHEN ROW MADHOO Boscottah with the British Government.	The British Government to pay MADHOO ROW 2,700 Rupees annually, in lieu of zemindaree dues upon the Pergunnahs of Kusroude, Kaunapore, and Burdiah, and a grant in Enam of the village of Chota Kusroude, paying for 4 successive years 500 Rupees annually, as his share of Sebundy expences, July, 1819.

The following Settlements were mediated by Major HENLEY.

29	SOOBHAH SINGH Burgoojur.	A grant from the British Government, for a half-assessed Jaghire of 3 villages in Eastern Shujahalpore, with a reservation of an annual payment of 1,400 Rupees to Government.
30	RAO BHYROO SINGH Goand.	A grant from HOLKAR of the village Heerapore and its dependencies, subject to an annual payment of 600 Rupees after the year Fuslee 1235; a grant from SCINDIAH of the village Keyrokal, and a grant from Dhar of 16 villages in Mukrar, subject after 5 years to a payment of 1001 Rupees annually.

MUCKOOND SINGH

No. 3.—*Continued.*

No. of Settlements	*Names of Chiefs, &c. with whom Settlements were made.*	*Conditions under which Settlements were made.*
31	MUCKOONDSINGH Goand	A grant from SCINDIAH of 36 villages in Hurdah and Hindia, subject after 5 years to a payment of 1001 Rupees annually.
32	ANOOP SINGH do.	A grant for life of the village Singore, and two others from MUCKSOOD SING.
33	PIEM SINGH do.	A grant from SCINDIAH of Poonghaut and 12 villages, subject after 5 years to a payment of 401 Rupees annually.
34	RANNEE RUTTUN BAE of Chandghur.	Holding Chandghur, Burkaisur, and 36 villages, regarding which no settlement has hitherto been made; also a claim to one third of the land revenue of 17 villages in Charwar.
35	RAO DEVY SINGH Goand	A Jaghire of Dhairee, and a Bheit of 5 Rupees and 2 Rupees per cent. on the revenue from each village in Lemunpore Mukrar.
36	GOOLAB RAO do.	Ramgurh in Jaghire, a Bheit of 5 Rupees from each village, a Damee of 1 per cent. on the revenue.
37	BULWUNT SINGH Grassiah.	Four half-assessed villages in Bersiah, and the village of Chandwar, and 5 others in Jaghire from Bhopal.
38	LETCHMUN SINGH and ISSEREE SINGH do.	Seven half-assessed villages in Bersiah, and 3 villages in Jaghire from Bhopaul.
39	THAKOOR NEERBY SINGH	Village of Chupper in Jaghire, 150 beegahs free land in Odeypore, 12 villages of Shumshabad, 5 of Bhilsah, and 17 of Seronje, on an Istumra Sunnud.
40	THAKOOR SALIM SINGH.	Puprail in Jaghire from the Dewan of Kilcheepore.
41	THAKOOR ROGONAUT SINGH.	A grant of Gogumey and 20 villages from HOLKAR, subject after Fuslee 1230 to an annual payment of 1,500 Rupees.

The

No. 3.—*Continued.*

The following Settlements were mediated by Captain BORTHWICK.

No. of Set.	*Names of Chiefs, &c. with whom Settlements were made.*	*Conditions under which Settlements were made.*
42	RAO RUTTUN SINGH, Thakoor, with SCINDIAH's Government.	The renewal of an annual tribute to SCINDIAH's Government of 825 Rupees, which had been for some years discontinued, (not formally confirmed.)
43	RAWUT DOORJUN SINGH with the Kotah Government.	The village of Seedra, which has been held by the Rawut's family in Jaghire from time immemorial, is continued to him by the Government, and in place of a horse, which was annually given in Nuzzer, it is stipulated, that the Rawut shall pay tribute of 100 Rupees annually
44	GOPAL SINGH with BHEEM SINGH.	GOPAL SINGH holds in perpetual Jaghire of Sukhetkeira from BEEM SINGH for services rendered, paying an annual tribute of 500 Rupees. GOPAL SINGH was to continue to render Military service when required for this Jaghire, but it is stipulated that in lieu of this he shall pay to BHEEM SINGH an additional tribute of Rupees 300, in all 800 Rupees annual tribute to be paid to BHEEM SINGH.
45	PIRTHEE SINGH, Mundlovee, with the Dhar Government.	PIRTHEE SINGH's Mundlovee dues on the Pergunnah of Budnawur regulated.

APPENDIX,

INDEX.

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TABLE OF ERRATA.

Page	Par.	Line.	
13	19	11	Letter to Lord Hastings, for Holkar State, *read* the Holkar State.
			PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS.
16	13	10	For Bauswarrah *read* Banswarah, and for Loonewanah *read* Loonewarrah.
,,	,,	18	For Soandeesh *read* Soandees.
			PART FIRST.
2	5	8	For Raugur *read* Baugur.
5	13	9	After fifteen, *insert* miles.
7	19	5 & 6	For Sombre *read* Sambre.
,,	20	3	For Newar *read* Nimar.
8	21	4	For Ruttywar *read* Khattywar.
,,	*Note*	2d	For ingenious *read* igneous.
10	31	1	For of *read* or.
,,	,,	6	For Noyle *read* Nolye.
,,	32	1	For Sarunpore *read* Sarungpore.
11	36	1	For Village *read* Valley.
,,	,,	20	For India *read* Indore.
,,	*Note, last*	1	For Nimawar *read* Nimawur.
14	41		No. of Paragraph not *inserted.*
,,	,,	3	For melted *read* smelted.
,,	42	4	For Rantril *read* Kantul.
,,	43	5	For its *read* his.
15	44	2	For Mokendra *read* Mokundra.
			PART SECOND.
19	7	3	For Byst *read* Bhyse.
23	*Note* 1	2	For overgrowing *read* overgrown.
28	*Note*	16	For Surgers *read* Seraees.
31	30	7	For Gungroar *read* Gungraur.
33	34	18	After faith a comma. For He *read* he.
,,	,,	19	After subjects, a full point. For the *read* The.
34	,,	53	For now *read* more.
,,	,,	54	For the Mahomedan *read* his Mahomedan.
			PART THIRD.
40	4	1	For of ten years *read* after.
44	*Note*	1	For commenced *read* commanded.

Page	Par.	Line.	
47	13	5	For possession *read* profession.
,,	*Note* 5.	2	After Dhar *insert* and.
53	17	15	For Savae *read* Sivae.
54	19	5	For oppose *read* oppress.
55	*Last line of Page.*		For Tondah *read* Tandah.
61	*Note*	7	After any *insert* part.

PART FOURTH.

Page	Par.	Line.	
67	5	9	After petty *insert* State of.
,,	7	12	For formerly *read* formally.
69	10	16	For parts this possession of *read* part of his possessions.
78	25	13	For Ramoo Khan *read* Ranah Khan.
,,	*Note* 2.	1	For Ramoo Khan *read* Ranah Khan.
84	31	11	After Holkar a point. For Soon *read* soon. After Meerah comma.
	Note 1.	1	For Jowud *read* Jâwud.
85	33	3	For term *read* terms.
,,	*Note* 1.	3	For cief *read* chief.
88	35	16	For Azimal omrah *read* Azim ul omrah.
,,	*Note*	1	For the marriage *read* his marriage.
92	*Note*	9	After Dowlut Rao *insert* the writer of this article adds.

PART FIFTH.

Page	Par.	Line.	
93	1	7	For Hulkar *read* Holkar.
,,	2	5	For Nuranjee *read* Narainjee.
,,	*Note* 3.	1	For Nunbalkur *read* Nembalkur.
94	*Note* 3.	13	For Sattobee *read* Sattolee.
95	*Note* 2.	1	For Rahisbone *read* Rakisbone.
105	12	42	After when *dele* combined with.
109	*Note* 3.	1	For Neeyal *read* Newul, and for possessed *read* professed.
111	*Note* 3	2	For Kossee Row *read* Kassee Rao.
123	30	22	For and after *read* but after.
,,	31	2	For Aouter *read* Aoutaar.
125	33	24	For procured *read* promised.
,,	,,	27 & 28	Before ceremony *dele* sacred.
,,	34	1	For troop *read* troops.
126	*Note* 5.	2	For rom *read* from.
138	36	10	For Shamrow Mullich *read* Shamrow Madick.
143	*Note*	7	For Eultimba *read* Fultimba.
,,	,,	9	For conduct *read* consent.
159	*Note* 4	1	For Kautick *read* Kartick.
162	68	64	For undue *read* undo.

PART SIXTH.

Page	Par.	Line.	
164	*Note* 3.	2	For Maharick *read* Madick.
184	26	28	After latter *insert* the.

Page	Par.	Line.	
190	31	27	After before, a comma.
191	*Note* 4.	9	For Zansmull *read* Zorrawurmull.
192	32	9	After he is *insert* to.
	Note 1.	2	For Neck *read* Neek.
197	*Note* 2.	1	For Gungrour *read* Gagrone.
200	45	16	For to the British *read* by the British.
202	*Note* 2.	1	For an *read* and.
206	*Note* 1.	3	For Mewattee *read* Mewattees.
211	63	6	For Account *read* Narrative.
215	71	3	For and *read* aid.
221	*Note*	8	For avoid *read* evade.

PART SEVENTH.

227	3	3	For Mansubdar *read* Munsoobdar.
236	16	9	For Ghasee Ram *read* Gassy Ram.
239	19	1	For he *read* Fyze Mahomed.
24[illegible]	30	1	For Ghans *read* Ghous *passim*.
		4	For from the daughter *read* by the daughter.
,,	31	7	For Gal Khojah *read* Gul Khojah.
246	*Note* 2.	1	For Ragoogher *read* Ragooghur.
,,		4	For Awa Bae *read* Aliah Bae.
,,		8	For refuge *read* refugee.
,,		11	For the latter *read* Chota Khan.
247	32	27	For Ghans *read* Ghous.
,,	,,	48	
248		51	For Banker *read* Bankers.
,,		67	Transfer the reference to the note from Rajah Himut Rao to Khealee Ram, line 68.
249	34	9	For Ghans Mahomed *read* Ghous Mahomed *passim*.
266	57	55	For Shupunnah *read* Shapunnah.
	Note	1	For Prince *read* person.

PART EIGHTH.

292	16	6	For Nimaur *read* Nimawur.
297	21	1	After received *insert* a.

PART NINTH.

311	5	29	For Coffilah *read* Kafelah.
324	13	7	For non divided *read* now divided.
328	*Note*	1	Before Memorandum *insert* a.
330	18	9	For Lollagee *read* Lallajee.
340	30	11 & 12	For Bangor *read* Baugur.
342	32	1	For Bagur *read* Baugur.
343	36	2	For Moultain *read* Moultan.
,,	*Note*	,,	For Marwa *read* Marwar.
344	38	5	For Revenues *read* revenue.
349	48	3	For Oolye *read* Nolye.

PART TENTH.

Page	*Par.*	*Line.*	
363	Note 2.		Erase the inverted commas from before the two last lines.
365	Note 2.	4	Before and after, by order, place inverted commas.
376	48	3	Before dufturree *insert* a.
378	Note 1.	1	For the small revenue *read* small revenue.
379	56	11	For with certain *read* with a certain.
381	Note 1.	1	For Bagur *read* Baugur.
389	Note	8	For Jonala *read* Jândla.
,,	,,	19	For Magistrate *read* magistrates.
391	Note	1	For Religioso *read* religion.

PART ELEVENTH.

401	4	4	For soils *read* soil.
406	Note	1	For Nolaye *read* Nolye.
416	30	15	For Kursau *read* Kursan *passim.*
421	Note	4	For Endue *read* Enam.
435	58	15	For Katchwda *read* Katchwa.
436	,,	3	For Noyle *read* Nolye.
,,	Note	4	For Porahs *read* Borahs.
453	Note	1	For Baize Baec *read* Bâcza Baee.
459	,,	6	For Cheynpore) Berriah *read* Cheynpore, Farriah.
467	Note	1	For Rhatil Ghore *read* Rhatib Ghore.
467	Note	2	For Bhatte Rhulal *read* Bhattee Khulal.
486	,,	3	For Oaut *read* Oant.
486	Note	4	For Chelum *read* Chelaun.
		,,	For Rukra *read* Rokra.
		11	For Mamsool *read* Mamool
49	135	18	For Bingarries *read* Binjarries.
496	Note	21	For Onswerie *read* Ourwerie.
,,	,,	,,	For chey *read* Chey.
49	Note	4	For Galoonkers *read* Saloonkers.
501	147	5	For rap *read* rapid.
508	,,	1	For Nuraingliur *read* Nurrainghur.
51	,,	19	For Seepre *read* Seepree.
524	,,	2	For 38,000 *read* 28,000.
527	,,	12	For 80,00 *read* 80,000.
	,,	15	For 1819 20 *read* 1819—20.

PART TWELFTH.

534	Note	22	For Rainkhanee *read* Raimkhanee.
541	,,	1	For Cours and Camp *read* Court and Camp.
544	24	9	For qual *read* equal.
546	26	2	For Adjohodiah *read* Adjhodiah.
557	43	5	For Ghytoh *read* Ghynta.
573	63	9	For are to be found in the Country of Kotah alone; they reckon &c. *read*, are to be found—In the Country of Kotah alone they reckon, &c.

Page	Par.	Line.	
576	68	9	For to truth, art, or rather low cunning; *read* to truth. Art or rather low cunning.
578	*Note*	4	For Namut *read* nimuk.
579	*Note*	1	For police soldiers & principal robbers *read* Police, Soldiers & principal Robbers.
,,	,,	2	For intluence *read* influence.
583	,,	3	For vermillion *read* Vermilion.
592	87	4	For indispensible *read* indispensable.
596	*Note*	5	For superion *read* superior.
603	*Note*	1	For Shujauhalpore *read* Shujahalpore.
606	108	4	For desport *read* disport.
609	111	14	For bee ntaken *read* been taken.
611	111	5	302—place under total.
612	114	3	For outed *read* noted.
,,	,,	4	For each & hamlet nearly *read* each hamlet and nearly.

PART THIRTEENTH.

Page	Par.	Line.	
654	38	3	*After* gratitude *add* with.
655	39	3	For vests *read* vest.
655	*Note*	6	For refractory *read* refractory.
657	,,	18	For connections *read* connection.
659	44	1	For Mundlasi *read* Mundlasir.



APPENDIX.

NOTES OF INSTRUCTIONS TO ASSISTANTS AND OFFICERS ACTING UNDER THE ORDERS OF MAJOR GENERAL SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G. C. B.

THESE Instructions are grounded upon principles which it has been my constant effort to inculcate upon all officers acting under my orders; and, at a period when I am leaving Central India, (perhaps not to return) I feel it a duty I owe to them, to myself and to the public service, to enter into a more full explanation of my sentiments upon the subject of our general and local rule, than could have been necessary under any other circumstances.

General Observations.

2d.—Almost all, who from knowledge and experience have been capable of forming any judgment upon the question, are agreed that our power in India rests on the general opinion of the natives of our comparative superiority in good faith, wisdom, and strength, to their own rulers. This important impression will be improved by the consideration we shew to their habits, institutions, and religion, by the moderation, temper and kindness with which we conduct ourselves towards them; and injured by every act that offends their belief or superstition, that shews disregard or neglect of individuals or communities; or that evinces our having with the arrogance of conquerors forgotten those maxims, by which this Great Empire has been established, and by which alone it can be preserved.

3d.—The want of union of the natives appears one of the strongest foundations of our power; it has certainly contributed, beyond all others, to its establishment. But, when we trace this cause, we find it to have originated in the condition in which we found India, and the line we adopted towards its inhabitants; that it will continue to operate when the condition of that country is changed, and under any alteration in our course of proceedings, is more than can be assumed. The similarity of the situation of the great proportion of the people of this continent, now sub-

ject

ject to our rule, will assuredly make them more accessible to common motives of action, which is the foundation of all union; and the absence of that necessity for conciliation, which changes have effected, will make us more likely to forget its importance. Our power has hitherto owed much to a contrast with misrule and oppression, but this strength we are daily losing; we have also been indebted to an indefinite impression of our resources, originating in ignorance of their real extent; knowledge will bring this feeling to a reduced standard. We are supported by the good opinion of the lower and middling classes, to whom our government is indulgent; but it has received the rudest shocks from an impression, that our system of rule is at variance with the permanent continuance of rank, authority, and distinction in any native of India. This belief, which is not without foundation, is general to every class, and its action leaves but an anxious and feverish existence to all who enjoy station and high name; the feeling, which their condition excites, exposes those, who have left to them any portion of power and independence, to the arts of the discontented, the turbulent and the ambitious; this is a danger to our power, which must increase in the ratio of its extent, unless we can counteract its operation by a commensurate improvement of our administration.

4th.—Our greatest strength, perhaps, and that which gives the fairest hopes of the duration of our rule over India, arises out of the singular construction of the frame of both the controlling and the executive government. Patronage in all the branches of the local government of India is exercised under much limitation and check; favor effects less in this country, and competency more, than in any other scene of equal magnitude. There is an interminable field for individual exertion, and though men high in station are almost absolute, (and the character of our rule requires they should be so) there is, in that jealousy of such power which belongs to our native country, a very efficient shield against its abuse. This keeps men from being intoxicated with their short-lived authority, and the fundamental principles which discourage colonization prevent public servants taking root in the soil, and make them proceed to the duties of government, as they would in other countries to the routine of an office, which employs their talents, without agitating their personal feelings and interests, in any degree that can disturb or bias their judgment. This absence of baneful passions, and all the arts of intrigue and ambition which destroy empires, produces a calmness of mind that can belong alone to the rulers of a country situated as the English employed in India now are, and gives them an advantage, which almost balances the bad effects of their want of those national ties that usually constitute the strength of governments.

5th.—Our success and moderation, contrasted with the misrule and violence to which a great part of the population of India have for more than a century been exposed, have at this moment raised the reputation of the British Nation so high, that men

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have forgotten, in the contemplation of the security and prosperity they enjoy under strangers, their feelings of patriotism; but these are feelings which that very knowledge that it is our duty to impart must gradually revive and bring into action. The people of India must, by a recurring sense of benefits, have amends made them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters, and this can alone be done by the combined efforts of every individual, employed in stations of trust and responsibility, to render popular a government which, though not national, has its foundations laid deep on the principles of toleration, justice and wisdom. Every Agent of Government should study and understand the above facts. He should not content himself with having acquired a knowledge of the languages, and of the customs, of those with whom he has intercourse. All his particular acts (even to the manner of them) should be regulated by recurrence to the foundation of our rule, and a careful observation of those principles by which it has been established, and can alone be maintained. Of the importance of this I cannot better state my opinion, than by expressing my full conviction, that, independent of the prescribed duties which every qualified officer performs, there is no person in a situation of any consequence, who does not, both in the substance and manner of his conduct, do something every day in his life, which, as it operates upon the general interests of the empire, through the feelings of the circle he controls or rules, has an unseen effect in strengthening or weakening the government by which he is employed. My belief, that what I have assumed is correct, will be my excuse for going into some minuteness in my general instructions to those under my orders.

Manner towards the Natives.

6th.—The first and one of the most important points, is the manner of European superiors towards the natives. It would be quite out of place, in this paper, to speak of the necessity of kindness, and of an absence of all violence; this must be a matter of course with those to whom it is addressed: there is much more required from them than that conciliation which is a duty, but which, when it appears as such, loses half its effect. It must, to make an impression, be a habit of the mind, grounded on a favorable consideration of the qualities and merits of those to whom it extends; and this impression, I am satisfied, every person will have, who, after attaining a thorough knowledge of the real character of those with whom he has intercourse, shall judge them, without prejudice or self-conceit, by a standard which is suited to their belief, their usages, their habits, their occupations, their rank in life; the ideas they have imbibed from infancy, and the stage of civilization to which the community as a whole are advanced. If he does so, with that knowledge and that temper of mind which is essential to render him competent to form an opinion, he will find enough of virtue, enough of docility, and disposition to improvement; enough of regard and observance of all the best and most sacred ties of society, to create an esteem for individuals, and an interest in the community; which, when grounded on a sincere conviction of its being deserved, will ren-

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der his kindness natural and conciliating. All human beings, down to the lowest links of the chain, inclusive of children, are quick in tracing the source of the manners of others, and above all of their superiors: when that is regulated by the head, not the heart; when it proceeds from reason, not from feeling, it cannot please; for it has in it, if at all artificial, a shew of design which repels, as it generates, suspicion. When this manner takes another shape, when kindness and consideration appear as acts of condescension, it must be felt as offensive. Men may dread, but can never love or regard, those who are continually humiliating them by the parade of superiority.

7th.—I have recommended these foundations of manner, towards the natives of India, upon which I feel my own to be grounded. I can recollect (and I do it with shame) the period, when I thought I was very superior to those with whom my duty made me associate; but as my knowledge of them, and of myself, improved, the distance between us gradually lessened. I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantages over them, but cannot think, that, if all the ranks of the different communities of Europe and India are comparatively viewed, there is just ground for any very arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former: nor can I join in that common-place opinion which condemns in a sweeping way the natives of this country as men, taking the best of them, not only unworthy of trust, and devoid of principle, but of too limited intelligence, and reach of thought, to allow of Europeans, with large and liberal minds and education, having rational or satisfactory intercourse with them. Such impressions, if admitted, must prove vital, as to the manner of treating the natives of India: I shall therefore say a few words upon the justice of the grounds upon which they rest. The man who considers them in this light can grant little or no credit to the high characters and the eulogies, which are given to individuals and great bodies of men in their own histories, traditions, and records. He must then judge them by his own observations and knowledge, and his opinion will in all probability be formed not comparatively with Europeans of their own class of life, but with the public servants of government: a class of men who are carefully educated, whose ambition is stimulated by the highest prospects of preferment, and whose integrity is preserved by adequate salaries through every grade of their service. Before this last principle was introduced, (which is little more than thirty years) the European servants of government were in the habit of making money in modes, not unsimilar to those we now reproach the natives in our employ with doing; and it may here be asked, if the same endeavours have been made to alter the habits of the latter as the former. I believe the exact contrary to be the fact, and that the system since introduced has not operated more to elevate the European, than to sink and depress the native character; but this is not the place for the discussion of this large question.

8th.—Many of the moral defects of the natives of India are to be referred to that

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misrule and oppression, from which they are now in a great degree emancipated. I do not know the example of any great population, in similar circumstances, preserving, through such a period of changes and tyrannical rule, so much of virtue and so many good qualities, as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country. This is to be accounted for, in some degree, by the institutions of the Hindu, particularly that of Cast, which appears to have raised them to their present rank in human society, at a very remote period; but it has certainly tended to keep them stationary at that point of civil order to which they were thus early advanced. With a just admiration of the effects of many of their institutions, particularly those parts of them which cause in vast classes not merely an absence of the common vices of theft, drunkenness and violence, but preserve all the virtuous ties of family and kindred relations, we must all deplore some of their usages and weak superstitions: but what individuals or what races of men are without great and manifold errors and imperfections, and what mind that is not fortified with ignorance or pride can, on such grounds, come to a severe judgment against a people like that of India.

I must here however remark, that I have invariably found, unless in a few cases where knowledge had not overcome self-sufficiency and arrogance, that in proportion as European officers, civil and military, advanced in their acquaintance with the language and customs of the natives of India, they became more sincerely kind to them; and, on the contrary, ignorance always accompanied that selfish pride and want of consideration which held them light, or treated them with harshness.

9th.—I am quite satisfied in my own mind that if there is one cause more than another, that will impede our progress to the general improvement of *India*, it is a belief formed by its population, from the manner of their English superiors, that they are viewed by them as an inferior and degraded race: but, on the contrary, if the persons employed in every branch of the administration of this great country, while their conduct marks those rigid principles of virtue and justice, under the check of which they act, comport themselves towards the people whom it is their duty to make happy with that sincere humility of heart which always belongs to real knowledge, and which attaches while it elevates, they will contribute by such manner, more than any measures of boasted wisdom ever can, to the strength and duration of their Government.

10th.—It is of importance, before I conclude this part of the subject, to state my opinion, that in our manner to the natives, though it is our duty to understand and to pay every proper deference to their customs and usages, and to conform to these as far we can with propriety, particularly on points where the religious prejudices or the rank of those with whom we have intercourse require it, yet we should always preserve the European; for to adopt their manners is a departure

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from the very principle, on which every impression of our superiority that rests upon good foundation is grounded. We should take a lesson on such points from what we see occur to native Princes and others, who ape English habits and modes; they lose ground with one class, that to which they belong, without gaining with the other, that to which they wish to approximate. The fact is, they ultimately lose with the latter, for even their attachment is useless, when they cease to have influence with their own tribe. The European officer who assumes native manners and usages may please a few individuals, who are flattered or profited by his departure from the habits of his country; but even with these, familiarity will not be found to encrease respect, and the adoption of such a course will be sure to sink him in the estimation of the mass of the community, both European and Native, among whom he resides.

11th.—The intercourse to be maintained with the natives within your circle is of two kinds,—Private and Official.

12th.—The first should extend as much as possible to all ranks and classes, and be as familiar, as kind, and as frequent, as the difference of habits and pursuits will admit.

13th.—There is a veil between the Natives of India and their European superiors, which leaves the latter ignorant, in an extraordinary degree, of the real character of the former. He can only judge his own domestics by what he sees of their conduct in his presence; of the manner in which they perform their other duties in life, he is, if not ignorant, but imperfectly informed; so many minute obstacles, grounded upon cast, usages, and religion, oppose an approach to closer acquaintance, that it can never be generally attained; but in private intercourse much may be learnt that will facilitate the performance of public duty, and give that knowledge of the usages and feelings of the various classes of the Natives, which will enable its possessors to touch every chord with effect. In joining with them in field sports, in an unceremonious interchange of visits with the most respectable, and in seeking the society of the most learned, the European public officer will not only gain much information, but impart complete confidence, and lay the grounds of that personal attachment which will ever be found of the greatest aid to his public labors. He will also obtain by such habits of private intercourse the means of elevating those he esteems by marks of notice and regard; but in pursuing this course he must beware, lest he lose his object by falling into the weaknesses or indulgences of the persons with whom he thus associates. It is in the performance of this part of his duty, when all the pride of station is laid aside, that he must most carefully guard that real superiority, which he derives from better knowledge and truer principles of morality and religion; for it is from the impression made by the possession without the ostentation of those higher qualities that he must expect the benefits I have described as likely to result from a familiar and private intercourse with the Natives under his direction and control.

14th.

Official Intercourse.

14th.—In all official intercourse with the Natives, one of the first points of importance is, that these, whatever be their rank, class, or business, should have complete and easy access to personal communication with their European superior. The necessity of this arises out of the character of our rule, and of those over whom it is established. It is sufficiently galling for the people of India to have foreign masters; the impression this feeling must continually excite can only be mitigated or removed by a recurring sense of the advantages they derive from the wisdom and justice of their European superiors, and this can alone be effected by direct communication with them. Though Native servants must be employed and trusted, and though it is quite essential to behave to all with kindness and to raise the higher classes of them by a treatment which combines consideration and respect, yet they can never without hazard be used as exclusive mediums of communication: their real or supposed influence will, under any circumstances that they are allowed frequent approach to an European officer in the exercise of authority, give them opportunities of abusing his confidence if they desire it; and as our servants, who are seldom selected from the higher classes, cannot be supposed to have even the same motives with those of native rulers for good conduct, much less the same title to regard, men under our power will have, in aggravation of the feeling arising out of subjection to foreign rule, that of being to a certain extent at the mercy of persons of their own nation whom they neither trust nor respect. There is no remedy for such an evil except being completely easy of access; but this, however much the superior may desire it, is not to be established without difficulty and perseverance; it affects the interest and consequence of every man in his employ from the highest to the lowest, but in proportion to their efforts to counteract it, so must his be to carry this important point, on which, more than all others, the integrity of his personal administration and the good of the country depend; no native servant, high or low, must be allowed the privilege of either introducing or stopping an applicant or a complainant; all such must come with confidence to the European superior, or to such assistant as he may specifically direct to receive or hear them. It requires much temper and patience, constant activity, and no slight sacrifice of personal comfort, to maintain an intercourse with the natives upon this footing; but unless it be done, (I speak here from the fullest experience) the government of control now established in Central India cannot be carried on for any period, and the changes which must ensue from relaxation in this particular will be brought about, in the manner most unfavorable to our character and reputation.

Importance of direct communication in Intercourse.

15th.—In establishing this direct personal intercourse, it is perhaps better, when the habits are so formed as to admit of it, that natives of all classes and ranks should have admission and be heard at any hour of [illegible] ay that they come, except those of meals; but where such constant int[illegible] nd to interrupt other business, as it may be with many, certain portions of e[illegible] ay must be set aside to hear representations

sentations and complaints, and to see those who desire to be seen. The establishment of direct intercourse is, in my opinion, a primary and indispensable duty, and one no more dependant upon the inclination or judgment of the individuals to whom the charge of managing or controlling these countries is intrusted, than it is to an officer whether he shall attend his parade, or to a judge whether he shall sit a certain number of hours in his court: indeed, I consider that late events have so completely altered our condition in India, that the duties of almost every officer in the political department have become in a great degree Magisterial, and, as such, must be more defined, and subject to more exact rules, than they formerly were.

16*th.*—Our right of interference (as will be shewn hereafter) is so limited, that it is not in one case in a hundred, of those that are brought forward, that an officer can do more than state calmly and clearly, to the party who seeks redress, the reasons and principles which prevent him from attending to his representation or complaint. He will have to repeat this perhaps fifty times in one day, but he must, in contemplating the good that will be ultimately produced, be content to take this trouble. The natives of India cannot persuade themselves that, possessing as we do, the means of establishing our direct rule, we shall long refrain from doing so. This impression weakens those Princes, Chiefs, and Ministers, whom it is our policy to support, in a degree that almost unfits them for being instruments of government. We can only counteract its bad effects by making ourselves understood by all, even to the lowest, upon this point; it is one on which they will never trust to a communication from any native agent or servant, nor indeed will they be convinced of our sincerity till they observe for years that our words and actions are in unison; and they must, to satisfy them that there is no prospect of those fluctuations to which they have been so habituated, see that every thing originates with, and *is known to,* the superior; this knowledge, added to the right of approaching him at all moments, will gradually tranquillize their minds, and place them, as far as they can be placed, beyond the power of being made the dupes of artful or interested men.

17*th.*—It has been before said, that native servants of all classes should be treated with that attention and respect to which they were from their station and character entitled. These will of course have at all times the freest intercourse with the superior, but they should never have the privilege of coming to any conference between him and other natives to which they were not specifically called; but these servants (whatever might be their inclinations) will have little power of doing harm, when a direct intercourse (such as has been described) is well established, and its principles and objects generally understood. Indeed, one of the best effects of that intercourse is the check it constitutes on all nefarious proceedings of subordinate agents, and persons of every description, as such must act in hourly dread of discovery, when every man can tell his own story to the principal at any moment he pleases.

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18th.—The next important point, to be observed in official intercourse with the natives, is "Publicity.", There can be no occasion to expatiate, here, upon the utility of this principle. It is the happy privilege of a state, so constituted as that of the English in India, to gain strength in the ratio that its measures, and the grounds on which they are adopted, are made public, and this is above all essential in a quarter of India where we are as yet but imperfectly understood. There are and can be no secrets in our ordinary proceedings, and every Agent will find his means of doing good advanced, his toil lessened, and the power of the designing and corrupt to misrepresent his actions or intentions decreased, in the proportion that he transacts affairs in public. He should avoid, as much as he possibly can, private conferences with those in his employ or others. These will be eagerly sought for; they give the individual thus admitted the appearance of favor and influence, and there is no science at which the more artful among the natives are greater adepts, than that of turning to account the real or supposed confidence of their superiors. I know no mode of preventing the mischief, which this impression, if it becomes general, gives men the power of effecting, but habitual publicity in transacting business. This will no doubt be found to have inconveniences, which will be purposely increased by those who have their game to play, and indeed others; for natives of rank and station, even when they have no corrupt views, are from habit and self importance attached to a secret and mysterious way of conducting both great and small affairs.

Importance of Publicity in Intercourse.

19th.—A public officer placed in your situation must always be vigilant and watchful of events likely to affect the peace of the country under his charge, but no part of his duty requires such care and wisdom in its performance. He cannot rest in blind confidence, nor refuse attention to obvious and well-authenticated facts; but he must be slow in giving his ear, or in admitting to private and confidential intercourse, secret agents and informers, lest these make an impression (which will be their object) upon his mind; for there is no failing of human nature, to which the worst part of the natives of India have learnt (from the shape of their own government) so well to address themselves, as any disposition to suspicion in their superiors. From the condition of Central India, abounding as it must with discontented and desperate characters, intrigues, treasonable conversations, and papers, and immature plots must for some time be matters of frequent occurrence and growth, but such will in general be best left to perish of neglect. Established as our power now is, men cannot collect any means capable of shaking it without being discovered; and it is, I am convinced, under all ordinary circumstances, wiser and safer to incur petty hazard, than to place individuals and communities at the mercy of artful and avaricious agents and spies, or to goad unfortunate men to a state of hostility by continually viewing them with an eye of torturing and degrading suspicion.

20th.—In the intercourse with the natives of your circle, it is hardly necessary to advert to the subject of giving and receiving presents. The recent orders upon this subject

subject, which have been communicated to you, are very defined and strict; but there is a necessity in this government of control for every agent to maintain, on a high ground, not only the purity but the disinterestedness of the English character, and you will avoid, as much as you possibly can, incurring any obligation to local authorities. These will sedulously endeavour to promote your convenience and comfort, and will press favors upon you both from design and good feelings; but there is a strength in preserving complete independence on all such points that must not be abandoned. Our political superiority, to be efficient, must be unmixed with any motives or concerns, either connected with our personal interest or that of others, that can soil or weaken that impression on which its successful exercise depends.

21st.—The forms of the official intercourse between European agents and natives of rank were, before we obtained paramount power, a matter of mere moment, and one on which we could less relax than at present, because our motives were at that period more liable to be mistaken. Though it is essential in our intercourse with nations who are attached to, and give value to, ceremonies, to understand such perfectly, and to claim from all what is due to our station, that we may not sink the rank of the European superior in the estimation of those subject to his control; it is now the duty of the former to be much more attentive to the respect which he gives than what he receives, particularly in his intercourse with men of high rank. The Princes and Chiefs of India may in different degrees be said to be all dependant on the British Government; many have little more than the name of that power they before enjoyed, but they seem, as they lose the substance, to cling to the forms of station. The pride of reason may smile at such a feeling, but *it exists*, and it would be alike opposite to the principles of humanity and policy to deny it gratification.

22nd.—In official intercourse with the lower classes, the latter should be treated according to the usages of the country, as practised by the most indulgent of their native superiors. It will be found that they require personal notice and consideration in proportion as their state is removed from that knowledge which belongs to civilization, and it is on this ground that the Bheel must have more attention paid him than the Ryot; it is more difficult to give confidence to his mind, and to make him believe in the sincerity and permanence of the kindness with which he is treated, because he is in a condition more remote from the party with whom he communicates, and, before he can be reclaimed, he must be approximated.

23rd.—The interference of agents, employed in this country with native Princes or Courts or their local officers, cannot be exactly defined, for there will be shades of distinction in every case that will require attention; but all must be subject, and that in the strictest degree, to certain general and well-understood principles founded on the nature of our power, our objects, our political relations with the different states, the personal conduct of their rulers, their necessity for our aid and support,

port, and their disposition to require or reject it in the conduct of their internal administration. The leading principle, and the one which must be continually referred to, is grounded on the character of our controlling power and its objects. It is the avowed, and I am satisfied it is the true, policy of the British State, while it maintains the general peace of the country, to keep, not only in the enjoyment of their high rank, but in the active exercise of their sovereign functions, the different princes and chiefs who are virtually or declaredly dependent on its protection. The principal object (setting aside the obligations of faith) is to keep at a distance that crisis, to which in spite of our efforts we are gradually approaching, of having the whole of India subject to our direct rule. There is no intention of discussing here the consequences likely to result from such an event. It is sufficient for executive and subordinate officers to know, that it is the desire of the government they serve to keep it at a distance, to render it their duty to contribute their whole efforts to promote the accomplishment of that object; and on the manner and substance of their interference the local success of this policy will greatly depend.

24th.—On all points where we are pledged by treaty to support States, or to mediate or interfere between them and others, we must of course act agreeably to the obligations contracted, and in such case no instructions can be required. It may not however be unuseful to remark, that, on all occasions where they are referred to, treaties and engagements should be interpreted with much consideration to the prince or chief [illegible] they are made. There is often from opposite education and habits much difference between their construction and ours of such engagements, and no loose observation, or even casual departure from the letter of them, ought to [illegible] ces, when it appeared there was no intention of violating the [illegible] d, or of acting contrary to pledged faith. When any article of an engagement is doubtful, I think it should be invariably explained with more leaning to the expectations originally raised in the weaker, than to the interests of the stronger, power. It belongs to superior authority to give ultimate judgment upon all points of this nature which come under discussion, but that judgment must always be much influenced by the color of the information and opinion of the local agent. My desire is to convey how important every subject is that [illegible] gree with that reputation for good faith, which can only be considered our strength, while it exists unimpaired in the minds of the natives: and in this view the most scrupulous attention should be paid to their understanding of every article of the agreements we make with them, for no local advantage, nor the promotion of any pecuniary interest, can compensate for the slightest injury to this corner stone of our power in India.

25th.—With the government of Dowlut Row Scindiah (a great part of whose possessions are intermixed with those of our dependant allies in this quarter) we have only general relations of amity, and however virtually dependant events may have rendered that prince, we can (except insisting upon the exact performance

Interference with Scindiah's Government.

ance of those settlements which we have mediated between him or his delegated officers and some of his tributaries) claim no right of interference in any part of his internal administration ; nor should there, unless in cases of unexpected emergency which threatened the general peace of the country, be any disposition shewn to interference, except on specific requisition from the Resident at Gwalior. Without interfering, however, we have hitherto, and shall continue to exercise a very salutary control both over DOWLUT ROW SCINDIAH and his local officers by the terms on which we communicate and act with the latter. When these are men of good character, and study the happiness of the inhabitants, and the improvement of the country, we can, by the cordiality and consideration with which we treat them and the ready attention we give to the settlement of every petty dispute they have with the subjects of our allies, as well as other friendly acts, grant them a countenance and aid which greatly facilitates their success in their local administration. The same principle leads to abstinence from all communication, and to our keeping aloof (except where the general peace is at hazard) from all intercourse with those of SCINDIAH's managers, who are noted for misrule or bad faith. This line of conduct towards the latter, grounded as it publicly should be on the avowed principle of keeping our character free of soil from their proceedings, locally increases our reputation, while it has the effect of rendering the employment of such men inconvenient and unprofitable to the State, and thus constitutes one of the chief means we have of working a reform in its internal administration ; nor is it a slight one, for the impression of our power is so great, that the belief of a local officer possessing our good opinion and friendship is of itself sufficient to repress opposition to his authority, while his forfeiting our favor is sure to raise him enemies, both in his district and at Gwalior.

26th.—With the Courts of HOLKAR, DHAR, DEWASS, and almost all the petty Rajpoot States west of the Chumbul, our relations are different. These have been raised from a weak and fallen condition to one of efficiency through our efforts. But, though compelled at first to aid them in almost every settlement, we have, as they attained the power of acting for themselves, gradually withdrawn from minute interference on points connected with their internal administration, limiting ourselves to what is necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

27th.—There is so strong a feeling in the minds of princes and chiefs above alluded to, and in those of all their officers, (from their prime minister down to the lowest agent) of their actual dependance upon the British Government, that it is almost impossible to make them understand that they are in the conduct of their internal administration desired and expected to act independant of it. Their difficulty of comprehending and trusting the policy, which dictates our conduct in this particular, arises out of its being opposite to all their habits and knowledge. Time alone, and the most minute care of every European Agent employed, can impart to them that confidence, which is essential to their becoming competent functionaries of rule. To effect this object, the principles hitherto inculcated and acted upon must be steadily pursued, and

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we must decline all interference, except in cases where Grassiahs, Bheels, or other plunderers are concerned; these, from their situation or strength, can only be kept in order by the power of the British Government, and we must in such cases even have the limits of our interference exactly defined, that no belief may exist of our possessing the power of departing from the restrictions we have imposed upon ourselves; for on such impressions being general, and being confirmed by scrupulous consistency of action, depends our success in giving that efficiency to the various native authorities subject to our control, which is necessary to enable them to perform the different duties allotted to them.

28th.—In cases of interference with lesser rulers, such as the reformed Rajpoot plunderers, and Bheel Chiefs, we may be compelled to enter more minutely into their affairs; but the principles observed should be the same; and while we take care to repress every disposition to a return to predatory habits, and see that men, who have long cherished such, possess themselves of honest means of livelihood, we must respect their prejudices, and not hastily break in upon the rude frame of their internal rule, but leave (down to the Turvee or head of the Bheel Parah or cluster of hamlets) the full exercise of his authority over those under him, according as that is grounded on the ancient prejudices and usages of the tribe to which he and his family or followers belong.

29th.—The feelings of irritation and hatred with which almost all the Princes and Chiefs of this quarter regard the Grassiahs and Bheels, and the total want of confidence of the latter in their nominal superiors, have and will continue to render calls for our interference very frequent; but however high the character and condition of the one party, and however bad and low that of the other may be, we must never grant our name or support to measures of coercion or violence, without fully understanding the merits of the case, nor without having had direct communication with the party or parties inculpated; otherwise we may be involved in embarrassment, and become unconsciously the instruments of injustice and oppression.

30th.—Many questions will occur deeply connected with our reputation for good faith which cannot be decided by any exact rules; but, whenever that is concerned, the tone of our feeling should be very high. It is the point upon which the moral part of our government of this great empire hinges, and in these countries where our rule and control are new, and in which the inhabitants cannot yet understand any explanations that do not rest upon broad and obvious grounds, the subject requires much attention. There are many cases in which our faith, though not specifically, is virtually pledged to individuals: Ministers, for instance, of minor or incompetent Princes or Chiefs, who have been brought forward or recognized by us in the exercise of authority, have a claim upon our support and consideration, which nothing but bad conduct on their part can forfeit; we should no doubt be most careful in any interference that leads to such obligations. They are only to be incurred

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when a necessity that involves the peace and prosperity of the country calls for them, but they must be sacredly observed; for, with a people who look in all questions of government more to persons than systems, the abandonment, except from gross misconduct, of any individual, who had been raised or openly protected by us, would excite stronger feelings than the breach of an article of a treaty, and locally prove more injurious, as it weakens that reliance upon our faith which is the very foundation of our strength.

31*st*.—We may rest satisfied, while we pursue the course I have stated, (and it is the one to which, our faith is almost in every case, either directly or by implication, pledged) that we have from our paramount power a very efficient check over states and tribes, whose rulers, officers and chiefs will soon discover that they can only gain our favor and support by good conduct, or forfeit it by bad; with such knowledge and with means comparatively limited, we cannot expect they will be disposed to incur displeasure, when the terms on which they can gain approbation are so easy; at least no men possessed of common sense and discernment (qualities in which the natives of India are seldom deficient) can be expected to act in such a manner; but we must not conceal from ourselves, that their conduct in this, as in all other particulars, will rest chiefly on the value of that condition in which they are placed or rather left; and in proportion that we render it one of comfort and dignity, so will their care be to preserve our good opinion and to merit our confidence. It is indeed upon our success in supporting their respectability, that the permanence of a system of control over great and small native states, such as we have established in this quarter of India, will depend; we have no choice of means in the performance of this delicate and arduous part of our duty; though the check must be efficient, it should be almost unseen: the effect ought to be produced more by the impression than the exercise of superior power; our principal object must be to elevate the authorities to whom we have left the administration of their respective territories; we must in all cases of interference bring them forward to their own subjects as the prominent objects of respect and obedience; so far from the agent attracting any to himself, he should purposely repel it, that it may be given to the quarter where it is wanted and to which it belongs. When we aid any Prince or Chief against his own subjects, his name should be exclusively used, and we should be most careful in making our native agents and servants pay the full measure of respect to every branch of his administration, and continually be on the watch to check that disposition which is inherent in them to slight local authorities, that they may in the name of their master draw that attention to themselves, which it is quite essential should belong to the officers of the native government. It is evident that our control can only be supportable to any human being who has the name and appearance of power, so long as it is exercised in a general manner and regulated by the principles above stated: when it descends to minute checks and interference,

ference in the collection of revenue, the administration of justice listens to the complaints of discontented or even aggrieved individuals, and allows upon system its own native agents to interfere and act in the name of the paramount state; the continuance of independent power, in any shape, to either Prince or Chief, is not only impolitic but dangerous, as his condition must be felt by himself and by all attached to his person or family as a mockery and degradation; and the least effect of such feelings will be the extermination of all motive to good or great actions; for when control is divested of its large and liberal character, and takes a more minute shape, whatever merit belongs to the administration becomes the due of the person by whom it is exercised or his agents, and the nominal Prince and his officers are degraded into suspected and incompetent instruments of rule.

32nd. In this general outline of our interference with the rulers, great and small, of this part of India, I have dwelt much upon the political considerations upon which it is grounded; because I am convinced, that there is no part of the subject that requires to be so deeply studied and so fully understood as this should be by every subordinate agent, for there is no point of his duty which is at once so delicate and arduous, or in which success or failure so much depends upon individual exertion. He will be prompted to deviate from the course prescribed, by the action of his best feelings, and by hopes of increasing his personal reputation; but he will be kept steady in that course by a knowledge of the importance of those general principles on which the present system rests. It is in the performance of this part of his duty that all which has been said regarding manner and intercourse must be in his memory; for men, in the situation in which those are, with whom he must in all cases of interference come in contact, are not to be conciliated to their condition, nor kept in that temper towards the paramount authority, which is necessary for its interest they should be, by mere correctness or strict attention to justice. The native state must be courted and encouraged to good conduct, and the earnest endeavour of the British agent must be to give their rulers a pride in their administration, to effect which object he must win to his side not only the rulers themselves, but the principal and most respectable men of the country. In his efforts to gain the latter, however, he must beware of depriving the local authority of that public opinion, which is so essential both as a check to misrule and a reward to good government, but which would cease to be felt as either, the moment the ties between Prince and subject were seriously injured or broken.

33rd.—Where the public peace, of which we are avowed protectors, has been violated, or where murders or robberies have been committed, we have a right to urge the local authorities (whom we aid both with means for the prevention and punishment of such crimes) to pursue, according to their own usages, the course best calculated to preserve the safety of persons, and of property. In other cases connected with the administration of justice, though there is no right of interference,

it will be for their interest and for our reputation to lose no opportunity of impressing generally the benefit and good name that will result from attention to ancient institutions, particularly to that of the popular courts of Punjayat, which have never been discontinued but in periods marked by anarchy and oppression.

34th.—The practice of Suttee is not frequent in Malwa, and that of infanticide is, I believe, less so. The first is a usage, which, however shocking to humanity, has defenders among every class of the Hindu community. The latter is held in abhorrence by all but the Rajpoot families, by whom it is practised and to whom it is confined, for many of the most respectable chiefs of that tribe speak of this crime with all the horror it merits. You cannot interfere in the prevention of either of these sacrifices, beyond the exercise of that influence which you possess from personal character; indeed to attempt more would be at the hazard of making wrong impressions, and of defeating the end you desired to attain. Praise of those who abstain from such acts, and neglect of those who approve or perpetrate them, is the best remedy that can be applied. It is the course I have pursued, and has certainly been attended with success.

35th.—That the line of interference, which has been described, is difficult, will not be denied; but what course can we discover for the future rule and control of the different native states of India, which does not present a choice of difficulties? Men are too apt, at the first view of this great subject, to be deluded by a desire to render easy, and to simplify, what is not in nature should be otherwise than difficult and complicated. Moral considerations come in aid of the warmest and best sentiments of the human mind to entice us to innovation; we feel ourselves almost the sharers of that crime and misrule which we think our interference could mitigate or amend, and in the fervor of our virtue we are too apt to forget, that temporary or partial benefit often entails lasting and general evil,—that every plan, however theoretically good, must be practically bad that is imperfectly executed. We forget, in the pride of our superior knowledge, the condition of others, and self-gratification makes almost every man desire to crowd, into the few years of his official career, the work of half a century. Thus measures have been, and continue to be, brought forward in advance of the community for whose benefit they are intended. Of what has passed it is not necessary to speak; the future is in our power, and I cannot conclude this part of the subject, which relates to an interference that is calculated, according as it is managed, to hasten or retard the introduction of our direct rule, without impressing upon every officer employed under my orders the importance of a conduct calculated to preserve, while it improves, the established governments and native authorities of the country. To these it is his duty to give such impulse as he can without injuring their frame, towards an amendment suited to their situation, to the character of the rulers, and to that of the various classes under their rule. I consider, and the opinion is the result of both experience and reflection,

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that all dangers to our power in India are slight in comparison with that which is likely to ensue from our too zealous efforts to change the condition of its inhabitants, with whom we are yet, in my opinion, but very imperfectly acquainted. A person, who entertains such sentiments as I do upon this question, must appear the advocate of very slow reform; but, if I am so, it is from a full conviction that any thing like precipitation in our endeavours at improvement is likely to terminate in casting back those we desire to advance; on the contrary, if instead of overmarching we are content to go along with this immense population, and to be in good temper with their prejudices, their religion, and usages, we may gradually win them to better ways of thinking and of acting. The latter process no doubt must be one of great time, but its success will be retarded by every hasty step.

36th.—There are few points on which more care is required than the selection and employment of native servants for the public service. The higher classes of these, such as Moonshees, Mootsuddies, and writers, should be men of regular habits of life, intelligent, and of good characters in their own tribes. There is no objection to an officer continuing to keep in service a person he has brought from a distant province, who has been long with him, and on whose fidelity and competence he can repose; but, generally speaking, it is much better to entertain respectable natives or old residents of the country in which he is employed; such may have looser habits and be less attached, but the former his vigilance will check and correct, and attachment will soon be created by kindness and consideration. Their advantages over foreigners are very numerous. The principal are their acquaintance with the petty interests of the country, and their knowledge of all the prejudices and the jealousies of the different classes of the community to which they belong. On all these points the superior should be minutely informed, and, if he employs men not personally acquainted with the disposition and condition of those under his charge or control, his information on such subjects must come through multiplied mediums. which is in itself a serious evil. But, independant of this, the employment of the natives of a distant province is always unpopular, and they are generally viewed with dislike and suspicion by the higher and more respectable classes of the country into which they are introduced. This excites a feeling in the minds of the former, which either makes them keep aloof from all connection with the inhabitants, or seek the society, and use as instruments, men who are discontented or of indifferent character. It is difficult to say which of these causes has the worst effect. The one gives an impression of pride, if not contempt, and the other of design and an inclination to intrigue; and both operate unfavorably to the local reputation of the master.

37th.—I have observed, that the natives who are least informed of the principles of our rule are ready to grant a respect and confidence to an English officer, which they refuse to persons of their own tribe; but they are apt to form an unfavora-

ble opinion of his disposition and character from any bad conduct of his native servants, if foreigners; on the contrary, when the latter are members of their own community, the exposure of their errors or crimes, while it brings shame and conveys a salutary lesson to the class to which they belong, is attended with the effect of raising, instead of depressing, the European superior in their estimation. To all these general reasons might be added many, grounded on the particular condition of Central India. The oppression the inhabitants of this quarter have recently suffered, both from Hindu and Mahomedan natives of the Deckan and Hindostan, makes them naturally alarmed at these classes. There is, also, in the impoverished state of many of the best families of the country, a strong additional reason for our giving them, in preference to strangers, what little we can of salary as public servants.

38th.—In the above observations there is no desire to exclude any member of Deckan or Hindostan families, who have settled for life, or for several generations, in Malwa; such objection would proscribe from our employ some of the most intelligent and respectable inhabitants of that province.

39th.—It has been before mentioned, that publicity in our transaction of business is most essential, chiefly as it puts at repose an alarmed and agitated population, and beyond all their Princes and Chiefs. We may greatly promote this object by the selection of servants. I early observed a very serious uneasiness, if not alarm, in HOLKAR's Ministers regarding the course I meant to pursue towards that Court; and as one means of removing it I chose as a principal native writer an intelligent Brahmin, whose family were attached to that of HOLKAR, in whose employ I found him, and who could, I knew, from his connections have no permanent interests separate from his duty to that State; I was conscious of having nothing to conceal, but I knew the importance of TANTIAH JOGH and others being satisfied that this was the case; no measure I have adopted has tended more to tranquillize their minds, and I state the fact, because its application may be suited to cases of daily occurrence.

40th.—In the employment of the higher classes of native servants, they should, as much as possible, be restricted to their specific duties, and no one should be allowed to take a lead or mix (unless when directed) in the occupation of another; the keeping of these persons in their exact places will be found difficult from the habits of the natives being opposite to such rules, but it is essential; for errors, if not guilt, will be the certain consequence of a confusion of duties, which destroys that pride which good men feel from possessing confidence, and enables bad to evade that personal responsibility which constitutes the chief check upon their conduct.

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41st.—The employment of the lower classes of public servants requires much attention. These should be selected on the same principles that have already been stated, with reference to the duties they are to perform, (which ought always to be exactly defined) and their conduct vigilantly watched. It will indeed be found useful to render, as public as possible, the nature of their employment, and to call upon all local authorities to aid us in the prevention of those unauthorized and odious acts of injustice and oppression towards the inhabitants of the country which this class will, in spite of all our efforts, find opportunities of committing. I speak from the fullest experience when I state, that, though the natives of India may do full justice to the purity of our intentions and the excellence of the principles of our rule, they are undisguised in their sentiments regarding those parts of our administration in which the very dregs of their own community are employed. They cannot, indeed, but see with feelings of detestation and resentment a man, raised from the lowest of their own ranks, and decorated with the official badge, or stick of a civil or political English officer, become the very next moment insolent to persons to whom he and his family have been for ages submissive, or turn the extortioner of money from those tribes among which he has before lived as an humble individual.

42nd.—The power of this class of servants to injure our reputation is every where great, but more so in the proportion that the natives of the country are ignorant of our real character, and where their dread of our power is excessive; of the mischief they have done, or rather tried to do, in Malwa, I can speak from a perfect knowledge; I have endeavoured with unremitting solicitude to counteract their impositions and oppression, by publishing proclamations and giving high rewards to all who informed upon or seized any of my servants when attempting the slightest interference in the country, or affecting to have any business beyond that of carrying a letter, or some specified or limited duty: but I have, nevertheless, been compelled within three years to punish publicly, and discharge, one Moonshee, two Mootsuddies or writers, three Jemadars, and upwards of fifty Hircarrahs; and almost an equal number of the same class belonging to other public officers have been taken and punished, or banished the country. These examples will shew the danger of being tempted, by any convenience of service, or a desire to accelerate the accomplishment of our objects, to employ such instruments with any latitude of action.

43rd.—The importance of encouraging the dependent states of India to do their own work, and to lean on points of internal administration as little as possible upon us, has been before noticed; and as long as we manage to keep clear of that species of interference which weakens and unsettles, without any proportionate good to balance its evil effects, we shall have credit in general opinion

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for all the good measures which the state under our protection adopts, and our reputation will be benefited (from the comparisons that are drawn) even by its acts of folly and injustice; but the latter advantage will be lost by any half and impolitic mixture in its concerns, and there is no mode in which this will be found so injurious as that of granting it the aid of native servants in our employ. Allowing the higher classes of these to enter into the affairs of such governments in any shape would be destructive of every principle that has been inculcated; but the giving their rulers, ministers or local officers, the aid of our lower servants, would be still more to the injury of our reputation; for among the higher classes we might find men of virtue and firmness of character beyond what could be expected from the others when exposed, as they would be, to much temptation. They would be used for purposes of coercion, if not oppression, and there would be sufficient art in those, who thus employed them, to throw (when that was their object) the odium of what these instruments did upon the English government; but, in general, their desire would be limited to have the aid of the British name to alarm, into compliance with their demands, individuals or communities. They would be aware that the Hircarrah or servant sent to assist their authority was a check upon their proceedings, and this would lead to his being bribed; and, if he did not become an instrument of violence, it would only be because he received higher wages from the party he was sent to oppress. I have seen such manifold instances of the bad effects resulting from the employment of this class in the manner described, that I have for more than three years peremptorily refused any such aid to native chiefs, and must require all those under my orders to do the same. The best answer to all applications upon this subject is, that compliance is at variance with the system ordered to be pursued, and that the usage of granting such aid, though it might be found convenient and in some cases accelerate the accomplishment of good measures, must in the end produce much evil, and be attended with loss of reputation to the British Government, whose good name could not be entrusted to low agents and menials acting beyond the strict and vigilant observation of the European officer.

Maintenance of the Public Peace.

44th.—The right we have to act, when the public peace is threatened or disturbed, has been generally noticed under the head of interference; but it will be useful to say a few words on the mode of exercising that right, particularly as it relates to points which are connected with the internal administration of police, and criminal justice.

45th.—In countries which have been long in the condition of Central India, there is a connexion, formed between the most powerful and the most apparently insignificant of the disturbers of the public peace, which will for some time require a vigilant attention to every act of the latter to prevent the revival of a disorderly or predatory

predatory spirit. In common cases we shall only have to prompt the local authority to exertions. But when our aid is required, and troops, or any persons acting under our orders apprehend delinquents, they should invariably be given over to the ruler or chief in whose countries the crimes were committed, by whom they will be examined and punished, according to the established custom. I have usually limited my interference in this part of the administration of the Native States of Malwa to two points. The first is, that in cases of robbery, but particularly cattle, (the common booty of Bheels and other plunderers), there should be restitution to the owners the moment the property was proved, leaving those persons through whose hands it has passed by real or pretended sales to have their disputes and recriminations settled, and to recover from each other according to usage. This practice is now general, and its enforcement for the last two years has done more to put an end to Bheel and other robberies, than all the other measures that have been taken. The second point, on which I have endeavoured to make a change in practice of the administration of Justice in the Native States in Malwa, is that of preventing the crime of wilful murder being commuted for the payment of a pecuniary fine; but in all casses of this nature, where circumstances compel us to interfere, it is desirable that no execution should take place, till guilt has been clearly proved. The observance of this rule is more necessary, as in cases where the criminals are of a plundering tribe, such as Bheels and Baggrees, the native ruler or chief will be disposed to deem the mere accusation enough to warrant the punishment, whereas it is exactly with such cases that it is of importance to us to be most particular, lest we lose the impression we desire to make upon them, by becoming in any way accessaries to acts of violence or injury.

46th.—On all occasions when the local power is sufficient, it is most desirable to bring it into action, that it may cease to be dependent upon us for the maintenance of the internal peace. This is particularly advisable where excesses are committed, that have either, as their real or professed causes, superstitions or religious feelings. In such cases, except where the mixture of political motives is manifest and avowed, or the danger imminent, we should call upon the native government by its duty and allegiance to the paramount state to put down all disturbers of the peace, particularly when fanatics like those lately at Purtaubghur* combine with their atrocities the avowal of sentiments hostile to our rule. The actual condition of Central India makes it likely that such efforts as that above alluded to may be repeated, and they will always (however contemptible they may seem) require to be treated with much delicacy. It should be deemed a guiding principle not to act if we can avoid it; and when absolutely compelled to do so, it is essential that we should appear not as principals, but in support of the local government; for the spirit that engenders such excesses, whether they proceed from intrigue or fanaticism, will only attain strength by opposition, and any violent measures on our part, however justified by crime or outrage, might make the most unfavorable impressions upon an ignorant and bi-

* Vide letter to Captain MACDONALD, dated 18th June, 1821.

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goted population, who, while they confess all the benefits of our general rule and control, are easily excited to a dread of our success ultimately leading to attempts at changing the religion and institutions of their forefathers.

47*th.*—In cases of rebels or plunderers collecting in such force as to require British troops to suppress them, you will (if the emergency prevents reference to superior authority) make a requisition for aid from the nearest commanding officer that can furnish it.

48*th.*—The rules for such requisitions have been generally notified; the political agent will give the fullest information of the service to be performed, the nature of the country, the character of the enemy, and his resources, leaving the military officer, when possessed of such knowledge, the selection of the force, both as to number and equipment, that is to be placed at his disposal; but it is to be strongly impressed upon both, that in a country, like Central India, the means employed should always be above the object to be accomplished, as failure or defeat in any enterprize or action would be attended with very bad consequences.

49*th.*—It is almost superfluous to repeat, what has been sedulously inculcated upon you as a primary duty during the last three years, the adoption of every preventive measure to avert the necessity of the employment of force. Its appearance has hitherto been almost in all cases sufficient to produce the required effect, and in the few instances where it has been employed, the moment of success has been seized for that of conciliation; to act differently and to pursue those wild tribes who are the common disturbers of the peace, with retaliation of outrages, beyond what is necessary, to evince our power, is to confirm them in their habits, and to add to their other motives of hostility those of resentment and despair. When engaged in warfare with such classes, we should be cautious how we inflict summary punishment on the individuals who fall into our power. These are often the mere instruments of crime, and act in its commission under as strong an impulse of duty to their superiors, as the soldier in our ranks, and it is as unreasonable to expect their habits can be changed by making examples of such men, as it would that we could subdue the spirit of a nation by putting to death every soldier belonging to it, that we found fighting against us in action. The increased danger in which this placed individuals, would only strengthen that powerful feeling by which they were attached to their leaders, while it added that of revenge against those who treated them with what they deemed cruelty and injustice. It is the duty of all agents of the British Government to direct their efforts to effect a change in the frame of these savage communities, instead of commencing, in imitation of unprincipled and despotic native rulers, an unprofitable and interminable warfare upon individuals, who can hardly be termed guilty, when they act by the express order of chiefs to whom and their predecessors they and their fathers have given implicit obedience for centuries. The nature and strength of the ties, which

which subsist in these societies, were fully discovered in the trial of NADIR SINGH* the celebrated Bheelalah chief of the Vindhya range: no one has questioned the justice of his punishment, but that of the persons who committed by his order the barbarous crime for which he was exiled, would have been deemed an act of oppression.

Vide, letter to Government dated 9th May, 1820.

50th.—One of the most effectual means that you have to maintain the peace, is that of exerting yourself to render all (even the poorest and wildest classes) sensible of the benefits they derive from your protection; there is no point in which this is more required than against the excesses of our troops, camp followers, merchants who have passes, and, in short, all who on any ground use the British name. The governments of the different Presidencies have been long sensible to this evil, and have endeavoured by the strictest orders and proclamations to correct it. The pressing of begaries and hackeries has been positively forbidden; but these orders must be enforced with a rigorous and uncompromising spirit by the civil and political authorities, otherwise they will prove unavailing. This is a point of duty in which I consider those under my orders to have no option or latitude; in the present condition of Central India it is one of too much importance, both as it relates to the temper of the inhabitants, and the reviving prosperity of the country, to warrant any deviation, either for the accommodation of individuals or the public service; the former, when no longer encouraged by improper or unwise indulgence to trust in any way to the country, will soon learn to be independent of its aid; public departments will in like degree become, from providing for their own wants, more efficient, and when the inhabitants are satisfied that it is not in the power of any person, whatever be his rank, to press them or their cattle, they will be inspired with a confidence that will lead to their furnishing more resources to troops and travellers, from a desire of profit, than has ever yet been extorted by an oppressive system, which, according to all natives I have heard speak upon the subject, has been carried to as great, if not greater, lengths in countries subject to our rule and control, than in the worst of their own governments.

51st.—There are, I fear, many omissions in these notes of instructions, but an anxiety to render them complete has already made them far longer than was at first intended. One of my chief objects has been to impress in the most forcible manner the great benefits which are to be expected from a kind and conciliating manner, and a constant friendly intercourse, with those under your direction and control. It is the feelings and knowledge which such habits on your part will inspire, that can alone give effect to the principles of action that have been prescribed for your observance. You are called upon to perform no easy task, to possess power, but seldom to exercise it, to witness abuses which you think you could correct, to see the errors, if not crimes, of superstitious bigotry, and the miseries of misrule, and yet forbear, lest you injure interests far greater than any within the sphere of your limited duties, and impede and embarrass, by a rash change and innovation

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that may bring local benefit, the slow but certain march of general improvement. Nothing can keep you right on all these points but constant efforts to add to your knowledge, and accustoming your mind (as I have before urged you) to dwell upon the character of the British power in India, and that of the Empire over which it is established. The latter, comprehending numerous tribes and nations, with all their various institutions and governments, may truly, though metaphorically, be viewed as a vast and ancient fabric, neither without shape nor beauty, but of which many parts are in a dilapidated state, and all more or less soiled or decayed; still it is a whole and connected in all its parts, the foundations are deep laid, and to the very summit arch rests upon arch. We are now its possessors, and if we desire to preserve, while we improve it, we must make ourselves completely masters of the frame of the structure to its minutest ornaments and defects: nor must we remove the smallest stone till another is ready, suited to fill the vacant niche, otherwise we may inadvertently bring a ruin on our own heads, and those of others, on the spot where we too eagerly sought to erect a monument of glory.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.

Camp Dhoolia, [illegible] }

THE END.